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RIYAZU-S-SALĀTĪN,



A HISTORY OF BENGL

13390

BY

GHULĀM HUSĀIN SALĪM,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN.
WITH NOTES,

BY

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Ghuf Abd.

(PREFACE.)

• شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند • زین قند پارسی که بد بگذاشت میروند •
حافظ

"And now shall India's paroquets on sugar revel all,

In this sweet Persian sugarcandy that is borne to far Bengal."

Hafia to Sultan *Ghiyasu-d-din*, King of Bengal.

The History of Bengal cannot fail to be of special interest not only to Hindus and Musalmans in Bengal, but also to Englishmen, in that Bengal formed the foundation-stone of the glorious fabric of Empire in Asia that England was destined in subsequent years to rear on the wreck of the mighty Empire of the 'Great Mogul.' Yet Histories of Bengal are very few. (From the Muhammadan side, though there are plenty of General Histories of India, containing incidental references to Bengal, or dealing with particular periods of it, there is no general or comprehensive History of Bengal, save and except the *Riyāzu-s-Salātin*. From the European side, the only standard History of Bengal is Stewart's History, but this last, too, whilst mainly based on the *Riyāz*, incorporates also the less reliable accounts from Ferishta. To appreciate the historical value and position of the *Riyāz*, I need only quote the opinions of two eminent Orientalists. "The *Riyāzu-s-Salātin*," says the late Professor Blochmann who laboured so largely for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal, which the author brings down to his own time (1786-88)"; whilst Dr. Hoernle observes in a letter to me: "The *Riyāz* is a Standard History of Bengal, is continually quoted by Mr. Blochmann in his 'Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal' in the Journals of the Asiatic Society. Mr. Blochmann strongly recommended that it should be translated, and, therefore, the book is one which deserves being translated and published by the Asiatic Society."

Whilst fully sensible of the honour conferred upon me by

the Asiatic Society in entrusting to me the duty of translating with notes this Standard History of Bengal, I cannot help confessing to a sense of diffidence in presenting this volume to the public under their auspices. Circumstances over which I have had little control, such as domestic troubles, difficulties of access to libraries or books of reference in out-of-the-way mofussil stations, and scanty snatches of leisure after by no means light daily official duties—have combined not only to retard the publication of this annotated translation, but to interfere with my presenting it in the shape that I had fondly aimed at. As it is, I venture to think, whilst fully conscious of its defects and flaws, that I have spared no pains to render the translation a faithful and literal representation of the original, consistently with lucidity and clearness in statement. To constantly elucidate the text, I have given ample foot-notes. These foot-notes have been prepared by me by reference to original and generally contemporary Persian sources, and in some cases also embody results of the labours of European scholars and antiquarians, as well as my own personal observations. The preparation of these foot-notes has involved considerable research and entailed much labour.

For my labours, such as they have been, I shall, however, feel amply rewarded if these pages in any measure contribute to awaken amongst my co-religionists in Bengal an enlightened consciousness of their historic past, coupled with an earnest longing in the present to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by a progressive and beneficent Government for their future social and intellectual regeneration; and also if they widen the mutual sympathies of the two great nationalities in Bengal by infusing sentiments of closer and more cordial comradeship, in that they have been fellow-travellers over the same tract for many long centuries; and last, though not least, if they evoke the sympathetic interest of Englishmen in the fate of a great and historic Community that preceded them for six centuries in the Government of this country.

A respectful tribute of mournful acknowledgment is due to the memory of my lamented wife, Hyatunnissa Begam, who often sat up by me during progress of this work, and sustained me in my labours.

ABDUS SALAM.

ORISSA, CUTTACK :
23rd May, 1903.

P.S.—I had hoped to add to this work an Appendix dealing with the social, economic and political condition of the people in Bengal under each period of Moslem Rule; but for this (though I have collected some materials) at present I command neither the requisite leisure nor the full critical apparatus. The foot-notes will, however, it is hoped, give the reader some idea of the culture and civilisation that prevailed in Bengal under the Moslems, of their system and methods of administration, of their policy in adding to the physical comforts of the people, and in improving their intellectual, social and ethical ideals.

A. S.

BAHIAL, BACKERGUNJE :
17th November, 1903.



RIYĀZU-S-SALĀTIN, OR A HISTORY OF BENGAL.

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Hussain Shahi dynasty of Bengal Moslem independent kings had its adopted home—Hussain Shah first obtained power in the district of Faridpur or Faizabad where his first colonies were struck—Hussain Shah's son, Nazrat Shah, erected a mint-town at Khalifatabad (or Bagerhat, formerly in the Jessore or Jessar district)—Names of Hussain Shah, his brother Yusuf Shah, and his son, Nazrat Shah and Mahmud Shah, found in connection with several pargannas of Jessore or Jessar district—Hussain Shah "the Good" still remembered from the frontiers of Orissa to the Brahmaputra—Hussain Shah extends his empire into Orissa, Assam, and Chittagong, and reigns over all North Behar and all South Behar, up to the limits of Sarkar Moughyr (Mungir) where his son, Prince Danyal, erects a vault over the shrine of Pir Nafa—Hussain Shah builds a Cathedral Mosque at Maghain (in Decca district), where there is still an old colony of Musalmans—The Hussaini dynasty consisting of four kings reigned over Bengal for forty-four years—Rich people in Bengal use plates of gold—Hussain Shah disbands the Palks, and expels the Abyssinians from Bengal—Hussain Shah removes his seat of Government to Eldelah which adjoins the City of Ganr—Hussain Shah, being himself of a noble stock, employs numerous Syeds, Maghals and Afghans of noble families in his service in Bengal—Hussain Shah appoints efficient District Officers, and secures thorough peace in Bengal—Hussain Shah subjugates Rajahs of the environs up to Orissa, conquers Assam, Kamrup and Kantaib—Hussain Shah's first Governor of Western Assam or Kamrup was his own son, Prince Danyal, who was followed by Musander Ghazi, who was succeeded by Sultan Ghias-d-din, who introduced a colony of Muhammadans into Assam—Rajahs Rup Narain, Mal Kuwar, Gasa Lakhan and Lachmi Narain subdued—Hussain Shah builds numerous mosques and rest-houses in Bengal, as well as numerous Madrasahs or Colleges—Hussain Shah confers numerous gifts of lands etc. on saints and scholars—For the maintenance of the Rest-house in connection with the shrine of the saint Nur Qutub-alam, Hussain Shah endowed several villages—Hussain Shah's character—Amongst the sovereigns of Bengal, none equal to Hussain Shah—Traces of Hussain Shah's beneficence known widely—Sultan Hussain Sharq, a refugee at the Court of Hussain Shah—Emperor Babar's invasion of India, towards the end of Hussain Shah's reign—Reign of Nazrat Shah, son of Alan-d-din Hussain Shah—Nazrat Shah or Nasib Shah a wise and just and an efficient sovereign—Nazrat Shah re-conquers Chittagong, subdues Tirhat and Hajipur, and holds temporary sway over Azimgarh in the N. W. Province—Hajipur long the head-quarters of the Bengal Governors of Behar—Emperor Babar conquers Hindustan

in 1525 A.C. (932 A.H.)—Many Afghan Omars or noblemen flee and take refuge in Bengal under Nasrat Shah—Sultan Mahmūd, brother of Sultan Ibrahim, also a refugee under Nasrat Shah—Nasrat Shah bestows on all these noble Afghan refugees paraganas and villages in Bengal—Nasrat Shah marries Sultan Ibrahim's daughter—Nasrat Shah despatches Quth Khan with a large army from Bengal to Biharich, to oppose the Moghal army—Khan Zaman, Emperor Babar's son-in-law, conquers Jaunpur—Emperor Babar marches to Jaunpur, and plans to invade Bengal—Nasrat Shah sends valuable presents to Emperor Babar, who makes peace with Nasrat Shah and retires—Emperor Babar dies, Emperor Humayun ascends the throne of Delhi—Emperor Humayun plans the conquest of Bengal—Nasrat Shah sends presents to Emperor Humayun—Towards the close of his life, Nasrat Shah indulges in dissipation and oppressions—Nasrat Shah killed—Nasrat Shah builds the Qadam Rasul building and the Golden Mosque or the Saun Masjid in Gaur—Reign of Firuz Shah—Reign of Sultan Mahmūd, son of Alan-d-din Hussein Shah—Makhdum 'Alam (Mahmūd Shah's brother-in-law), Governor of Hajipur, intrigues with Sher Khan, who was in Behar—Mahmūd Shah detains Quth Khan, Commandant of Monghyr (Mungir), to conquer Behar, and to chastise Makhdum 'Alam—Quth Khan killed, and Sher Khan wins the victory—Makhdum 'Alam killed—Sher Khan invades Bengal—The nobles of Bengal guard the passes of Telingudhi and Sakrigall, and fight—Sher Khan enters Bengal, and attacks Mahmūd Shah, who entrenches himself in the fort of Gaur, and seeks for help from Emperor Humayun—Emperor Humayun storms the fort of Gaur—Disturbances break out in Behar, and Sher Khan retires from Bengal, leaving his son Jalal Khan and his noble, Khawas Khan, to besiege the fort of Gaur—Sultan Mahmūd flees and Jalal Khan captures Gaur—Sher Khan marches to Gaur, and becomes master of Bengal—Sultan Mahmūd Shah erects the Cathedral Mosque at Sadullapur, a quarter of Gaur—Emperor Humayun pushes through the passes of Telingudhi and Sakrigall—Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan retreat to Gaur to Sher Khan—Mahmūd Shah, the last independent Mussalman klig of Bengal, dies at Kahlgaon or Calgaon—Sher Khan, on Emperor Humayun's approach, retires from Bengal towards the hills of Tharkand or Chula Nagpur—Emperor Humayun captures Gaur, names it Munatalah, introduces the Moghal imperial Khatis and coins, and halts at Gaur for three months—Owing to badness of climate of Gaur, many Moghal soldiers perish—Sher Khan with his Afghan soldiers marches from Tharkand or Chula Nagpur to the fort of Rokhas, captures it, and also surprises

Monghyr (Mungir)—News of Mirza Hindal's rebellion received by Emperor Humayun, who marches back to Agra, leaving Jahangir Quli Beg as the Mughal Governor of Gaur and supported by Ibrahim Beg with five thousand cavalry—Sher Khan recaptures Gaur, ascends the throne of Bengal and assumes the title of Sher Shah—Sher Shah, a great statesman, a benevolent sovereign and a splendid general—His fiscal reforms—Sher Shah bestows jagirs, Altunghas, and Madd-i-Mash for the support of scholars and ascots—His Army reforms—His public works—His vigorous administration of justice—People enjoy perfect security of life and property—Peace concluded between Emperor Humayun and Sher Shah, Bengal, together with the fact of Rohtas being left in the possession of Sher Shah—Sher Shah suddenly attacks Emperor Humayun at Channu, and defeats the latter—Sher Shah reduces Bengal and Behar to subjection—Shahh Khalil, patron-saint of Sher Shah—Sher Shah leaves Khizr Khan as his Governor of Bengal, and marches to Agra—Sher Shah again defeats Emperor Humayun at Kanauj, and marches to Agra—Rule of Khizr Khan at Gaur—Khizr Khan gives himself royal airs, and is quickly supplanted by Sher Shah, who divides Bengal amongst several tribal chiefs, placing over them an overlord in the person of Qazi Faullat, a learned scholar of Agra—Sher Shah returns to Agra—Over-lordship of Muhammad Khan Sur in Bengal—Sher Shah's son, Jallal Khan surnamed Islam Shah or Sallim Shah, ascends the throne of Hindustan, and draws up a comprehensive Procedural Code or Dastur ul Amd—Battle between Muhammad Khan Sur and Muhammad Shah 'Adil—Muhammad Khan killed—Rule of Khizr Khan, surnamed Bahadur Shah, Muhammad Khan's son—Battle between Khizr Khan and Muhammad Shah 'Adil near Suralgacha in the Monghyr district—Muhammad Shah killed—Reign of Jalalu-d-din, son of Muhammad Khan—Reign of Jalalu-d-din's son—Rule of Qilani-d-din—Reign of Taj Khan Karani—Taj Khan, one of the most learned scholars of his time—Reign of Sulaiman Karani, brother of Taj Khan—Sulaiman Karani holds every morning a devotional meeting in company with 150 Shaykhs and Ulama, after which he transacts business during fixed hours—Sulaiman Karani, with the help of his renowned general Kalapahar, conquers Orissa—Sulaiman Karani shifts his capital from Gaur to Tandah—Sulaiman partially subdues Kash Behar—Peace concluded between Sulaiman and Emperor Humayun—Peace maintained between Sulaiman and Emperor Akbar—Sulaiman Karani very energetic, industrious, methodic, and strict—Reign of Bayazid Khan, son of Sulaiman Karani—Reign of Daud Khan, son of Sulaiman Karani—Daud Khan reigns over Bengal, Behar and

Orissa—His standing army—Daud is aggressive and invades the frontiers between the kingdom of Bengal and the Empire of Hindustan—Emperor Akbar orders his general, Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khassan, Governor of Jaunpur, to oppose Daud's advance—Peace concluded by Munim Khan with Daud—Akbar declines to ratify the treaty—Disloyalty of Daud's premier grandee, Lodi Khan—Naval engagements between Daud Khan and Emperor Akbar—Daud retires to Patna, pursued by Emperor Akbar—Akbar captures the fort of Hajipur—Daud abandons the fort of Patna, and falls down to Bengal—Patna captured by Emperor Akbar—The Khan-i-Khassan Munim Khan pursues Daud who retires to Orissa—Todar Mal in Bengal and Orissa—Todar Mal's loyal services to Emperor Akbar—Battle between the Mughals and the Afghans—Peace of Katak—Bengal and Bihar ceded to Akbar, whilst Orissa yet retained by the Afghans—Daud on the banks of the Mahanadi river opposite to Katak (Cuttack) City held by the Khan-i-Khassan for cooption of Daud Khan who attends from Katak with his Afghan nobles—Refined chivalry and magnanimity displayed by the Khan-i-Khassan Munim Khan and Daud Khan at the State Dabcher.

Akbar causes a general survey of Bengal and preparation of its Band-Bell by his Finance Ministers, Khwajah Musaffar Ali and Todar Mal in 1582 A.D.—The Khan-i-Khassan (Munim Khan) transfers the seat of Government of Bengal from Tausah to Gaur, when many Mughal officers including Munim Khan perish owing to malaria—Murad Khan invades Fathabad or Faridpur—On Munim Khan's death, Daud Khan reoccupies Bengal and Bihar, and installs himself again at Tausah—Vicereignty of Nawab Khan Jahan in Bengal, and an account of Daud Khan's death—Akbar appoints a separate Governor for Behar—Battle of Akmahal or Rajmahal or Akbarnagar between Mughals and Afghans—Daud with his general Kalapahar defeated—Daud killed—Orissa annexed by Mughals—Extirpation of certain grandees of Daud Khan—Kalapahar killed in battle—Leading Afghan grandees or Umrahs flee to the jungles in the tracts of Bengal—Afghans collect in Bhati (i.e. Sundarbans including Bagipur) or Backergunge under Karim Dad, Ibrahim and 'Isa Khan—'Isa Khan's residence—Shahbaz Khan, the Mughal general, plunders Bakhtiarpur, occupies Sagarman and encamps on the banks of the Brahmaputra—Khan Jahan dies, and Akbar appoints Khan 'Azim Mirza Kokah to succeed him—Afghans rally in Bhati under Osman, their chief.

Chapter III.

Account of the Nazims of Bengal appointed by the Mughal Emperors of Delhi—Nazims and Divans defined—Accession of

Emperor Jahangir—Insurrection of Osman Khan—Nizamut or Viceregency of Rajah Man Singh—Wazir Khan appointed Diwan of Bengal—Rajah Man Singh re-called, not being able to subdue Osman Khan—Nizamut of Qutbuddin Khan—Qutbuddin Khan killed by 'Ali Quli Beg, surnamed Sher Afghan Khan, at Hardwar—Sher Afghan Khan, husband of Maharanumma (afterwards Empress Nur Jahan)—Emperor Jahangir's chivalry towards his Queen Empress Nur Jahan—Jahangir Quli Khan appointed Nizam or Viceroys of Bengal—Islam Khan appointed Governor of Behar—Islam Khan promoted to the Nizamut of Bengal—Afzal Khan, son of Shaikh Abul Fazi Allami, appointed Governor of Behar—Rule of Nawab Islam Khan over Bengal, and an account of the fall of Osman Khan—Nawab Islam Khan transfers the seat of Mughal government from Tundah to Dacca or Dhaka or Jahangirnagar—Battle between the Imperialists under Shahaji Khan and the Afghans under Osman Khan, near Dhaka or Daom—Osman hit by a cannon-ball, and dies—Afghans now thoroughly crushed—Islam Khan leads an expedition against the Mags, defeats them, and sends some Mag captives to Emperor Jahangir, in charge of his son, Hushang Khan—Nawab Islam Khan dies—Nizamut of Nawab Qasim Khan—Assamese make an incursion into the conquered Imperial domains—Qasim Khan re-called—Nizamut of Ibrahim Khan and arrival of Prince Shah Jahan in Bengal—The title of Khan a high hereditary distinction under the Mughal Emperors—Alauddin Khan appointed Governor of Orissa—Shah Jahan's insurrection—an account of Shah Jahan's invasion of Bengal and the fall of Ibrahim Khan—Fateh Jang at Rajmahal—Many Barha Syeds for political and military services receive from Mughal Emperors honourable title of Khan which in course of time obliterates all traces of their Syed descent—Shah Jahan marches to Dacca—Prince Shah Jahan's fightings with the Imperial Army and his withdrawal to the Dakkhin—Assignment of Bengal in Jagir to Mahabat Khan and his son—Nizamut of Nawab Mukkamam Khan—Nizamut of Nawab Fudal Khan—Emperor Jahangir dies, and his son, Shah Jahan, ascends the throne of Delhi—Nizamut of Nawab Qasim Khan—Qasim Khan, under orders of Emperor Shah Jahan, expels the Portuguese from Bengal—Nizamut of Nawab Asam Khan—The Assamese make an incursion into Bengal—Asam Khan recalled by the Emperor—Viceregency of Nawab Islam Khan II—Islam Khan sends out punitive expeditions to Kugh Behar and Assam—Islam Khan recalled for being installed as Imperial Vazir at Delhi—Nizamut of Bengal bestowed on Prince Shah Shuja—In the interregnum, Nawab Saif Khan represents Shah Shuja in Bengal—Rule of Prince Muhammad Shuja—Prince Shuja transfers temporarily seat of Mughal government from

Dhaka or Dacca, or Jahangirnagar to Rajmahal or Akharnagar—and deputes his father-in-law, Nawab 'Azam Khan, as his Deputy Governor at Jahangirnagar.—In 1658 A.D. Shah Shuja prepares a new Rent-roll of Bengal.—The Prince recalled.—Shah Shuja a lover of architecture and builds numerous marble edifices in Rajmahal, Mooghyr and Dacca.—Niramat of Nawab Itaqad Khan.—Nawab Itaqad Khan recalled.—Rule of Prince Shah Shuja for the second time in Bengal.—Akbar banished most of his 'Ulama to Bengal.—Emperor Shah Jahan falls ill.—Fratricidal wars between Shah Jahan's son, Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad.—Aurangzeb triumphs in the end over all the brothers.—Shah Shuja defeated and pursued by Aurangzeb's general, Mir Jumla, Muazzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan—Viceroyalty of Mir Jumla, Nawab Muazzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan—Prince Shah Shuja dies at Arrakan, where he perishes.—The Khan-i-Khanan Muazzam Khan Mir Jumla leads expeditions to Kuch Behar and Assam, and subdues them, falls ill, returns and dies at Khirpur near Naralingga in the Dacca district.—Viceroyalty of Nawab Amir-ul-Umra Shahista Khan—Nawab Shahista Khan chastises thoroughly the Mag and Portuguese pirates, and with his son Buzurg Ussed Khan re-conquers Chittagong and names it Islamabad.—Nawab Shahista Khan forms a prominent figure in connection with the early commercial enterprises of the English East India Company.—Nawab Shahista Khan builds numerous Madrasahs or Colleges, Mosques, rest-houses, bridges and roads.—Economic condition of the people in Bengal attains an unusual degree of prosperity—Rice sells at two annas per maund.—Nawab Shahista Khan builds the Katrah or tower and other buildings at Dhaka or Dacca.—Viceroyalty of Nawab Ibrahim Khan.—The English merchants style Nawab Ibrahim Khan "the most famously just and good Nabob"—Ibrahim Khan allows the English to return from Madras and finally settles at Sutanuti (future Calcutta).—Emperor Aurangzeb engaged in fighting for twelve years in the Dekhin against the Mughlan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, and Ahmednagar, and also against the Marhattas under Shivaji and Sambha.—The Emperor's protracted absence from his capital leads to outbreak of insurrections in different parts of the Empire.—Rebellion of Subha Singh, Zamindar of Chittwah and of Bahini Khan, the Afghan.—Kishan Ram, Zamindar of Bardwan, killed by the rebels.—Sarullah Khan, Faujdar of the Chaklah of Jamar (Jumra), advances to fight with the rebels, but retreats soon after to the fort of Hughli, and seeks for help from the Dutch of Chinsurah.—Kishan Ram's daughter, a heroine, kills Subha Singh for attempt upon her chastity.—Himmat Singh succeeds Subha Singh.—The rebels harry half the province of Bengal from Bardwan to Rajmahal.—This opportunity utilized by the English for fortifying

their new settlement in Calcutta—Brave fall of Niamat Khan and his nephew, Tanhar Khan—News of the disaster carried to Nawab Ibrahim Khan who exhibits pusillanimity—News carried to Emperor Aurangzeb, who appoints Zabardest Khan to be Faujdar of Bardwan and Medinipur, and to chastise the rebels—Zabardest Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan, chastises the rebels—Azimu-sh-shan appointed Viceroy of Bengal and Behar, Nawab Ibrahim Khan being recalled by Emperor Aurangzeb—Battle of Bhagwanpoh—Zabardest Khan defeats Bahim Khan or Rahim Shah—Bahim Shah's flight to Bardwan—Viceroyalty of Prince Azimu-sh-shan and fall of Rahim Khan—Azimu-sh-shan's jealousy of Zabardest Khan—Azimu-sh-shan marches to Bardwan—Zabardest Khan in disgust leaves Bengal and proceeds to the Emperor Aurangzeb in the Dakhin—*Tigah, jagirs, madad-i-mash, Alomgha land-tenures* noticed—Recklessness of Rahim Shah's rebellion—Rahim Shah treacherously attacks Azimu-sh-shan, and nearly captures the latter—Loyal gallantry of Hamid Khan Quralahi (Faujdar of Silhat) who moves swiftly to Azimu-sh-shan's rescue, turns disaster into victory and kills Rahim Shah, the rebel—Azimu-sh-shan after victory enters Bardwan, and makes a pilgrimage to the shrine of the saint Shah Ibrahim Saqqi—Jagat Rai, son of Kishan Ram, invested by the Prince with the *samindari* of Bardwan—The prince erects a Cathedral Mosque at Bardwan—The prince founds the town of Shahganj alias Azimganj, in the suburbs of Hugli City—Azimu-sh-shan's Mosque at Shahganj—Farakh Sir, Azimu-sh-shan's son, blessed by the saint of Bardwan, Safi Baizid, and prophesied by the saint as the future Emperor of India—Azimu-sh-shan sails from Bardwan for Dhaka or Dacca or Jahan-girnagar on Imperial war-vessels—Azimu-sh-shan speculates at Dhaka in trade and introduces *Sanda-i-Khas* and *Sanda-i-'Am*, and is sharply rebuked by Emperor Aurangzeb—The Emperor appoints Mirza Hadi, surnamed Kartalab Khan (afterwards Murshid Quli Khan), to the office of Diwan of Bengal—Powers of the Diwan defined—Powers of the Nazim defined—Azimu-sh-shan lax and covetous, and in July 1695 for the sum of 16,000 rupees permits the English to purchase from existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Gobindpur—Both the Nizam's and the Diwan's powers regulated by an Imperial Procedure Code revised year after year by the Emperor—The Procedure Code or *Dastur-ul-'Amal* in India described—Kartalab Khan appoints sagacious and thrifty Collectors to every Pargannah, *Chaklah* and *Sarkar*—Murshid Quli Khan (Kar Talab Khan) resumes *Jagirs* in Bengal of the Bengal *munsiffers*, and allots them *Jagirs* in Ben in Orissa—A big surplus in the Bengal Revenue thus effected—Murshid Quli Khan enhances the Revenue—

assessments of Bengal, presents a prosperity Budget, and becomes Emperor Aurangzeb's favourite—Asimu-gh-ghan becomes jealous of Murshid Quli Khan, and plots his destruction—Shiraj, Jangal, Tongah, Jibat, Sair—Jibat revenues and taxes described—At the instigation of Asimu-gh-ghan, the Nagdi troops in Dacca mutiny, and surround Murshid Quli Khan—Murshid Quli Khan behaves dauntlessly, pays up the troops and embarks them, and reports the affair to the Emperor—Emperor Aurangzeb threatens Asimu-gh-ghan, and orders the latter to quit Bengal and withdraw to Behar—Murshid Quli Khan removes with the Revenue officers from Dacca or Jahangirnagar to Makhmasatad, which he names after himself Murshidabad—The Mughal Special Intelligence Department, consisting of the 'Waziah-wazis' and 'Sawakh-wazis' described—Leaving Farrukhair as his Deputy in Bengal, Asimu-gh-ghan proceeds first to Mangir (Manghyr) and then to Patna, which he names 'Aimabad', and settles down there—Emperor Aurangzeb's fatal mistake in fighting against and crushing the Musalman Kingdoms of Golkondah, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur—The effacement of these Musalman kingdoms in the Dekhin resulted in letting loose the Mahatta freebooters and other adventurers that had, hitherto, no political existence—Mughal system of Revenue-accounts—Mughal Account-Officers—Emperor Aurangzeb appoints Murshid Quli Khan Deputy Nazim of Bengal, in addition to his office of Diwan—Mughal Revenue and Fiscal Officials described—Bestowal of the Deputy Nazim of Bengal on Murshid Quli Khan, as Deputy of Asimu-gh-ghan—Mini-towns in Bengal—Senkars land-taxation described—Amils (collectors of revenue), Shiqdars and Amins—Status of Zamindars described—Murshid Quli Khan prepares a perfect Revenue-Roll of Bengal and surveys lands in all the mahals of Bengal—Murshid Quli Khan's settlement and survey procedures described—Murshid Quli Khan gives tequl or taccavi or agricultural loans and advances, and encourages the peasantry to till their lands and improve agriculture—Murshid Quli Khan no believer in Permanent Settlements, and prefers Ryotwari to Farming Settlements—Islamic Revenue systems recognise the soil as State property, and allot a portion of its profit or produce to the actual tiller of the soil for his labour on it, and abhor the 'middle man'—The constitution of the surveying party and the Settlement procedure under the Mughal Emperors almost exactly analogous to the existing British Survey and Settlement Procedure—Murshid Quli Khan chastises the Zamindar of Bishenpur (or Vishnupur)—Asidallah Khan, Zamindar of Birbhum, munificent in his gifts and mudal-i-mash grants to scholars and saints—Rajahs of Tipra, Kugh Behar, and Assam all cowed in before the vigorous personality of Murshid Quli Khan—During Murshid Quli

Khan's Administration, no foreign incursions nor internal disturbance—In consequence, military expenditure reduced, and nearly abolished—Hindu Zamindars forbidden by Murshid Quli Khan to ride on palkis—Murshid Quli Khan strict and impartial in his administration of justice—To avenge the wrong done to another, Murshid Quli Khan in obedience to the Islamic law, executes his own son—Murshid Quli Khan harsh to defaulting zamindars—
 • Forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam only on the part of two
New-Moslem rulers in Bengal—Poddar or the Treasurer—Provision
of sending remittances of the Revenue to the Emperor—Some old
 industries and arts and manufactures in Bengal—Murshid Quli Khan
 secures from Emperor Aurangzeb title of 'Motamunul-Mulk Alan-d-
 daulah Jafar Khan Nasir Jang'—Imperial Mansabdars hearing of
 the prosperity of Bengal, seek for offices in Bengal—Nawab Saif
Khan appointed Faujdar of Purnah on recommendation of Em-
 peror Aurangzeb—Qanungo Darab Narain—Qanungo Shoo
Narain and Jai Narain—Ziau-d-din Khan, Faujdar of Hugli and
 Admiral of all the sea-ports on the coast of Ooromandel, a patron
 of the English merchants, dismissed by Murshid Quli Khan who
 with the Emperor's sanction brings the port of Hugli under his
 immediate authority, though hitherto it was independent of the
Sababdari of Bengal—Murshid Quli appoints Wali Beg as Faujdar
 of Hugli—The French, Dutch and English secretly support Ziau-
d-din Khan—Battle between Ziau-d-din and Wali Beg near Hugli
 —Ziau-d-din withdraws to Delhi—Kankar Bengali, his insolence
 to Nawab Jafar Khan; Jafar Khan's retort—Syed Akram Khan,
Diwan of Bengal, dies, and is succeeded by Syed Razi Khan, hus-
 band of Nadiah Khanam—The 'Balaunt' or 'Reservoir of filth' into
 which defaulting Zamindars were thrown—Insurrection of Sitarani
Zamindar of Mahmudabad (in Jessore or Jasur and murder of
Mir Abd Turab, Faujdar of Bhuna (formerly in Jasur or Jessore,
 now in Faizpur district)—Sitarani's residence at Muhammadpur
 or Mahmudpur, at the confluence of the Madhamati and Barasia
 rivers in Jasur (Jessore) district—Pir Khan, Mir Abu Turab's
 general, detailed to chastise Sitarani—On Mir Abu Turab's fall,
Hasan Ali Khan, son of a noble family, who had married
Murshid Quli Khan's wife's sister, appointed Faujdar of Bhuna—
Hasan Ali Khan captures Sitarani and his women and children,
 and sends them to Murshidabad to Nawab Jafar Khan (Murshid
Quli Khan) who hangs Sitarani, and bestows his camindari on
Ram Jivan—Emperor Aurangzeb dies, and his son Bahadur Shah
 succeeds him—Prince Asima-ah-shan sets out for the Imperial
 Capital—Prince Farrukh-sir comes to Murshidabad and is received
 with honour, and puts up at the Lal Bagh palace, as Nawab Jafar
Khan's guest—Nawab Jafar Khan remits the revenue of Bengal

to Emperor Bahadur Shah—Emperor Bahadur Shah dies, and is succeeded by his son, Jahandar Shah—Asim-shah killed—Asad Khan the Prime Minister and Amir-i-Umara Zulfiqar Khan—Farrukh-sir resolves, under the inspiration of his brave mother Bahado-n-Nissa, to fight for the Imperial Crown against Jahandar Shah—The Syed brothers espouse Farrukh-sir's cause—Farrukh-sir being displeased with Jafar Khan, appoints Rashid Khan to supersede Jafar Khan—Battle between Rashid Khan and Jafar Khan—Rashid Khan killed—Farrukh-sir defeats Emperor Jahandar Shah near Akbarabad or Agra, and ascends the Imperial throne—Jahandar Shah and the Amir-i-Umara slain—Accession of Emperor Farrukh-sir to the throne of Delhi—Nawab Jafar Khan sends presents and tribute to Emperor Farrukh-sir—Farrukh-sir confirms Jafar Khan as Nizam and Diwan of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa—On Jafar Khan's representation, Nagur Set's uncle and agent, Fath Ghand Sahib, was invested by the Emperor with the title of 'Jagat-Set,' and appointed Imperial Banker for Bengal—Jafar Khan purchases from his personal income Zamindari of Qis-mat Ghannakhali in Pargannah Kallurhab in the district of Murshidabad, names it Asadsagar after his maternal grandson, Mirza Asadullah Saif-ur-Raja Khan—Jafar Khan bestows the Deputy Governmentship of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) on Mirza Lutfullah, a son-in-law of Shuja-ud-din Khan, and gives him the title of Murshid Quli Khan—Emperor Farrukh-sir slain, and Sultan Rafi-ud-darajai raised to the throne by the Syed brothers—Rafi-ud-darajai dies and is succeeded by Rafi-ud-daulah—Rafi-ud-daulah dies, and is succeeded by Emperor Muhammad Shah—Nawab Jafar Khan sends to Emperor Muhammad Shah tribute and presents from Bengal—The Emperor bestows on the Nawab the Subahdari of Orissa in addition—Bengal free from Mahraita raids—Nawab Jafar Khan's quarrel with the Christian Danes who had erected a Factory at Banglabazar—The Danes though secretly supported by the French, expelled from Bengal—Ahmedullah Khan, Fanjdar of the port of Hughli—Shujaat Khan and Nijat Khan, Zamindars of Tonki Sarthapur (in Jessore or Jassar district)—Jafar Khan creates the office of Superintendent of Dacoity with spies under the latter—Jafar Khan confiscates the zamindari of Shujaat Khan and Nijat Khan, and settles it with Ram Jivan—Perfect peace and security in Bengal—Jafar Khan establishes Thana's or military police out-posts at Katwah Murshidganj, Puthal—Thieves, dacoits and robbers exterminated—Nawab Jafar Khan's (Murshid Quli Khan) character, conduct and policy—A copy of the Qomra transcribed by Nawab Jafar Khan by his own hand exists in the shrine of Mahdum Akhl Siraju-d-din at Sadi-1-lapur—Weekly price-current reports prepared—Rice sold at 5 or 6 madda per ruppee in Bengal—People eat poles and

gallies daily, spending only one rupee per month—People happy and comfortable—No exportation of food-grains permitted—A preventive officer appointed under the Faujdar of Hugli to see that ships in the harbour did not smuggle out food-grains from Bengal—Murshid Quli Khan has only one wife—Abstemious in habits, but allows himself the luxury of ice-water and ice-preserves—Mango culture in Bengal—Murshid Quli Khan strictly impartial in administration of justice—To avenge the death of an oppressed man, Murshid Quli Khan executes his own son, and obtains the title of 'Adulat-Gastar'—Qazi Muhammad Sharf appointed by Emperor Aurangzeb Qazi or Chief Justice of Bengal—Qazi Muhammad Sharf's remarkable integrity, and judicial independence—How Qazis or Judges and Magistrates were recruited, and how their judicial independence was safeguarded by Mussalman Emperors of India—Qazis subordinate only to the Shara or the Muhammadan law—A Police Superintendent of Hugli stoned to death under orders of Nawab Jafar Khan (Murshid Quli Khan) for enticing away the daughter of a Mughal citizen—Murshid Quli (Nawab Jafar Khan) erects a treasury, a Kutra or Tower, a Cathedral Mosque, a Monument and a Reservoir—Murshid Quli Khan proclaims Sarfaraz Khan as his heir, and dies—Nizamut of Nawab Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan—Sarfaraz Khan reports Nawab Jafar Khan's (Murshid Quli's) death to Emperor Muhammad Shah, and also to his own father, Shuja-ud-din Khan, who was Deputy Nazim in Orissa—Shuja-ud-din aspires to the Nizamut of Bengal, leaves his son Muhammad Taqi Khan as Deputy Nazim of Orissa at Katak (Cuttack) and marches swiftly to Bengal—Fighting between the father and the son avoided through the good offices and wisdom of the widowed Begam of Nawab Jafar Khan (Murshid Quli Khan)—Shuja-ud-din's character, conduct and policy—his humane treatment of the Bengal defaulting zamindars—Shuja-ud-din sends tribute and presents to Emperor Muhammad Shah—Nawab Shuja-ud-din's public works—Nawab Shuja-ud-din delegates the duties of the Nizamut of Bengal to a Council or Cabinet of Advisers, and himself pursues pleasures—Haji Ahmad, Rai Alamghand Diwan, and Jagat Set Fatehghand members of Nawab Shuja-ud-din's State Council in Bengal—Alamghand appointed Deputy Diwan of Bengal—Antecedents of Haji Ahmad and Mirza Bandi (afterwards Ali Vardi Khan)—Chief Administrative Officers in the beginning of the regime of Nawab Shuja-ud-din Khan—Quarrel between Shuja Quli Khan, Faujdar of Hugli, and the English, Dutch and French merchants—English goods seized, but afterwards released—Chief of the English factory at Qasimbazar agrees to pay three lacs as *nasar* to Nawab Shuja-ud-din Khan—Chief of the English factory in Calcutta remits the *nasar* to Nawab Shuja-ud-din Khan—

Behar added to the Bengal Satrapy by Emperor Muhammad Shah—Ali Vardi Khan appointed Deputy Governor of Behar by Nawab Shuja-ud-din—General Abdul Karim Khan, Ali Vardi's principal colleague—Ali Vardi chastises the Bonfarah tribes and subdues the zamindar of Rhojpur, Tikari, and Namdar Khan Main—Ali Vardi obtains for the Emperor Muhammad Shah title of "Mahabul Jung Bahadur"—Haji Ahmad, Ali Vardi, Alauddin and Jagat Set plot to bring about a rupture between the two sons of the Nawab (Sarfraz Khan and Muhammad Taqi Khan), in order to obtain personal advantages—Rupture between the brothers takes a serious turn, when Nawab Shuja-ud-din interposes, and Muhammad Taqi Khan departs for Katak, where he dies—Murshid Quli Khan (No. 11), son-in-law of Nawab Shuja-ud-din, and Deputy Nasim of Jahangirnagar or Dacca, appointed Deputy Nasim of Orissa—An account of Mir Habib, principal adviser of Murshid Quli Khan (No. 11) both in Dhaka or Dacca or Jahangirnagar, and in Orissa—Whilst at Jahangirnagar, during the regime of Nawab Shuja-ud-din Khan, Mir Habib, lieutenant of Murshid Quli Khan (No. 11) conquers Tiprah, which was henceforth named Raughanabad—Aga Sadak, zamindar of Patpasaac—Nurallah, zamindar of Pargannah Jalalpur—Murshid Quli (No. 11) receives the title of Rostam Jung—Mir Habib re-organises the administration and settlement of Orissa, and effects a surplus in its revenue—During the conflict between Muhammad Taqi Khan and Sarfraz Khan, the Rajah of Parasutani or Puri removes Jagunnath, the Hindu God, to across the Chilka lake—Rajah Dand brings back Jagunnath to Puri—Sarfraz Khan, Governor of Jahangirnagar, his Deputy-Governor being Ghalib Ali Khan—Jaswant Rai, the State Secretary at Jahangirnagar—Murad Ali Khan, Superintendent of the Nawarah at Jahangirnagar or Dacca—Rajjallah, clerk of the Dacca Admiralty—Mirza Muhammad Said, Faujdar of Ghoraghat and Rangpur and Knob Behar—Radharaman, zamindar of Birbhum—Karschand, zamindar of Bardwan—Nadir Shah's invasion of India—Shajaud-din or Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah dies, and is succeeded by his son, Nawab Sarfraz Khan—Nizam of Nawab Sarfraz Khan—Treachery of Sarfraz Khan's Councillers, Haji Ahmad, Jagat Set, and the Rai Ratan—Treachery of Ali Vardi Khan—Battle of Gherua—Sanguinary fight between Ali Vardi Khan and Sarfraz Khan—Sarfraz Khan killed—Decline of Moslem Bengal from this date—Nizam of Ali Vardi Khan—Ali Vardi Khan banishes to Dacca the Begams of Sarfraz Khan—Emperor Muhammad Shah's lament on the Bengal revolution—Ali Vardi's Personnel of Government—Ali Vardi wages war against Murshid Quli Khan II, Governor of Orissa, and bestows all important offices on his own relatives—Dardana Begam, the brave wife of Murshid Quli Khan II—Mirza Boqir, son-in-law of

Murshid Quli Khan II—Ali Vardi bestows the Governorship of Orissa on his nephew and son-in-law, Saulat Jang alias Said Ahmad Khan—Saulat Jang taken prisoner, and Mirza Baquir takes the command of Orissa—Ali Vardi's avenging expedition to Orissa—Mirza Baquir dies—Mir Habib, the Deputy of Murshid Quli Khan II, seeks help of the Mahrattas in order to invade Bengal—Mahratta incursions into Bengal, under the inspiration of Mir Habib—At length, peace concluded between Ali Vardi and Mahrattas—Ali Vardi dies—Ali Vardi's character—Ali Vardi succeeded by his maternal grandson Siraju-d-daulah—Nizamut of Nawab Siraju-d-daulah—Siraju-d-daulah's character and policy—His mistakes—Mohanlal, a Kyeth, appointed Chief Minister—Siraju-d-daulah's quarrel with Bajrallah leads to rupture with the English—Treachery of Mir Jafar, Dulab Ram and Jugut Set who invite over the English—Siraju-d-daulah's quarrel with Shaukat Jang, Pundar of Purniah—Siraju-d-daulah captures Calcutta, and names it Alinagar and leaves Manikghat as his prisoner—The English under Clive return to Bengal—The English re-take Calcutta, and defeat Manikghat—On the invitation of Mir Jafar, Dulab Ram and Jugut Set, the English under Clive march to Plassey—Battle of Plassey—Defeat and murder of Siraju-d-daulah—Nizamut of Jafar Ali Khan or Mir Jafar—Mir Jafar's and his son Mirab's cruelty to Siraju-d-daulah's mother and aunt, Ammah Begum and Ghazeti Begum, who are drowned—Miran suffers and receives retribution by being killed by lightning—Mir Jafar replaced by Mir Qasim—Nizamut of Nawab Mir Qasim Ali Khan—His character and policy—Mir Qasim removes his capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr—Mir Qasim's capture and fight with the English—Mir Jafar re-installed as Nazim of Bengal—Battle of Baksar—Grant of the Diwani of Bengal to the English by Emperor Shah Alam—Mir Qasim's adventures and death.

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TRANSLATION

OF THE

RIYĀZU-S-SALĀTIN OF GHULAM HUSAIN SALIM.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE KIND AND THE MERCIFUL !

Worlds of praise are due unto the palace of that World-Creator, who adorning this world by means of His hand of perfect power with the ornament of existence, has unfurled the Standard of Creatorship, and worlds of panegyric befit the shrine of that Supreme Author who has drawn by means of his brush of perfect art the portrait of Life in particoloured lines on the pages of Creation. He (God) is that Wise Sage, who has entrusted the affairs of the management of the world and the people of the world and the good and the right guidance of all classes to the persons of Sovereigns, and who has entrusted into the hands of authority of Sovereigns of this world, the reins of the opening and stoppage of the business of divers classes of mankind. He (God) is that Supreme Ruler of the Universe who, weighing the opening and stoppage of the affairs of mankind and the good and bad of Centre-Sitters in the circle of earth, in the scale of expediency of the world, has left in every clime and every country a ruler.

From the Cloud of His bounty, the garden of the world
is green.

From the zephyr of His generosity, the orchard of the
soil is green.

From the Colouring of the painter of His Creation,
Emerald becomes green in the centre of mine.

Praise unto Lord, High is His rank and His praise.

Universal is His bounty and generosity.

All praise is due unto His Beneficence !

And blessings full of white effulgence and sacred benedictions
are due unto all the messengers of the Palace of His bounty, that

ix, unto the Prophets, especially unto that Symbol of Mercy of the people of the world, that Herald of the Faithful, that Seal of the Prophets, that Pioneer of the better Path, that Bright Lamp of the right road, the *Raisul-Mutlak* of the creation of this world, the First-born: the Last-disclosed,¹ that is, the Pride of the Prophets, the Leader² of the Innocent, the Interceder on the day of Judgment, Muhammad the Chosen—Ahmad the Select; God's special mercy and peace be on him and his descendants, and the people of his sacred house, and on his successors and all his companions!

After God's and the Prophet's praise,³ this humble servant who is hopeful of the intercession of the Prophet, namely, *Ghulām Husain*, whose title is *Salim Zaidpuri*,⁴ so says that since some period, according to chances of time, he has been in the service of Mr. George Udny who is a gentleman of high position and high rank, of graceful character, of kind heart, mild disposition, praiseworthy deportment and great generosity, who is the *Hatim*⁵ of

¹ This has reference to the Muhammadan belief that the Nūr or light of Muhammad was the first thing created by God, and that all else followed, though the Prophet in bodily form was ushered into existence after all other prophets.

² This has reference to the tragic martyrdom of Husain and other members of the Fatimid family, who were all innocent, and whose ancestor the Prophet was.

³ Every Muhammadan book begins with the praise of God. This praise is called *ḥamd* in Arabic, and is followed by *Nat̃*, or praise of the Arabian Prophet.

⁴ *Ghulām Husain Salim Zaidpuri* is the author of the present historical work entitled the *Ḥis̃ṣṣa-s-Salāṭin*, or History of *Singha*. *Ḥabī Baksh* in his history "*Khurāshid Jahān Nūmā*" of which Mr. Beveridge has published lately an Analysis in the *Journals of the Asiatic Society*, has some notice of *Ghulām Husain*. He states that *Ghulām Husain* was of Zaidpur in Oudh, migrated to Mīldah in Bengal, and held the office of *Dāk Munshī* or Post Master there, under Mr. George Udny. Noticing the Charitable Dispensary at Mīldah, *Ḥabī Baksh* observes that here used to be the house of *Ghulām Husain*, and that in the quarter known as *Cak Qarībān A.Ḥ* is the tomb of *Ghulām Husain* who died in 1233 A.H. or 1817 A.C. The chronogram composed in honour of his memory by his pupil, *Abul Kāṣim*, *منشی زید عالم رفیع* which yields 1233. Mr. Udny appears to have been at that time Commercial Resident of the East India Company's factory at Mīldah.

⁵ *Hatim* was a Prince of Yemen, in Arabia. His generous hospitality is a by-word in the East.

the world of bounty, the Naushirwān¹ of the world of Justice, the Generous man of the age, and who is callous about popularity and praise—

May God always preserve his good fortune, and advance his rank, and elevate his position, and double his life and dignity!—and that he has been in the class of his servants, and has ever been and is still the recipient of his favours. In short, the excellencies-abounding and bounties-springing person of that mine of discernment, is unique and matchless in this age.

He is a paragon of all excellencies,

He is superior to all praise that can be conceived.

He is enlightened, sees through things aright, like old ages,

But he has the fortune, the age and the rank of manhood.

He weighs his words which are pregnant with meaning,

His two lips, like two palms, at the time of conversation,
are pearl-scattering.

The tray of his bounty is ready for the poor and the needy;

He always keeps gold and *dinār*² for the indigent.

(Inasmuch as his high mind is always pursuant of the study of histories and travels, and is seeker of all sorts of knowledge and accomplishments, in the year 1200 A.H. corresponding to 1786 A.C., his bent of noble mind turned towards seeking a knowledge of the lives and careers of past sovereigns and rulers who unfurling the standard of sovereignty over Bengal, the Paradise of Provinces,³ have now passed into the secret regions of Eternity. Accordingly, the order was given to this man of poor ability, that whatever he might gather from historical works, &c., he should compile in simple language, so that it might be intelligible to all, and might deserve the approval of the elite.) This

¹ Naushirwān was a King of Irān or old Persia. He flourished in the sixth century, and belonged to the Sassanian dynasty. His name was the famous Buzurjishah or Buzour, author of the Zafarnamah. Naushirwan's justice is proverbial in the world.

² Dinār, a gold coin weighing one misqal, i.e., 1½ dirhams. For details see Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I (Blochmann's Trans., p. 20).

³ Our author calls Bengal "Jannat-ul-bilād," or "Paradise of Provinces." I am not sure if there is any historical basis for this expression, as there is for the expression "Jannat-jahā" which latter epithet was bestowed by Emperor Humayun on Gaur in Bengal (see Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 201, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 123, and Badaoni, Vol. I,

ignorant man, of limited capacity, deeming the execution of the order of his master incumbent on himself, being the slave of order, has placed the finger of consent on the eye, and girded up the loin of effort and venture, collected sentence after sentence from every source, and for a period of two years has devoted himself to the compilation and preparation of this history. (And after completing it, he has named it *Riyāzu-s-Salāṭin*,¹ according to the date of its completion. It is hoped that this work may merit the approval of all persons of light. It is desired of people conversant with past times, that if they detect any mistake or oversight, they will overlook it, inasmuch as this humble man is not free from shortcomings, according to the saying "Man is made up of sins of commission and omission," and further, that, according to their capacity, they will correct the mistakes and defects, and if they cannot do so, they will be good enough to overlook them.

The plan of this work consists of an Introduction and Four Chapters.

(Its arrangement is as follows:—

(a) The Introduction consists of Four Sections.

Section I relates to a description of the state of poplunatuness of the country of Bengal, and of its boundaries and environs.

Section II relates to a description of certain characteristics of that country.)

p. 240). However that may be, Bengal well deserved to be styled "*Jannat-ul-bilād*" or "Paradise of Provinces," owing to the fertility of its soil, the richness of its produce, and the vastness of its natural resources. During Musalman rule, the Province of Bengal yielded the largest revenue to the Delhi Emperors, and in consequence its Vicerealty was always coveted by Princes Royal of Delhi, from so remote a period as the times of Emperors *Shamsuddin Allamsh* and *Chamsuddin Balban*—whose sons in succession ruled over Bengal, not to speak of later Moghal Princes Royal of Delhi. Under British rule also, Bengal Proper, including Assam, Behar and Orissa and Chittag Nagpur, forms the largest Administrative Division of India, contains one-third of the total population of British India, and yields a gross revenue of 17 or 18 millions sterling, or one-third of the actual revenues of the Indian Empire. It is worthy of note that the above expression is also used in Moghal Imperial (official) documents, vide J.A.S.B. for 1901, Vol. LXX, Part I, No. 1, pp. 21-22.

(1 "*Riyāzu-s-Salāṭin*." is a chronogram yielding date 1202 A.H., corresponding to 1768 A.C., the year in which this historical work was completed. "*Baugh*" in Persian means a "garden," its plural being "*Riyāz*" meaning, "gardens." "*Salāṭin*" means "Kings"; therefore, "*Riyāzu-s-Salāṭin*" means "gardens of Kings." It is a pity the author does not specify all the sources

Section III relates to a description of certain cities of that country.

Section IV relates to a brief sketch of the rule of the *Raids* of Hindustan.

Chapter I relates to a description of the rule of the Musalman rulers who as Viceroys held delegated authority over this country from the Emperors of Delhi.

Chapter II relates to a chronicle of the Musalman Kings who mounting the throne of Bengal, had the *Khutbah*¹ of sovereignty recited after their own names.)

of his history, but there is internal evidence to indicate that, besides consulting standard historical works, such as *Talqat-Nasri* by *Minhaj-a-Siraj*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* by *Ziaddin Barni* and by *Siraj Afif* (which contain references to the history of Bengal only for the period between 1198 to 1338 A.C.) and *Talqat-i-Akhari* by *Nizamuddin Ahmad* (which contains an account of Bengal for the period 1338 to 1538), the *Badaoni* and *Akbar-namah* by *Abul Fazi* (for the period under Akbar) and other similar standard historical works on India, such as the *Tuzuk*, the *Iqbal-namah*, the *Padaik-namah*, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and the *Nasir-i-Mamuri*, *Salim* had recourse also to other less known historical treatises relating to Bengal which are not perhaps now extant, and perhaps lay only in MSS. Our author now and then says 'I have seen in a little book,' and he also cites a historical compilation by *one Haji Mahammad of Qandahar*, of which no copy seems now to exist. Our author appears also to have taken considerable pains in deciphering old inscriptions on monuments, mosques, and shrines in Gaur and Panduah—old Musalman capitals of Bengal. This feature considerably enhances the value of his history, and gives it a superiority over other similar works, and places our author in the forefront of Bengal antiquarians and researchers. Indeed, *Ghulam Husain* is pre-eminently the Historian of Muhammadan Bengal, because other Muhammadan historians before or after him dealt only with certain periods of Bengal history, whilst our author's narrative comprises the history of Bengal from the earliest mythological period to the dawn of British rule, with a more detailed account of Muhammadan Rulers of Bengal. *Stewart's History of Bengal* is to a great extent based on the 'Riyaz' though *Stewart* very often has preferred the less accurate account of the *Daklin* historian, *Firights*, who flourished in the seventeenth century. The great Oriental scholar and antiquarian, *Professor Blochmann*, in his 'Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal' says: "The *Riyaz* is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal." *Professor Blochmann* further observes "for the early portions, *Ghulam Husain Salim* has used books which are unknown at present; yet he gives valuable dates which are often confirmed by collateral evidence. *Salim* has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District."

Source of 2148

¹ The *Khutbah* is a Musalman prayer-book recited on Fridays, 14 days, and

Chapter III relates to a description of the careers of the *Nāgims*¹ who were appointed to the *Nizāmat* of this country by the *Qaghātā'i*² or *Mughal* Emperors.

Chapter IV consists of two parts:—

Part I being descriptive of the arrival of the Christians, consisting of the Portuguese and the French, &c., in the *Dakhin* and in *Beṅgāl*.

Part II being descriptive of the domination of the English Christians over *Bengal* and the *Dakhin*.)

other special days and occasions. The recital of the *Khutbah* after *con's* a *mun* and the minting of coins, was regarded by *Musalman* sovereigns as emblems of sovereignty.

(*Sieima*—

The *Nāgims* were functionaries created by the *Mughal* Government or by *Shah* *Shah* (*Badshah*, Vol. I, p. 265). To each Province or *Sabak*, the *Mughal* Emperors appointed two Principal Heads of administration, one being the *Nāim* and the other being the *Diwān*. The *Nāim* was the Governor or Viceroy of the Province, he was the Executive and Military Head of the Province, and administered Criminal Justice; whilst the *Diwān*, though independent of the former and directly subordinate to the *Delhi* Emperor, held portfolio of the Finance, and was responsible for the revenue administration of the Province, and also occasionally administered Civil Justice. Thus there were two independent wheels in the machinery of Provincial administration. Under the *Nāgims*, there was a chain of subordinate officials, called *Naib Nāgims*, *Sorashkars*, *Faujḍars*, *Kotwāls* and *Thannāḍars* on the executive side, and under *Diwāns* on the judicial side, were *Qari-ul-Qazāt* (Chief Justice), *Qazis*, *Maffis*, *Mir Adils*, *Sadr*s presided over by *Sadr-i-Sadr*, and on the revenue side were *Naib* or local *Diwāns*, *Amils*, *Shiqḍars*, *Karkūns*, *Qanungos*, and *Patwārs*. The Judiciary, both Civil and Criminal, were often, however, independent of both *Nāgims* and *Diwāns*, and subordinate only to the Imperial *Sadr-i-Sadr* or *Sadr-i-Kul* or *Sadr-i-Jahān* (or Minister of Justice) at *Delhi*, who was responsible for good conduct to the *Mughal* Emperor himself. (See *Asiā*, Vol. II, p. p. 27-49, and do. Vol. I, p. 268.)

¹ *Qaghāl-Khān* was a son of *Gangis Khān*. Emperor *Bābur*, the founder of the *Mughal* dynasty in India, was descended on the mother's side from a nobler stock, that is, from *Qaghāl Khān*; hence the *Mughal* Emperors of India commonly styled themselves as *Qaghāl* Emperors in preference to 'Mughal' Emperors, the term 'Mughal' not being so honourable, in accordance with an accepted usage and principle amongst *Moslems* to refer back their lineage to the nobler side, whether paternal or maternal.

INTRODUCTION : CONSISTING OF 4 SECTIONS.

(SECTION I. A DESCRIPTION OF THE BOUNDARIES AND ENVIRONS OF THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.)

Be it known to the way-farers of the climes of travels and histories that the *Sūbah*¹ of Bengal is in the second climate.² From *Islāmābād*,³ otherwise known as Chittagong, to Teliagadhī,⁴ that is, from east to west, the length is 400 *Karoh*,⁵ and its breadth from north to south, that is, from the mountains in the north to

(¹ The name of *Sūbah* originated from the time of Emperor Akbar, who designated the fiscal areas as follows from the time of the ten-years' settlement:—A *Sūbah* was an aggregate of *Sarkars*, a *Sarkār* or Division was an aggregate of *Dastārs*, a *Dastār* (which Sir Henry Elliot in his *Glossary* explains as an abbreviation of *Dastār-i-Amīl*, corresponding to a district under a *Sarkār*) was an aggregate of *Parganas* or *Mahals* (used as equivalent expressions), and a *Pargana* or *Mahal* meant a fiscal division, the fiscal unit, coinciding with the dominions of a native chief under the Moghul dynasty. The words used before Akbar's time to denote fiscal divisions or tracts of country larger than the *Pargana*, were *Shaj*, *Khutab*, *'Arāq*, *Diār*, *Vilāyat*, *Iqtā*, *Bilād* and *Mamlakat*. Thus in the earlier Muslim histories before the end of the fourteenth century, we come across *Shaj-i-Sama*, *Khutab-i-Qadh*, *'Arāq-i-Gorakhpūr*, *Diār-i* or *Vilāyat-i-Lakhanūt*, *Vilāyat-i-Maun Daul*, *Iqtā-i-Kara*, *Bilād Bang*, *Mamlakat Lakhnauti*. See Elliot's *Glossary*, and *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 113, and *Tahqiq-i-Najiri*, pp. 148 and 263.)

² The Muslim astronomer and geographers divided the world into seven parts, to each of which they gave the name of *Iqlim* or climate.—See *Ain-i-Akbari* Jarrett's Trans., Vol. III, p. 43.

³ *Islāmābād* or Chittagong. The district was first conquered by the Independent Muslim Kings of Bengal. In 1350 A.C., about which year Ibn Batutah was in Chittagong, it belonged to King Fakhruddin of Sonargaon. It was re-conquered in 1665 by the Mughals under Umid Khān who changed the name of the place to *Islāmābād* during the rule of Nawab Shāista Khān, Viceroy of Bengal.—See Blochmann's contributions to History and Geography of Bengal and the *Alamgir-Namah*, p. 940, and the *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 125.

⁴ Teliagadhī or Teliagarhī is a pass lying between Rajmahal on the south, and the Ganges on the north; formerly of strategic importance, as commanding the approaches to Bengal Proper. The ruins of a large stone fort still exist, through which the E.I. Railway passes. See Hunt. Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, p. 236 and *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 119.

⁵ *Karoh* or *Kos*—*Ain* 16 says:—The *Kos* was fixed at 100 *tanahs*, each consisting of 50 *lathi* gas or 400 poles (*bars*), each pole of 12½ *gas*. Sher Shāh fixed the *Kos* at 60 *faras*, each of 60 *Sikantari gas*. A *faras* is equal to three *Kos*.—See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 414.)

Sulaha

Sarkār Madāran,¹ which is the southern limit of this Subah, is 200 Karoh. And since in the period of Jalāl-oddin Muhammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi, the Subah of Orissa was conquered by Kalāpahār² and annexed to the Empire of the Sovereigns of Delhi, and made a part of the Subah of Bengal, the extent of the latter Subah became extended by 43 karoh in length and by 20 karoh in breadth. In the southern limits of this Subah is the sea, and towards its north and east, are high mountains, and on the west, it adjoins the Subah of Behar. During the rule of Emperor Akbar, Isā Khān³ Afghān conquering the eastern provinces struck coin and recited Bihārī in the name of Akbar, and annexed it to the Subah of Bengal. There⁴ are twenty-eight

¹ Sarkār Madāran extended "in a semi-circle from Nagur in western Bīrkām over Beniganj along the Damodar to above Bardwān, and from there over Khundghosh, Jahanabad, Chandra-kom (western Hughli district) to Mandulghat, at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river, and consisted of 16 mahals with a revenue of Rs. 235,085."—See Blochmann's Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal and the *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. II, p. 141.

² Kālāpahār is the famous general of the Afghān King of Bengal, Sulaimān Kararīnī, and the renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannāth in Puri in south Orissa. Kālāpahār was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Masām and Qutb of Orissa and 'Arif Korah, which in 900 A.H., took place between Colgang and Gadhi. A detailed description of Kālāpahār's conquest of Orissa is given in the *Makhar-i-Afghānī*.—See *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. I, p. 370 and Vol. II, p. 128.

³ Isā Khān Afghān flourished in 'Bihārī' in the reign of Daulat, the last Afghān King of Bengal, and continued as 'over-lord' or 'Marahab-i-Bihārī,' as Abul Fazl in the *Āin* styles him, with twelve great Zemindars or princelings (known in those days as Bīr-i-Bihārī) under him, after annexation of Bengal by Emperor Akbar to the Mughal Empire. Isā's post was known as Masnad-i-Ālī, the existing Dīwan families of Haldighatpur and Jangubari in Mysenslagh district claim descent from Isā. "Bihārī" according to Abul Fazl extended 400 Kos from east to west, and 300 Kos from north to the ocean to the south; it thus included the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant defines "Bihārī" as including the Sundarban and all the neighbouring lowlands (even Bījely) overflowed by the tides. The Muslim historians never use the term Sundarban, but give the sea-board from Bījely to the Megna one name of 'Bihārī,' which signifies lowlands overflowed by tides.—See *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. I, p. 242, and J.A.S. No. 2, 1574, and No. 2, 1574 and *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. II, p. 117.

⁴ In the *Āin*, the Subah of Bengal is stated to have consisted of 24 Sarkārs including 787 mahals, and the revenue is stated to have been 50 Kruas 54 lakhs 69 thousand and 19 duns, equivalent to Rs. 14,951,482, 6-7. Its standing army, according to the *Āin*, consisted of 25,350 cavalry, 601,130

Sarkārs with eighty-seven mahals in this Subah! In past times, the fixed revenue of this Subah was fifty-nine *kror* eighty-four *lak*, fifty-nine thousand and three hundred and nineteen *dams*, which is equal to about one *kror* forty-nine *lak*, sixty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-two rupees and fifteen annas in *vicere* Rupees.) Twenty-three thousand three hundred and thirty cavalry, eight *lak*

infantry, 1,170 elephants, 4,290 guns, 4,400 boats. Remembering that the army was not generally paid in coin, but by bestowal of fiefs or military jagirs, even at this distance of time, it is not difficult to imagine how Bengal was overrun by colonies of Muslimān feudal barons.—See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 129 and Vol. I, p. 370.)

(ON THE FRONTIERS OF MUHAMMADAN HENGAL.)

(The text as well as the *Akbar-namah* and the *Iqbal-namah-i-Jahangiri* state that Bengal was bounded on the south by the sea, on the north by hills (that is, those south of Nepal, Sikkim, and Birmān), on the east by hills (that is, those of Chittāgong and Arakan), on the west by the Subah of Behar.) During the reigns, however, of the Independent Muslimān Kings (such as Hūyā Shāh, and Alauddīn Husain Shāh in 1502 and his son and successor Najm Shāh), the Muslimān Kingdom of Bengal was more extensive than its geographical limits, and included northern portions of Orissa or Jājnagar, Kach Behar, Kamrup, or Western Assam with portions of Eastern Assam, and the whole of Upper Behar (a Governor to represent the Bengal Muslimān King being posted at Hajipur opposite to Patna), and the eastern portions of South Behar including Sarkars Monghyr and Behar.—(See J.A.S. No. 3, 1873, pp. 221-222). The whole of Orissa was conquered and annexed to the Bengal Muslimān Kingdom in the reign of Salimān Karārān, the last but one Independent Muslimān Afghan King in Bengal.

When Bakhtiyār Khilji conquered Bengal, he ruled (ostensibly as Viceroy of the Muslimān Emperor at Delhi, Kutubuddin Aibak) over portions of Dinajpur, Malda, Rangpur, Nadia, Birbhūm, and Bardwan comprising what was then called Dyār-i-Lakhnauti, and also he held Behar (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 156). This state of things continued during the rule of his two immediate successors, when we find Hammūddīn Iwāz (a contemporary of Salāh Shamsuddin Altmash) extending the frontier eastward to the Brahmaputra and southward to the sea-board, and reigning as an Independent King under the title of Sulṭān Ghīyāuddīn (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 163). The *Tarikh Firās Shāhi*, p. 87 mentions that Emperor Bābbar in his pursuit of Muḥammadīn Tughral, had to go so far eastward as Samargan, which would appear to have been within the limits also of Tughral's Bengal Kingdom. Again, in 1350 A.C. when Ibn-i-Batṭiā was in Chittāgong, we find this important seaport was in the hands of King Fakhrūddīn of Samargan. As Mr. Thomas in his learned discussions on old coins of Bengal Muslimān Kings has suggested, it would seem that so early as the twelfth century there was free commercial intercourse between the south-eastern sea-board of Bengal and the Arab seaports

and one thousand and one hundred and fifty-eight infantry, one hundred and eighty elephants, and four thousand two hundred and six guns, four thousand and four hundred fleet of boats, constituted the standing army. Adjoining to the northern limits of Chittagong, is the tract of country ruled by the Rajah of Tipperah. It is an extensive country. The rulers of that country enjoy the title of Mānik, for instance Nyā Mānik. The nobles have the title of Narāin.¹ The Rajah of that place had one thousand elephants and two laks of infantry in his service.) Riding horses are not available. (Between the north and the west of Bengal, pointing more towards the north, is the province of Kūch Behār. Its length from east to west, from the beginning of Parganah Bhitarband,² which is included in the conquered provinces, to Pātāgāon,³ which is the limit of the tract of the Mūrang, is 55 kos, and its breadth from south to north, that is, from Parganah Najbāt, which is included in the conquered country, to Pūshākarpūr,⁴ which adjoins Khontāghāt,⁵ is fifty kos. This tract of country, in point of the sweetness of its water, and mildness and salubrity of its air, and

of Baghāid and Basorah; and it would seem it was this commercial Musalmān activity combined with superior martial and moral qualities that paved the way for Musalmān domination throughout Bengal.

Subsequently in the reign of Ghisāuddin Taghāk Shāh, we find the Bengal Musalmān Kingdom has grown so extensive and unwieldy, that we find him separating Behar from Bengal, and placing it under an independent Governor, whilst Bengal itself for purposes of convenient administration was divided into three different sections, viz.: (1) Diyār-i-Sanargāon, comprising Eastern Bengal, (2) Diyār-i-Sāitgāon, comprising Western Bengal, and (3) Diyār-i-Lakhnāuti, comprising Northern and Central Bengal. A Governor was appointed to each of the above three administrative Sections or Divisions, the Governor of Lakhnāuti being the Supreme Governor or Viceroy, whilst the two other Governors were placed generally in subordination to him (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāh, p. 451). But this state of things did not last long; for in the reign of Muhammad Shāh Taghāk (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāh, p. 480) Bengal again rose as an independent Musalmān Kingdom, and as has been mentioned above, the whole of Upper Behar with eastern portions of Southern Behar was again annexed to the Bengal Kingdom, whilst Orissa also was subsequently added to it. This state of things continued until Akbar came to the throne, when Bengal, with Behar and Orissa, was annexed to the Mughal Empire of Delhi. See *Ibtisāt-i-Nagari*, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāh, *Atkarnamah*, Ibn-i-Batutah's Travels and Mr. Thomas's "Initial Coinage of Bengal," J.A.S.B., No. 1, 1867 and No. IV, 1873 pp. 221-222 and 243.

¹ The same in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. 2, p. 117.

² For identification of these places see J.A.S., 1872, p. 49.

the comfort of its inhabitants, is superior to all the eastern tracts of Hindustān. Large oranges thrive here, and other fruits also grow in abundance. The tree of pepper grows there, its root is thin, and its branches creep over ponds. Its ear, like the ear of grapes, hangs down from the branches. (Its inhabitants belong to two tribes, namely, Makh and Kūj,¹ its Rājah is of the first tribe. They mint gold coins, and the coins are called Nāraini. Notable Rājahs have ruled there. One lak and one thousand infantry are always in the service of the Rājah.)

And the country of Kāmṛp which is also called Kāmṛ² or Kāmtāh is subject to those Rājahs. The inhabitants of Kāmṛp are good-looking, and in magic raise the standard of mastery; and many incredible stories are related regarding them. In respect of the flora of that place, it is said that the scent of the flowers continues as fresh as before, some months after their being plucked, and that with these necklaces are made, and that by cutting trees a sweet liquid is obtained, and that the mango-tree trails like a climbing vine over ponds, and produces mango-fruit; and other similar stories are related.

And the mountain of Bhūtān, which is the abode of the Bhūtiāhs, lies to south of Kūch Behār. Tūngan³ horses and Bhūt and Bari horses and the musk-deer are found in this mountain. In the

¹ In *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 156, "Mach" and "Koch." See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 49; *Alamgirnamah*, p. 683; *Albarnamah*, p. 207. *Tarikh* p. 147, and *Padshahnamah*, p. 64, Vol. II.

² Kāmṛp (in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 163, Kāmṛid) included the Western portion of Assam together with the Bengal Districts of Rangpūr, Rangmati (now in Goalpara District) and Sylhet. It was first conquered by Muslims in the reign of Husayn al-Din Iwaz alias Sultan Ghiasuddin, an immediate successor of Bakhtiyār Khilji, in the early part of the thirteenth century. (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 163). At the close of the fifteenth century, its Rājah Nubamhar was overthrown by Hussain Shah, King of Bengal. In ancient days, Kāmṛp was noted for its sorcery and the beauty of its women. Rangpūr is stated to have been founded by Bakhtiyār Khilji, during his expedition into Tibet.— See also J.A.S. for 1872, p. 49; *Alamgirnamah*, p.p. 678 and 720, makes it equivalent for Hoja (Koch Hoja) Ganhari and dependencies.

³ "Tangistan" is the general name for that assemblage of mountains which constitute the territory of Bhutan, "tanga" meaning 'dofles.' Abul Fazl also mentions these 'Tangian' horses. He states: "In the lower parts of Bengal near to Kuch, a species of horse is produced called Tangian." The *tungan* pony is usually 13 hands high and short bodied, deep in the chest, and very active.

centre of this tract, a river runs between two rocks, its breadth is small, but it is very deep, and its current is strong. An iron-chain is put across the top of the river, and its ends are affixed to pieces of rocks on the two sides of the river, and a second chain is put over the first chain at a distance, equal to the height of a man. Pedestrians cross the river by placing their feet on the lower chain, and seizing with their hand the upper chain. And what is stranger is that horses and all other loads and baggage are ferried across this river along this very chain. The people of this tract are ruddy-complexioned and fat; their hairs fall hanging down their heads and necks. Their dress consists of only one rag, just sufficient to cover the private parts. Men and women of this place dress in the same manner. The pronunciations in their language resemble those of the people of Kūsh Behār. It is said that mines of turquoise-stone also exist in this mountain.

Between the north and the east of the country of Bengal, bordering on the tract of Kamrūp, is the vilāyat or province of Aśhām (Assam). In its middle, the river Brahmaputrā flows from east to west. Its length from west to east—that is, from Gowahati to Sadiah—is about two hundred karoh or kos, and its breadth from north, that is from the rocky fastnesses of the tribes of Marī, Majmī, Daphla and Valandah,¹ to the hills of the Nāngā tribe, is approximately seven or eight days' journey. Its southern mountains adjoin lengthwise the mountains of Kāśmīr, Kachar and Kashmir,² and breadthwise they adjoin Aṭṭān or Aṭwān, the abode of the Nāngā tribe. Its northern mountain skirts lengthwise the lofty ridges of Kamrūp, and breadthwise it faces the

1 Tribes of Marī, Majmī, Daphla, and Valandah and Nag.—Vālandah or Landah tribe has been identified with the Akas tribe.

All these tribes belong to the Non-Aryan Tibet-Burman stock, which have clung to the skirts of the Himalayas, they crossed into India by the north-eastern passes, and in pre-historic times they had dwelt in Central Asia, side by side with the ancestors of the Mongolians and the Chinese. The principal types of the Tibeto-Burman stock are the following—(1) Gacharis, (2) Garos, (3) Tipuras or Mraog, (4) Bhutiyas, (5) Garungs, (6) Marmis, (7) Nowsars, (8) Lepchias, (9) Miris, (10) Akas, (11) Mijmias, (12) Nags, (13) Daphlas.—See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 70. Col. Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal" and also description of Assam and the Assamese in *Alongjirumah*, p. 722.

² This seems to be a copyist's mistake for "Ganagar hills" (see J.A.S. 1872, p. 761). The *Alongjirumah* has Brangar! p. 722.

mountains of the Valandāh tribe. The tract in the north of the river Brahmapūtra, from Gowāhātī to the abodes of Mari and Majmī tribes, is called Ūttarakūl; and the extent of the Dakṣiṇakūl is from the country of Naktirān¹ to village Sadiāh. The climate of the lands bordering on the Brahmapūtra is for foreigners poisonous. For eight months the rainy season prevails, and the four months of winter are not free from rain. And the flowers and fruits of Hindūstān and Bengal are available here; and besides these, others are found which are not to be had in Hindūstān. Wheat, barley, and pulse are not grown, but the soil is fit for cultivation of all kinds. Salt is scarce and dear, and what is procurable from the defiles of some of the rocks is bitter and brackish. The fighting cocks of that country do not turn back face from enemies; though the adversary may be strong and big, they fight so much that the brain of the head becomes disturbed and they die. Large well-formed elephants abound in the wilds and the mountains. And plenty of deer, wild-goats, and wild-cows, and the horned fighting rams are also to be found. In the sands of the river Brahmapūtra, gold is found; twelve thousand Assamese are employed on this work. Every year one *talā* of gold per head is paid into the Rājah's treasury. But the gold is not quite pure, so that one *talā* of gold sells for eight or nine rupees, and silver and gold coins are minted in the name of the Rājah, and shells are current, but copper pice is not in use. Musk-deer is found in the mountains of Ashām. The bladder of musk is large, and full of large pieces of musk, and is beautiful-looking. The aloes-wood, which grows in the mountains of Kāmrup and Sadiāh and Lakhūgirah, is heavy and full of scent. No tax is levied from its subjects. From every house, out of every three persons, one person has to serve its Rājah, and in serving him, shows no laxity, and if laxity is visible, he is killed. The Rājah of that place dwells in a lofty building, and does not put his foot on the ground, and if he places his foot on the ground, he is deprived of his *raj*. And the people of this country have a false notion that their progenitors were in heaven, and that at one time fixing a ladder of gold they came down to the earth, and that since then they have dwelt on earth. Hence the Rājah is called Sarg— and 'Sarg' in the Hindi language means 'heaven.' And

¹ "Naktirān" or "Naktirānī" has been identified with Deshrān, a pergunna of Kāmrup.—See J. A. S. for 1872, p. 76.

the Rājahs of that country are powerful and notable. It is said that when the Rājah of that place dies, his servants, male and female, with some conveniences and necessaries, and carpets and clothes and victuals together with a *chiragh* full of oil, are placed with him in a sepulchral monument, securely covered over with strong logs of wood.¹

And adjoining to Assam (Ashām) is Tibet, and adjoining Tibet, are Khata and Mchian.² The capital of Khata is Khān Baligh,³ which is at a distance of four days from the sea. It is said from Khān Baligh to the seashore, a canal has been dug, and both sides of it have been solidly embanked. And in the mountains to the east of Ashām towards Utsarakūl, at a distance of fifteen days' journey, the tribes of Mari and Majmī dwell. In that mountain black deer and elephants are bred. Silver, copper and tin are procured from those mountains. The habits of those tribes (of Mari and Majmī) resemble those of the Assamese, and in beauty and refinement their females are superior to the women of Assam. They have a great horror for the gun, in regard to which they say: "It is a wicked thing, it shouts out, but does not move from its place, and an infant comes out of its belly, and kills human beings."

And between the south and east of Bengal, is situate a large tract called Arghang (Arracan);⁴ Chittagong adjoins it. The male elephant abounds there, horses are scarce, and camels and asses can be had at high prices. And cows and buffaloes are not to be found there, but there is an animal resembling cows and buffaloes, and of brown colour, which yields milk. Their religion is distinct from Islām and Hindulām. Barring their mothers, they can take all other women for their wives; for instance, a brother may marry his sister. And the people never remiss in their obedience to the authority of their sovereign and chief whom they style

¹ "The account of the burial of Ahom magnates is confirmed by recent disclosures of desecrated graves."—See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 32, footnote.

² China was long known to Asiatics under the name of Khatal or Khata or Khata and Mchian.

³ Khān Baligh is the name given to Peking; it means the Court of the Great Khan. See D'Herbelot and Yule's *Marcopolo*.

⁴ Arracan or the Magh country included Chittagong till a late period; it formed a great Buddhist Kingdom, whilst adjoining it on the north was the Hindu Kingdom of Tipperah.—See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 940, where also Arracan is called "Rakhang," and its inhabitants are called "Maghs."

'Wali' are always firm in their allegiance to him. Women-soldiers turn out at *darbets*, whilst their husbands stay at home. The inhabitants are all black in colour, and their males do not keep beards.

And adjoining to the country of Arkhang, is situate the country of Pegu,¹ between the south and east of Bengal. And the military force of that country consists of an elephant-corps and infantry. White elephants are found in its jungles, and on its boundaries are mines of minerals and precious stones; owing to this, enmity exists between the Piguans and the Arkhangians.

And bordering on this tract is the country of Mag.² The inhabitants are so many animals dressed up in human forms. They eat every animal of the earth and the sea that is procurable. They spare no animals. Their religion and law are all unsound. And they marry their sisters, born of different mothers. And the pronunciations of their language are similar to those of the people of Tibet.

(And in the southern limits of Bengal, is situate the vilayet of Odisah (Orissa). From Lāndahdālāl to Mālwah and the passage of the Chilkah lake, are its limits. In the period of the sovereignty of Sultān Jalālu-d-din Mahammad Akbar Padshāh (Ghazi), this country being conquered by Kālāpahār was entered in the Diwan-i-Akhari and annexed to the Nizāmat of Bengal. And its short account is this, that Kālāpahār,³ who was one of the nobles of Bāhar and who was bold and could work miracles, under order of Mahammad Akbar Padshāh, engaged in conquering that country with 12,000 select cavalry.) Rājah Mahamad Dvo,

¹ Pegu is now a division of British Burmah comprising the districts of Rangoon, Bhamo, &c.

² The Maghs and Arracanans were one race, their country being Arracan or Arkhang. They made constant raids in fleets of armed boats up the rivers of South-Eastern Bengal. During the Viceroyalty of the Maghal Viceroy of Bengal at Dacca, Nawab Shajista Khān, these raids were considerably checked, and several of the Magh fleets were captured at the mouth of the Megna River, and the fort of Chittagong was also re-taken. The Maghs were also expelled from the island of Sandip. A large number of Magh settlers are to be found still in Chittagong, Bakarganj, Noakhali and Tipperah. Though originally Buddhists, they have now intermixed with the people, and have become Hinduised or semi-Hinduised.—See *Atangienmah*, p. 940.

³ The first Muhammadan incursions into Jajnsagar or Northern Orissa appear to have taken place about 1204 A.C. under Mahammad Shihān, an officer of

the ruler of that country, was very luxurious and given to indolence and ease. For six months he admitted the public to his audience, and attended to the management of the affairs of his country, and for six months he gave his body rest, and went to sleep. And if anyone awoke him during his period of slumber, he was sure to be killed. When the news of the arrival in that country of Kālāpahār with the Imperial forces, came to the ear of the Rajah, he built the fort of Bārahbāṭī,¹ which is a strong fort, for his security, and entrenched himself in it. And placing

Bakhtiyar Khilji, and subsequently under Hussamuddin Iwan, Tughan Khān, and Tughra (see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 157, 163, 244, 262). Under Humayun Shāh Ismail Ghazi invaded also Jajnapur or Orissa, sacked the capital Cuttack and successfully stormed the holy city, Puri (see J.A.S. 1874, p. 316 and *ibid.* 1872, p. 335). The complete defeat of the Hindus took place in 1267-68 A.D., when Solaiman Karamani, King of Bengal, with a large army under his famous General Kālāpahār advanced into Orissa and defeated the last independent Rajah Mahend Des under the walls of Jajpur and Kutak. When subsequently in Akbar's time the Afghan Kingdom of Bengal was supplanted by the Mughuls, the Afghans in large numbers migrated into Orissa. In 1575 A.D., a great battle took place between Mughuls and Afghans at Rajahmura, Badami (p. 193) at Mughalauri, near Jaleswar in Balasore, in which Daud, the last Afghan king, was defeated, and Orissa practically shortly after (1592 A.D.) became a Mughal Province, administered by the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal. In the Ain, Abul Fazl mentions that the Hindu rulers of Orissa had the title of *Gajpati*, or Lord of the Elephants. In the time of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan, Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, Orissa became the hunting-ground of Mahratta free-booters. The struggles between Ali Vardi and the Mahrattas are graphically described in the *Shirazi Miratkhân*. (See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, *Akbarnamah* and *Makhar-i-Afghan*) Jajnapur is mentioned by Badami I, p. 232, as having been subdued by Ilugh Khān in 1223 A.D. or 723 A.H., in *Alauddin Tughlak's* reign, and is mentioned as having been subdued in 1360 A.D., by Firuz Shah Tughlak, Badami I, 248 and *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by *Shams Seraj*, p. 115. *Seraj* mentions that the idol of Jagannath was carried off to Dalki by Firuz Shah (p. 116).

¹ In the *Shirazi Miratkhân* it is called Barikbati. The fort of Barikbati is on the south bank of the Mahanadi river, opposite to the city of Cuttack; it is now in ruins. The following description of it is translated and summarised by me from the *Sair*—"The fort Barikbati with the city of Cuttack is situate on the strip of land lying between the rivers Mahanada and Kathajuri... The fort is on the bank of the Mahanada, and the circumference of its enclosing rampart is about three *Kros*. The rampart is built of stone, brick, lime and cement, and a wide moat runs round the rampart. The city of Cuttack is situate on the banks of the Kathajuri river, and the distance between this fort and the city is about two *Kros*..."

proper forces for encountering the enemy, he himself, according to his old habit, went to sleep. Kālāpahār, by successive and numerous lightings, vanquished the Rajah's forces, and brought to his subjection the entire dominion of Odisah (Orissa), so much so that he carried off the Rani together with all household goods and chattels. Notwithstanding all this, from fear of being killed, no one was bold to wake up this drunkard of the sleep of negligence, so that Kālāpahār had his hands free. After completing the subjugation of the entire country, and investing the Fort of Bārahbāṭi, which was his (the Rajah's) place of sleep, Kālāpahār engaged in fighting. The officers and employees of the Rajah¹ summoning his clarion-players communicated the news of the whole affair through the reed of the clarion. When the news about Kālāpahār went to the ear of that fortune-asleeper on the bed of sleep, which is brother of death, considering this affair as the event of the Day of Judgment, like the sleepers in graves, from the sound of the trumpet, sprang confounded from the sleep of oblivion, and making the movement of a slaughtered animal, devoted his head to the swords of the warriors of Islām. The country of Orissa and the fort of Bārahbāṭi being subjugated, were added to the dominions under the sovereignty of the Mussalman Emperors. The firm Muhammadan religion and the enlightened laws of Islām were introduced into that country. Before this, the

¹ This was Rajah Mukund Deva, Haricandara, who reigned from 1560 to 1568. Mukund Deva was a Telugu by birth. In 1564-65 A.C. a treaty was concluded between Emperor Akbar and the Rajah, preceded by mutual despatch of ambassadors on both sides (see Badoni p. 76, wherein it is stated that Hasan Khan Khasanah and Mahapatir were sent by Akbar as ambassadors to the Rajah of Orissa). As mutual jealousy prevailed between Mughals and Afghans, this political measure was adopted by Akbar, in order to serve as a counterpoise to the ambition of the Mussalman Afghan King of Bengal, Sulaiman Karrani, who had planned to extend his Bengal Kingdom by annexing Orissa and also to prevent the latter from helping Akbar's rebellious Governor of Tampiur, named Khan Zaman. Finding shortly after Akbar engaged in wars in the west, Sulaiman Karrani, the King of Bengal, attacked the Orissa Rajah, who had come close to the Ganges; the Rajah fled to Fort Kotuma. The Bengal King detached a force under Kālāpahār, his general, to Orissa across Mayurbhanja and thence southward by the Kanabasa river. Kālāpahār ravaged Orissa, defeated the Rajah's deputy, and shortly after the Rajah himself was killed, and Muhammedans finally conquered Orissa in 1568 A.C. After conquering Orissa, Sulaiman Karrani (who reigned from A.C. 1563 to A.C. 1572) left his Yashir, Khan Jahan Lodi, as Viceroy of Orissa with headquarters at Cuttack, and Qasbi as Governor at Par. (Badoni II, 174).

Musulman Sovereigns exercised no authority over this country.¹ Of the miracles of Kālāpahār,² one was this, that wherever in that country, the sound of his drum reached, the hands and the feet, the ears and the noses of the idols, worshipped by the Hindus, fall off their stone-figures, so that even now stone-idols, with hands and feet broken, and noses and ears cut off, are lying at several places in that country. And the Hindus pursuing the fable, from blindness of their hearts, with full sense and knowledge, devote themselves to their worship!

It is known what grows out of stone :

From its worship what is gained, except shame ?

It is said at the time of return, Kālāpahār left a drum in the jungle of Kāonjhār, which is lying in an upset state. No one there from fear of life dares to set it up : so it is related.

And Jaggannāth, which is a big temple of the Hindus, is in this Sābah. It is said when the Hindus reach Parsūtām, where Jaggannāth is, in order to worship Jaggannāth, first they shave their heads like Mussalmans, and at the first door of the house of Shāikh Kabīr,³ who was a great saint of his time and whose parents were weavers, they eat and drink his food and water,

¹ This is not strictly correct. See note 7, p. 3 ante.

² Professor Blochmann has surmised that Kālāpahār was originally a Hindu who embraced Islam, from the circumstances that his proper name was Raja. Mr. Beveridge in his *Analysis of Khurshid Jahān Numa* has followed in Professor Blochmann's wake. I see no warrant for this surmise. The *Makhdun-i-Afghānī* and the *Akbar-namah*, contemporary records, would not have failed to notice this fact, if it were so ; for it would have been a matter of additional exaltation to the Mussalman historians. The text describes him as one of the "Omrah of Bahar"; and Bahar never dreamt of the policy of his grandson, Akbar, to employ Hindus in high military capacities or to make them his "Omrah." Furthermore, the name Raja is current amongst Mussalmans. (See Blochmann's *dis.*, Vol. I, which mentions the Syed Raja of Barha and Badāmi, p. 333, Vol. 2, and *dis.*, Vol. 2, p. 371); Badāmi, too, in the *Muntakhab-i-Tawarikh* (p. 42, Vol. 1), mentions Kalāpahār as a brother of Sikānder Shāh (alias Ahmad Khan Sār of Shāh Shāh's family) who occupied Bihar as viceroy under Akbar. (The *Makhdun-i-Afghānī* gives a full description of Kalāpahār's conquest. He was killed in 1582 A.C. in a fight with Asir Kokab between Colcong and Rajmahal.)

³ Shāikh Kabīr flourished about the beginning of the 15th century during the rule of independent Mussalman Kings in Bengal. He was the leader of a great thiafsin movement, the object in view being to harmonise Mussalman and Hindu religions, and to teach votaries of both the great religions of India that they were after all children and worshippers of one God, that the Allah

which is called in the language of that country *tarbat*. After having done so, they proceed to worship their God of Jaggaunnāth. At Parsūtam, Hindus unlike their practice elsewhere, eat together with Mussalmans and other races. And all sorts of cooked food sell in the *bazar*, and Hindus and Mussalmans buy them and eat together and drink together.



SECTION II.—DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL

Be it known to the appraisers of the pearls of past chronicles that most of the historians have narrated that when Hām, son of Noh (Noah) the prophet (may he be in peace!), with the permission of his holy father, set himself to colonize the south, he girded up his loin for accomplishing this, and deputed his sons—the first of whom was Hind, the second Sind, the third Habash, the fourth Zansj, the fifth Barbar, and the sixth Nubah—in all directions on colonizing expeditions. And the tract that each of them colonized was called after him. The eldest son, Hind, having come to the country of Hindūstān, it was so named after him. And Sind in the company of his elder brother, having set himself to colonize the tract of Sind established himself there, and that was named after him. But Hind had four sons, the first was Pirab, the second was Bang, the third was Dakin, and the fourth was Naharwāl. And every tract that was colonized by each, is still called after him. And Dakin, son of Hind, had three sons, and the country of Dakin was parcelled between them. Their names were Marhāt, Kanār, and Talang; and Dakhiyans are all descended from him, and up to this time all the three tribes dominate there.

And Naharwāl had three sons, namely, Babruj, Kanoj and Mālraj. After them cities were also named.

of Mussalmans is the Parmeshur of the Hindus, that they ought to be tolerant of each others creeds, and to regard each others as fellow-brethren. The labours of Kabir may be placed between 1380 and 1420 A.C., and reflect not only credit on him, but illustrate what ethical and spiritual progress took place amongst the people of India under the impact of Islām. It may be added that on Kabir's death, both Hindus and Mussalmans claimed his body; so catholic and liberal was he in his views. This great theistic movement set on foot by Kabir, received expansion in the following century by the labours of Chaitanya, the Nadda leader of Vishnuism, in Bengal who flourished in the reign of Sultan Alan-d-din Husain Shāh, King of Bengal.

And Pārah, who was the eldest son of Hind, had forty-two sons; and, within a short time, their descendants multiplied and colonized different countries, and when they became numerous, they raised one of themselves to be the chief and to look after the management of the realm.

And Bang, the son of Hind, getting children born to him, colonized the country of Bengal. The name of Bengal was originally Bang. And the reason why the word *al* was added to it, is this: *al* in the Bengali language means an 'embankment' or raised ground, which is placed round a garden or cultivation, so that floods may not enter it. As in ancient times, the chieftains of Bengal on lowlands which were situated at the foot of hills, used to raise mounds about ten cubits high and twenty cubits broad, and to make homes, cultivations, and buildings within them, people used to call this country Bāngalāh.¹ The climate of Bengal is temperate, and owing to proximity to the sea and owing to heavy rains, is very damp. The rainy season begins from the month of Urdi Bihisht,² which in Hindi is called *Jast*, and for six months the rains continue; this is unlike other parts of Hindūstān, where rains set in from the middle of the month of Khurdād, which the Hindus call *Asār* and last till Shahrivar which Hindus call *Asin*, for four months. In the rainy season, the lowlands of Bengal get flooded, and the climate becomes bad, especially towards the end of the rainy season. Human beings as well as animals become sick and die. The soil contains much damp, so that in many places they build two-storeyed buildings, made of lime and brick. Notwithstanding that they make the floor of lime and brick, the lower rooms are not fit for habitation, and if any one lives there he soon falls sick. And owing to excessive humidity, the soil of Bengal has much power of sprouting, for instance, some sorts of paddy, in proportion to the rise of water, so long as they are not inundated, shoot

¹ Abul Fazl similarly in the *Ain-i-Akbari* explains the origin of the term *Bangalah*. (See *Jar. Tr.*, p. 115, Vol. II). In the *Tahqiq-i-Najm*, the expression "Bang" is invariably used. In the *Turikh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, the expression "Bangalah" or "Bengal" is used.

² The Persian Calendar consists of twelve solar months, named (1) Farvardin (March), (2) ArdiBehasht (April), (3) Khordad (May), (4) Tir (June), (5) Mordad (July), (6) Shahrivar (August), (7) Mīhr (September), (8) Abān (October), (9) Adār (November), (10) Dī (December), (11) Bahman (January), (12) Sefendehmas (February). See Richardson's *Pers. Dict.* and also Ameer Ali's *History of Persia*, p. 316.

forth higher up and their ears do not sink under water, and similarly from one paddy-seed two or three seers of paddy are obtained in the case of certain sorts of paddy. And most of the lands grow three crops in a year. And the crop of that country is all paddy, whether fine or coarse. Other crops, such as wheat, barley and pulse, &c., are scarce. And strange to say the paddy crop grows in so much abundance that it needs not the rains in dry months nor the water of wells and rivers. But in cases of drought in the rainy season, the paddy crop is totally destroyed.)

The dwellers in villages are loyal and submissive to their rulers, and unlike the Zemindars and tenants of other provinces of Hindūstān, they do not fight with their rulers. They pay in the land revenue of each year in eight instalments in eight months, and the tenants personally pay their rents at the *Kucheri*. The appraisement of each crop is based on *nasaq*¹—and *nasaq* is a document which remains with the *mukharir*² and the *patwari*³ and the *Karkun*,⁴ with the seal of *amit*. But in affairs relating to bargains of giving and taking and purchases and sales and other worldly matters, no race in all the four quarters of the globe is equal to the Bengalis in wickedness, duplicity, knavery and villainy. They do not consider loans repayable, and the promises which they pledge to perform in one day, they do not fulfil in one year. And the food of the natives of that kingdom, from the high to the low, are fish, rice, mustard oil and curd and fruits and sweetmeats. They also eat plenty of red chilly and salt. In some parts of this country, salt is scarce.) The natives of this country are of shabby tastes, shabby habits and shabby modes of dress. They do not eat breads of wheat and barley at all. Meat of goats and fowls and clarified-butter do not agree with their system. And there are many amongst them who, if they eat the same, cannot digest them, and vomit them out. The dress of both males and females,

(1) Graphic descriptions of families in India in past times will be found in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Badauni*, and the *Munir-i-Alamgiri*.)

(2) Abul Fazl in the *Ain* says:—"The harvesters are always abundant, measurement is not insisted upon, and the revenue demands are determined by estimate of the crop. His Majesty Emperor Akbar in his goodness has confirmed this practice." (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, pp. 121-122.)

(3) "Mukharir" is a clerk.

(4) "Patwari" = Village Accountant.—This functionary flourishes even now.)

(5) "Karkun" was a superior over village patwaris,—he was an Imperial officer in charge of the accounts of a *pargana*. The "Karkuns" were in turn supervised by 'Amils' in charge of an aggregate of *parganas* or a

of both the upper and lower classes, consists of one strip of cloth just sufficient to cover the private parts. The males wear one white strip of cloth, called generally a *dhoti*, which is tied from below the navel down to the leg, and a small turban about two or three cubits long is tied on the side of the head, so that the whole skull of the head and the hair are visible. And the females wear one strip of cloth called a *sari*, half of it is wrapped round from below the navel to the leg, and the other half being drawn across a side is thrown down the neck. They are bareheaded, and do not wear any other cloth; nor do they wear shoes and stockings. Both males and females daily rub mustard oil over their bodies, and bathe in tanks and rivers. The Bengali females do not observe *purdah*, and go out of their houses for the performance of evacuations and other household duties. And the wildness and habitation of this country are similar, in that the people erect huts of thatch, made up of bamboos and straw. Their utensils are generally earthen, and few are of copper. Whenever quitting one place they migrate to another, straightway they erect a thatched hut, similar to their former one, and collect earthen utensils. Most of their habitations are in jungles and forests, so that their huts are encircled with trees. And in case one of the huts catches fire, all the huts are burnt down, and after the conflagration they get no trace of their habitations, except through trees which surrounded their huts. Most of them travel by water, especially in the rainy season, in which season they keep boats, small and large, for journeys and for going to and fro. For travelling by land, they have conveyances, such as *singhasan*¹ and *palki* and *jowalah*. Elephants are captured in some parts of the country; good horses are not procurable, and, if had, they cost much. A curious sort of boat is made in this country for capturing ferts. And it is in this wise: the boat is large, and

district. Here we get a glimpse of the old fiscal system in regard to its account-branch. In the collection-branch of the Musalman fiscal system, *Shiqdars* (corrupted into Hindu family names *Sikdars*) provided over *Mahals*, *Majmuhdars* (corrupted into Hindu family names of *Mosumdars*) provided over a group or circle of *Mahals* or a *Tarf*, and over an aggregate of *Mahals* or *Tarfs*, corresponding to a modern District, an *Amil* presided, and over an aggregate of Districts or a Division, the *Districts*, there was a local *Diwan*. The last two functionaries were generally Musalmans, whilst the first two subordinate functionaries were almost invariably Hindus.)

¹ "Singhasan" of our author corresponds to Abul Fazl's "Sukhasan" in the *Ain*. (See *Ain-e-Akbari*, Vol. 2, p. 126).

the prow of it, which is called in the dialect of the country *guthi*, is made so high that when it is placed alongside the wall of a fort, people from the boat can get on to the wall from it, and enter the fort. And a kind of carpet is manufactured from the linseed plant, which is very pretty and much liked. And precious stones, pearls, jasper, and ruby do not exist in this country. From other countries these are imported into the ports of this Sūbah. (And the best fruit of this country is mango, which in some parts is large, sweet, and without strigins, and tasty, and has a small stone. And the tree of three years' growth—of the height of a man—bears fruit. And large oranges, which are called *kaunla*, and small oranges, which are called *nāraṅgi*, grow well in this country. And varieties of citrons are available. And lemons, pineapples, coconuts, betelnuts, palm-fruits, jack-fruits and plantains have no end. And grapes and melons, &c., do not grow here; though the seeds of melons and grafts of vines have been often planted in this country, they have never thrived. Sugarcanes, good, delicate and sweet, red, white and black in colour, grow here in abundance; ginger and pepper in some parts grow abundantly, and betel leaves also grow in abundance, and silk is also produced well and in abundance here. Good silk-stuffs are manufactured in this country, and cotton-fabrics of good quality are turned out here. Rivers, small and large, are plenty in this country, and the practice of digging tanks is very common. People in this country seldom drink the water of wells, because everywhere the water of tanks and rivers is found in abundance. And generally the water of wells is salt, but with a little digging of the soil water comes out.)

And the best of rivers is the Ganges (Gang), which rises from the northern mountains of Hindūstān at the point called Gonnakhāh, flows through the provinces of Hindūstān, Farrakhābād, Alāhābād, and Behār into Bengal, and in Bengal at a place called Qāzihātā,¹ within the Sarkār of Bārbakābād, it is named Paddā. From this place, a branch of the Ganges separates, flows down Murhīdābād, and at Nadiāh joins the Jalangi river, and then flows into the sea. This branch is called Bhāgrati, and it goes towards Chittagong, flowing through the sea. The Ganges at Alāhābād joins the rivers Joun (or Jannā) and Sārsati, and near

¹ Qazihata mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ain and quoted by our author appears to be Hajrahatti, on the left bank of the Padma, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Baral river, below Rampur Soalia.

Hājipur it unites also with the Gandak, the Sarā and the Son, and becomes very broad. And the place where the three rivers unite is called Tīrbīnī by Hindus, and its sanctity in the eye of the Hindus is immeasurable. And the Ganges, Sūrsati, and Joun or (Jamunā), in flowing towards Chittagong and the sea, branch off in a thousand rivulets. And Hindus have written volumes on the sanctity of these rivers. Considering the water of these rivers sacred, they fancy that bathing there washes off the sins of a lifetime; especially bathing at certain *phāts* of the Ganges, such as Benāras, Alāhābād, and Haridwār, is regarded as very sacred. The rich amongst the Hindus, getting their supplies of the Ganges water from long distances, take particular care of it, and on certain auspicious days, worship the same. The truth of the matter is, that the water of the Ganges, in sweetness, lightness, and tastiness has no equal, and the water of this river, however long kept, does not stink. There is no river bigger than it in Bengal.

And another of the big rivers of Bengal is the Brahmaputrā, which flows from the regions of Khaṭā towards Koch, and thence by the way of Rāzūhā flows down into the sea. In the environs of Chittagong, it is called the Megna. The smaller rivers are countless. On both banks of most of the rivers, paddy is cultivated. Another feature of this country, unlike that of other countries of Hindūstān, is that they cut grafts of mango and lemon-trees, and plant them, and these, in the very first year, bear fruit.



SECTION III.—RELATING TO A DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN TOWNS AND FOUNDATION OF CERTAIN CITIES IN THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.

The city of Lakhmutī, which in past times was the Capital of Bengal, was founded by Saugaldīb. It is said that at the time when Firōz Rāi, the Rājā of Hindūstān, being defeated by Rustam Dastan,¹ fled to Tīrbūt, and from there fleeing to the mountains of Jhārkhand² and Gondwārāh,³ died, Rustam Dastan, who

¹ *Dastan* was the title of Rustam, the Persian Hercules—otherwise called Rustam Zal.

² "Jharkand" was the name by which, what we now call, "Chittā Nagpur" was known in Mahammodan times; whilst "Bhartukandah" denoted "Sonthal Parganas including Giribhūm."

³ I think "Gondwārāh" in the text here is a copyist's mistake for "Gondwanah" which has been identified with the "Central Provinces," of which the capital is Garha-Katanga (Jabalpur).

was displeased with his insolence, not bestowing the kingdom of Hindūstān on the Rājā's children, awarded the sovereignty of Hindūstān to a Hindū, named Sūraj.¹ Sūraj became a powerful Rājā, subjugated the kingdom of the Dakṣin and also the kingdom of Bengal. When Sūraj died and the sovereignty passed to his son, Bahraj, disturbances occurring in all parts of the kingdom, ambition showed itself in every head, and at length a Brahmin, named Kādār, coming out from the mountains of Sawālik, and becoming victorious after fightings possessed himself of the reins of sovereignty. Towards the end of his reign, a person named Sangal-dib,² emerging from the environs of Kuch, which adjoins the limits of Bengal, brought to his subjection, first, the countries of Bengal and Behār, and then fighting against Kādār became victorious, and building the city of Lakhnauti,³ made it his capital. And for

¹ It is worthy of note that there is a town called Sūraj-gach (or fort of Sūraj) in Moonghyr district, on the southern banks of the Ganges, and close to Maubangar, where there is also an old Muhammadan Khanqah founded by Mahabai Jang.

² In Friehts, 'Ghangel.' In the list of Hindu kings given in the *Āin-i-Akhari*, I do not find this name.

³ The authentic history of the city begins with its conquest in 1198 A.C. (594 A.H.) by the Muhammadans, who made it [their first capital in Bengal. (See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 151, Pers. Text). This was the period when were erected numerous mosques and other Muhammadan buildings. (See Hunt, *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. III, p. 323, also Ravenshaw's and Creighton's "Ruins of Gaur"). When the Muslim kings of Bengal established their independence, they transferred the seat of government to Sonargaon and Panduah. Panduah was soon after deserted, and the royal residence re-transferred to Gaur, whilst Sonargaon continued as capital of East Bengal. Minhajus Siraj visited the city in 641 H. or 1246 A.C., and gives an account of it in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. (p. 162, Pers. Text) Abūl Faḍl in the *Āin* notices it (see p. 123, Vol. I, *Āin*, Jar. Tr.), and states that the city was known in his time both as Lakhnauti and Gaur, and that the latter epithet was changed to "Jinnatabad" by Emperor Humāyun. Badāuni (p. 59, Vol. I, Pers. Text) states that Bakhtiyar Khori founded a city and named it after himself 'Gaur.' The capital was shifted in Sulaiman Kararani's time further westward to Taudāh. During the conquest of Bengal by the Mughuls under the Emperor Akbar, Gaur again became the headquarters of the Mughal Government, and the Mughul Imperialists under Mansim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, the first Mughul Viceroy of Bengal, occupied it. A pestilence, however, broke out, in course of which Mansim died—and also thousands of troops and people daily (see pp. 318 and 376, *Āin*, Vol. I, Bloch's Tr. and Badāuni, Vol. 2,

two thousand years it remained the Capital of Bengal. In the time of the Mughul Emperors it became ruined, and instead of it Tandah became the Viceregal Capital. Afterwards Tandah was also ruined, and Jahangirnagar, and lastly Murshidabad, became the Viceregal Capital. The reason for the name of Gaur is unknown, but it is guessed that in the period of the rule of the sons of Nojgoriah, perhaps this name was given. And Emperor Humayun, considering Gaur an inauspicious name, changed it to Jinnatābad. This city at present is in complete ruin, and has become the haunt of lions and tigers. Excepting traces of gates of the fort, and dilapidated buildings, and the mosque, and foundations of the building of Qadam-Rasul, nothing else exists.

The place where monarchs dwelt in gardens with friends,
Has become the shade of crows and vultures and the haunt
of lions and jackals!

Gaur contained a large fort, traces whereof are still visible. On the eastern side of the city are the lakes of Jhatiah and Bhatiah and other lakes, and the embankment¹ continues from that to this time, though it was stronger and kept out the flood of water in the rainy season, when the city was in a flourishing condition. At present, in the rainy season, boats pass across it, and everything is inundated. Towards the north of the Fort, to the dis-

p. 217), and the Mughal metropolis of Bengal was removed to Tandah, and thence shortly after to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar, which remained the capital of Bengal, until it was removed to Dacca or Jahangirnagar, and lastly to Murshidabad. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton places the inhabited area of Gaur at 20 square miles, containing over 600,000 souls. The author of *Khurshed Jahannuma* notes the following principal buildings as still existing:—

1. The Qadam-Rasul, a square, one-domed building in the enclosure of the Fort, erected by Sultan Nasrat Shah, son of Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah in 937 A.H. (1530 A.C.).

2. The Minar, north-east of the Qadam-Rasul, built by Sultan Firuz Shah. The height of the Minar is about 20 cubits, and its circumference about 6 cubits. Firuz reigned in 892 A.H. (1487 A.C.).

When I visited Gaur from Malda in 1887 I found also portions of the rampart, the gateway, and the Qadam-Rasul building yet extant.

¹ The embanked road a bridge is described in *Tuhqat-i-Nasiri* (p. 162). It connected Lakhnauti with Lakhnau in Bar on the western side, and Lakhnauti with Dacca in Barind on the eastern side, and was constructed by Hussamuddin Iwaz alias Sultan Ghiasuddin.

tance of our lot, a large building of ancient times existed, and also a tank called *Peāshārī*—the water where of was noxious, whoever drank it became attacked with bowel-diseases and died. It is said that in past times, criminals were imprisoned in that tank, and by drinking the water of it they immediately died. And Emperor Akbar, taking pity, put a stop to this form of punishment.

(CITY OF MURSHIDĀBĀD.)

The city of *Murshidābād*¹ is a large town situated on the banks of the river *Bhāgiratī*. Both banks of the river are populated.

¹ *Murshidābād* was the latest Muhammadan Capital of Bengal, its immediate predecessor for over 100 years being *Dacca* or *Jahāngirnagar*, in Eastern Bengal. In 1704 A.C., *Murshid Quli Khān* also known as *Jāfar Khān* (then the Mughul *Diwan*) falling out with Prince *Azim-us-shāh*, the Mughul Viceroy or Nawab at *Dacca*, transferred the seat of government from *Dacca* to the little town of *Makhāsābād*, and named the place after himself "*Murshidābād*." After the battle of *Plassey* in 1767 A.C., Clive on entering *Murshidābād* describes it thus: "This city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London. . . . The inhabitants, if inclined to destroy the Europeans, might have done so with sticks and stones." Even after the battle of *Plassey*, *Murshidābād* remained for some years the seat of administration. The result of the battle of *Plassey* was at the time appreciated both by Clive and the people, for the reason that it ended the misrule of *Sirajudaula*, who had rendered himself obnoxious both to the people and the English by his youthful pranks and vagaries; it was not regarded at the time as interfering with Muhammadan sovereignty: it merely affected the substitution of a new Nawab (*Mir Jāfar*) for *Sirajudaula*. In 1765, the East India Company received the grant of *Diwan* or financial administration of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa from the Mughul Emperor of Delhi, *Shāh Alam*, and in the following year Lord Clive, as the Emperor's *Diwan*, presided in person at the *Paniya*, or annual collection and settlement of revenues. On this occasion, the young Nawab *Nazim* (as administrative and military representative of the Mughul Emperor of Delhi) sat on the *maṣnad*, with the *Diwan* (Lord Clive) on his right hand. The work of administration still remained in the hands of Muhammadan officials. In 1772, Warren Hastings removed the Supreme, Civil, and Criminal Courts from *Murshidābād* to Calcutta, but after three years the Criminal court (*Nizamat Adalat*) was re-transferred to *Murshidābād*, and it was only in 1790, under Lord Cornwallis, that the entire revenue, civil, and criminal staff were posted in Calcutta. The *Murshidābād* Mint, the recognized emblem of metropolitan supremacy, was abolished in 1799. Thereupon, *Murshidābād* has been left only as the residence of the Nawab, a descendant of *Mir Jāfar*, and now it has ceased to be of importance.

In the beginning, a merchant named Makhsûs Khân built a serai or guest-house there, and called the place Makhsûsâbâd. The houses of a few shop-keepers were placed there. (In the reign of Emperor Aurangzib Alamgir, Nawâb Jâfar Khân Nasiri, who held the office of Diwân of Orissa, received the title of Kârtalâb Khân and obtained the office of Diwân of Bengal. After his arrival at Jahângirnagar, otherwise called Dhâkah (Dacca), which at that time was the Viceroyal Capital and where from before Prince Azim-u-shân, who had been appointed Viceroy by Emperor Aurangzib (as will be set forth here after) lived, finding that he (Jâfar Khân) could not pull on with the Prince, put forward the pretext that the *mahals* of Bengal were at a long distance from that place (Dacca), separated himself from association with the Prince, and established himself at Makhsûsâbâd, and placed there the *Âmlâs* of Zemindârs, and Qânûngos and other officials employed in connection with the Revenue Administration of Crown-lands. And at Dughariâh, which was quite a wilderness, he erected a palace, established the Board of Revenue (*Devânkhânâh*) and the Court of Exchequer, and made collections of the Imperial revenue. And when he was appointed permanently *Sûbahdâr* (Viceroy) of Bengal and Orissa in addition to the office of Diwân, with the title of *Murâhid Qâli Khân* and with the gift of a valuable *Khil'at*, and of the standard and the *Naqârah* (a royal drum) and the advancement of *Mansab*, on arrival at Makhsûsâbâd, he improved the city, and called it after his own name "Murâhidâbâd." And establishing a mint¹ there, he had the words "struck at Murâhidâbâd" inscribed on the coins. From that time, this city became the Viceroyal seat.) It is a beautiful city. Its inhabitants, in the society of the *Sûbahdârs*, being thrown into contact with the people of Delhi, in point of refinement of manners and conversation, resemble the people of Hindûstân, unlike those of other parts of Bengal. Amongst its buildings, none that was seen was noteworthy, except the *Imâmbarâh* building, which was erected by

¹ It may be of interest to note here that the following mint towns existed in Bengal during the earlier Muhammadan kings: (1) *Lakhsanâi*, (2) *Firuzâbâd* (*Panduah*), (3) *Sâtgron*, (4) *Shahr-i-Nau* (not identified), (5) *Rhiyaspûr*, (6) *Sunargon*, (7) *Muazzamâbâd* (i.e., *Sylhet* or *Mymensingh*), (8) *Fathâbâd* (*Faridpur* town), (9) *Khalifatâbâd* (*Bagerhat* town in *Jessore*), and (10) *Husainabad* (probably close to *Gaur*). 'See Thomas' "Initial Coinage" and Blochmann's *Contributions*).

Nawāb Sirājū-d-daulah. Its praise is beyond description; its equal is not to be found in the whole of Hindūstān. Although at present one-tenth of it does not exist, yet a remnant of it is a fair specimen of the original edifice. These two verses of Manlāna 'Urī Shīrāzi,¹ (May peace of God be on him!) being found to be apposite to the present case, are transcribed below:—

How much of morning is known to the dwellers at its gate,
In that in its neighbourhood, the sunset has no access;
Wonderful is the fairness of the building, that in gazing at it,
The glance does not turn back to the socket from the sight
of the wall!

And the palaces of Mātijhil² and Hirājihl, which were most beautiful, at present have been dug up from their foundations, and are in complete ruin.



{PORTS OF HUGHLI AND SĀTGAON}

The *Ports of Hughli and Sātgaon*³ are at a distance of half a *kārah* from each other. In former times, Sātgaon was a large city, thickly populated, and was the seat of a Governor. And the factories of the Christian Portuguese, and of other traders were also there. When Sātgaon fell into ruin owing to its river silt-ing up, the port of Hūghli became populous. (The Faujdārs of

¹ 'Urī was a famous Persian poet of Shirāz, attached to the Court of Emperor Jahangir. He possessed poetical genius of a high order, and was much appreciated by the Emperor. I published an English translation of some of his "Odes" or "Qasid," many years ago.

² The *qaṣbah* of Mātijhil was for several years, after the installation of Nawab Mir Jāfar, the residence of the British Political Resident attached to the Court of the Nawāb Nazims of Bengal.

³ Sātgaon, the ancient royal port or "Ganges Kōṣa" of Bengal. It lay at the point of junction of the Hūghli and the holy Saraswātī. The river Saraswātī silted up during the first-half of the sixteenth century, and the Portuguese merchants found that the harbour of Sātgaon was no longer practicable, and accordingly fixed their port at Gholaḡhāt in 1537, a few miles lower down on the same east bank of the river. Gholaḡhāt soon became the chief emporium, and took the name of the river, that is, Hūghli town or port. Sātgaon is now become a petty village, though when I visited it from Hūghli in 1889, I found traces of a ruined mosque. The first mention of Sātgaon that I find in Muhammadan history is in the reign of Sultan Ghiyāṣuddin Tugh-luk Shāh who invaded Bengal to chastise Bahadur Shāh, King of Sonargaon. (See pp. 43-45 *Tārkh-i-Firashāhi*).

this port had always been appointed directly by the Emperors of Delhi, and had little concern with the Nāgins or Viceroys of Bengal. Nawāb Jāfar Khān brought the office of Faujdār of this port within his jurisdiction, as an appendage to the Nizāmat and Diwāni of Bengal, as will be mentioned hereafter, if God please. And in that the abovementioned Nawāb placed the centre of the financial resources of the country of Bengal upon the customs-duties levied from traders, he maintained peaceful and liberal relations with the merchants of England, China, Persia, and Tūrān, and beyond the legitimate imports he did not levy one dam oppressively or against the established usage. Hence the port of Hūghli, in his time, became more populous than before. And merchants of all the ports of Arabia and Ajam,¹ and English Christians who were ship-owners and wealthy Mughuls made their quarters there; but the credit of the Mughul merchants was greater than that of merchants belonging to other classes. The English were absolutely prohibited from erecting towers and building bazāra and forts and moats. After this, when oppression and extortion of the Faujdārs increased, the port of Hūghli declined, and Calcutta owing to the liberality and protection afforded by the English, and the lightness of the duties levied there, became populous.

THE CITY OF CALCUTTA.

The City of Calcutta² in past times was a village in a *tilā* *ḡaḡ* endowed in favour of Kālī, which is the name of an idol which is there. Inasmuch as in the language of Bengal, "Karte" and

¹ Ajam. The Arabs divided the races of the world into the *Arabs* and the *Ajamis* or non-Arabs. Persia Proper was called *Irak-i-Ajam*.

² In 1696 A.C., it is mentioned in the *Diwān-i-Aḥmādī* as a rent-paying village named "Kalikatta" under Sarkār Sāligon. (See *Diwān*, p. 141, Vol. 2, Part II.) In 1686, in consequence of a rupture with the Musalman authorities at Hūghli port, the English merchants, led by their Chief, Job Charnock, were obliged to quit their factory there and to retreat to Sutanuti (now a northern quarter of Calcutta). Their new settlement soon extended itself eastwards first over the village of "Kalikatta" (between the present Customs-House and the Mint) and subsequently over the village of Gobindpur (which extended to the south of the present site of Fort William). In 1690, it became the headquarters of the servants of the East India Company employed in Bengal factories. In 1696, the original Fort William was built, being replaced by "

Kala " means "master" or "lord," therefore this village was named *Kālikatā*, meaning that its owner was *Kālī*. Gradually, by a process of the modulation of the tongue, the *alī* and the *ca* being dropped it was called *Kalkata*. The following is the account of the foundation of this city and the establishment of the English factory there. In the period of the *Nizamat* of Nawāb Jāfar Khān, the factory of the English Company, which existed in the port of Hūghli, close to Lakhoghat and Mughulpūrah, suddenly after sunset when the English Chiefs were at dinner commenced crumbling down; the English Chiefs harum-scarum ran out, and saved themselves from this whirlpool of destruction. But all their chattels and properties were washed away by the tide. Many cattle and some human beings also perished. Mr. Charnock, the English Chief, purchasing the garden of Benāres, the Company's *Gumāstā*, which was situate in Lakhoghat, adjoining to the town, cut down its trees, and laid the foundation of a factory, and commenced erecting two-storeyed and three-storeyed buildings. When the boundary walls were completed and they were about to roof them with the main beams, the nobility and the gentry of the Sayyid and Mughul tribes, who consisted of rich merchants, represented to Mir Nāsir, Fanjdār of Hūghli, that when the strangers would get upon the terraces of their high buildings, it would interfere with the sanctity and privacy of their ladies and families. The Fanjdār communicated the gist of this state of things to Nawāb Jāfar Khān, and subsequently deputed there all the Mughals and the whole of the nobility and the gentry. These, in the presence of the Nawāb, set forth their grievances. Nawāb Jāfar Khān despatched an order to the Fanjdār prohibiting absolutely the English from placing a brick over a brick and from laying a timber over a timber. The Fanjdār, directly on the receipt of the order of prohibition, directed that none of the masons and

new ones in 1742, the above three villages being purchased in 1700 from Prince Asam, son of Emperor Aurangzeb. In 1756, the town was sacked and Fort William captured by Nawāb Sirāj-ud-daulah, who changed its name to Alinagar. In January 1757 it was re-taken by the English under Admirals Watson and Oliver. A new fort, the present Fort William, was commenced by Clive, but it was finished in 1773, when the maiden was also opened out. In this connection, it may be added, that the author of the "*Sairul Muta-kerim*," though hostile to Sirāj-ud-daulah, and though a contemporary historian, does not say a word about the "Black Hole" affair!

carpenters should do work in connection with the buildings, and in consequence the buildings remained incomplete. Mr. Charnock, getting enraged, prepared to fight. But as he had a small force and except one ship, no other ships were then there, and besides the authority of Nawāb Jāfar Khān was overawing, and the Mughals were numerous, and the powerful Faujdār was on their side, seeing no good in shaking hands and feet, of necessity, raised the anchor of the ship. And directing from the top of the deck of the ship a lense-burner towards the populous part of the town alongside the bank of the river including Chandanagore, he set it on fire and started. The Faujdār, in order to enquire into this matter, wrote to the officer in charge of the garrison of Makhwa to the effect that the ship should not be allowed to pass on. The above officer placed across the river an iron chain, every link whereof was ten seers in weight, and which had been kept ready alongside the wall of the fort for the purpose of blocking the passage of the boats of the Arracauese and Magh enemies, by being drawn from one bank of the river to the other. The ship on arriving at the chain got blocked, and could not move down further. Mr. Charnock cut up the chain with an English sword and effected his passage through, and sailed down with the ship to the sea, and started for the country of the Dakhin. In that, the Emperor Aurangzeb at that time was in the Dakhin, and the Mahratta free-booters had cut off supplies of food-grains from all sides, a great famine occurred amongst the Imperial troops. The Chief of the (English) factory in the Karnatik supplied the Imperial army with food-stuffs, carrying the same on board the ships, and thus rendered loyal and good service. The Emperor Aurangzeb being pleased with the English, enquired as to what the English Company prayed for. The English Chief petitioned for the grant of a *Sanad* (Royal patent), permitting the erection of factories in the Imperial dominions, and especially the erection of the Bengal factory. The petition was granted by the Emperor, and an Imperial *Farman* (patent) was issued, remitting all customs on ships of the English Company, and directing the levy from them of Rs. 3,000, by way of tribute to the Royal Customs-house, and permitting the erection of a factory. Mr. Charnock, with the Imperial *Farman* and orders, returned from the Dakhin to Bengal, and at a place called Chānak (Barrackpūr)

landed. He sent agents with presents, tribute, and gifts, &c., to Nawāb Jāfar Khān, and obtained permission to build a factory at Calcutta, in accordance with the Imperial *Sanad*, and building a new factory there, devoted himself to the improvement of the town, and opened trading transactions with Bengal. To this day the factory is notable.

Calcutta is a large city on the banks of the river Bhāgirath. It is a large port, and the commercial emporium of the English Company, and is subject to them. Small ships, called sloops, always every year come to that port from China, England, and other parts, and many remain there. At present, this city is the place of residence of the English Chiefs and officers and employes. The buildings are solidly made of lime and brick. As its soil is damp and salt, from proximity to the sea, the buildings of that city are two-storeyed and three-storeyed. The lower rooms are unfit for dwelling. The buildings are constructed after those of England; they are well-ventilated, commodious, and lofty. The roads of that city are broad and paved with pounded brick. And besides the English Chiefs, the Bengālis, the Armenians, &c., there are also rich merchants. The water of wells in this city, owing to salt, is unfit for drinking, and if anyone drinks it, he suffers much. In summer and rainy seasons, the water of the river also become bitter and salt; but the water of tanks, which are plenty, is drunk. The sea is forty *Kuroh* distant from this place; within every day and night the water of the river has one flow and one ebb. At times of full moon, for three days, the tide comes furiously once in course of a day and night. It shows a wonderful condition and a strange furiousness. It drives across the banks many boats, and wrecks them, but those which are not on the sides of the rivers are left undamaged. Consequently, on that day, at that place boats, both small and large, are left without anchor. This tide in the language of Bengal is called *bān*, and the tide which occurs daily is called *joār*. An earthen fort has been erected to the south, outside the city. The English are wonderful in ventors. To relate its praise is difficult; one ought to see it, to appreciate it. Viewed externally from any of the four sides, the quadrangular rampart looks low like the slopes of tanks; but viewed internally, it looks lofty. Inside the fort, there are large and lofty buildings. Wonderful workmanship has been displayed in the construction of the fort; and other curious and rare workmanships are visible in

this city. In point of beauty of its edifices and the novelty of its arts, no city is equal to it, barring Dehli, which is unique. But its drawback is that its air is putrid, its water salt, and its soil so damp that the ground, though protected by roof, and cemented with brick and lime, is damp owing to excessive moisture, and the doors and walls, to the height of two or three cubits, are also wet and damp. For four months of winter, the climate is not very unhealthy, but during eight months of summer and rainy seasons, it is very unhealthy. At the present day, when since a few years the countries of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa have passed into the possession of the Chiefs of the English Company, this city has become the seat of Government of these dominions. The head of these Chiefs, who is styled Governor-General, resides in this city, and his deputies are appointed and sent out to each district, and remit to Calcutta the revenue-collections from each district.¹ The officers of the Board of Revenue are in Calcutta.

Wonderful is the City of Calcutta in Bengal;

For it is a model of China and England.

Its buildings please the heart and the soul,

And tower to the height of the air.

A master-hand has wrought such workmanship in it,

That everything is a paint and everything beautiful.

From the exquisite workmanship of the English,

Reason, in contemplating it, becomes confounded.

¹ Until 1707, when Calcutta was first declared a Presidency, it had been dependent on the older English settlement at Madras. From 1707 to 1773 it was on an equal footing with presidencies at Madras and Bombay. In 1773, an Act of Parliament was passed, under which it was declared that the Presidency of Calcutta should exercise a sort of general control over other possessions of the English East India Company, that the Chief of the Presidency of Calcutta should be called Governor-General. In 1773, Warren Hastings had given into the hands of the servants of the East India Company the general administration of Bengal which had hitherto been in the hands of Mahammadan Nizamut officials, and had removed the Treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The latter town thus became both the capital of Bengal and the seat of Supreme Government. In 1824, the Governor-General of Bengal was created Governor-General of India, and was allowed to appoint a Deputy-Governor of Bengal to manage the affairs of Bengal in his absence. In 1854, a separate Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

(See Wilson's *Early Annals of the "English in Bengal,"* Buckland's *"Bengal under Lieutenant-Governors,"*)

The hat-wearing English dwell in it.
 They are all truthful and well-behaved.
 The dwellings are like these, the dwellers are like those,
 How far can I detail their praises ?
 Its streets are clean and paved,
 The air every morning passes through and sweeps them.
 In every alley moonlike faces move about,
 Robed in pretty and clean dresses.
 Their faces are bright with radiance, like the moon,
 You might say the moon has become the earth-trotter.
 One is like the moon, another is like Jupiter,
 Another is like Venus in effulgence.
 When large numbers, like wandering stars, stroll about,
 The alleys resemble the milky-way.
 You see, if you go to bazar,
 The rare goods of the world there.
 All the articles that exist in four quarters of the globe,
 You find in its bazar, without search.
 If I were to depict the people of art therein,
 The pen would fail to portray such a picture.
 But it is well known to all, [England.
 That pre-eminence in workmanship pertains to China and
 Its plain is level like the surface of the sky,
 Roads are fixed on it, like the equator.
 People, whilst promenading in gardens,
 Like wandering stars, meet each other in their walks.
 Such a city in the country of the Bengalis;
 No one had seen, no one had heard of.



Chandannagor¹ (Chandannagar) alias Parāshdangab, is twelve *karois* distant from Calcutta. The factory of the Christian French is situated there. It is a small town on the bank of the river Bhagirati. There is a French Chief there. He is the administrator of the affairs and mercantile concerns of that town. The English Chiefs have no authority there. Similarly at Chucharāh (Chhosūrāh²), the Dutch hold authority.

¹ Chandannagore, founded as a small French settlement in 1673, rose to mercantile importance under Dupleix in the middle of the eighteenth century.

² In the seventeenth century, the Dutch merchants who had hitherto resided at Sātgāon and Hāghli ports, founded their factory and port at Chhosūrāh, a little below Hāghli town.

Chūsharab, or **Chinsurāb**, which adjoins the port of **Hoghli**, is to the south of that port, and is one *karoḥ* to the north of **Chandarnagor**. And similarly **Chirampūr** (**Sirampur**)¹ is on the banks of the same river, opposite to **Chānak** (**Barackpur**). The factory of the Danes is there, and it is also called **Dinamārnagar**. In these places, besides the owners of the factories, no one else has authority.

(TOWN OF PURNIAH.)

In former times it was called **Pargana-i-havili**. Rupees 32,000 were its revenue collections. Since the **Rājah** of **Birnagar** also had a force of 15,000 cavalry and infantry, and other inhabitants of that part of the **Chakwār** tribe, &c., were refractory and of plundering propensity, and used to annoy much the travellers, therefore on the limits of the **Mūrang**,² the fort³ of **Jalālgadah**, to a distance of two *karoḥs* from **Purniah**, was erected, and a commandant, in charge of the fort, was posted there. In compliance with the petition of **Nawāb Saif Khān**,⁴ grandson of **Amir Khān** the elder, who enjoyed the name and title of his father, and was descended from **Syeds** and illustrious **Omra**, and had royal connections, **Nawāb Jāfar Khān** applied to **Emperor Aurangzab** for the former's deputation, and accordingly **Saif Khān** was deputed for the purpose of chastising the **Rājah** of **Birnagar**⁵ and other mal-

¹ The Danes in the seventeenth century founded their factory and port at **Serampur**, about eight miles south of **Chandannagore**.

² In the thirteenth century, **Purniah** fell into the hands of the **Mahmūdians**. **Sarkar** of **Purniah** is described in the **Ain-i-Akbari**, as containing nine *mahals*, with revenue 6,408,77½ *dams* (See **Jarrett's Trans.** of **Ain**, Vol. 2, p. 134). Under its administrator, **Nawab Saif Khān**, a contemporary of **Nawab Jāfar Khān**, the Viceroy of **Bengal**, it attained the height of its prosperity. Its manufacture in *bider* works, once so famous, was found by me to have nearly died out when I was at **Purniah** in 1898.

³ The tract of country between the northern limits of **Purniah** district and the foot of **Nepal Proper** is locally known as the **Mūrang**.

⁴ Ruins of the fort still stand. It is now in the sanitary of **Mr. Forbes** of **Purniah**, a few miles to the north of **Purniah** railway station.

⁵ The **Musir-ul-Umra** (Vol. 1, Fasc. III, pp. 677-687) gives a detailed biographical sketch of **Amir Khān**. It mentions **Saif Khān**, **Faujdar** of **Purniah**, as one of the sons of **Amir Khān**. The **Musir** calls **Amir Khān**, "**Amir Khān Mir-i-Miran**." **Amir Khān's** mother, **Hamida Banū Begum**, was a grand-daughter of **Emīn-u-d-daulah Aqā Khān**.

⁶ **Birnagar** is now a circle under the **Sub-Manager** of the **Durbhanga Raj** at **Purniah**.

contents of that part of the country. Nawāb Jāfar Khān, considering the arrival of such a person to be an acquisition, conferred the office of Fanjdār of Zila' Purniah and that of Commandant of Jalālgadāh upon him, and also settled on him the Pargana of Birnagar alias Dharmpūr,¹ and Gūndwārah, which is in the province of Behar, pertaining to Purniah, and also the mahals of the Jāgir forming an appendage to the office of Commandant of the above Fort. The aforesaid Khān, being appointed independent ruler of the district, after much fighting expelled Dūrjan Singh,² son of Bir Shāh, the Rājah of Birnagar, who was disloyal and refractory, and brought the aforesaid pargana under his subjection, and having thoroughly chastised the other malcontents freed the roads from all perils. He represented the state of affairs to the Emperor, and submitted that the mahals were small, and that his stay in this mahal was unlucrative. In consequence, the Emperor Aurangzeb wrote to Jāfar Khān as follows: "I have sent to you a lion, putting him in a cage. If he does not get his food, he is certain to give you trouble." (The aforesaid Nawāb, who regarded the stay of such a person to be a boon, remitted all the outstanding revenue due from him, and made concession in view of the suitable maintenance of his rank and station. The above Khān, following the example of Jāfar Khān, imprisoned all the zemindars of that district, and did not omit any means of realising the revenue. So that realising eighteen lakhs of rupees from those mahals, he appropriated them to his own use, and day by day the strength of his government and finances and of his army increased. And making peace with the zemindars of the Mūrang, he commenced to cut jungles and to bring them under cultivation. Bringing under cultivation half the wastes up to the foot of the mountains of the Mūrang, and placing it under his rule, he enlarged his country and his resources.) And Jāfar Khān, seeing and hearing of it, used to connive. At present, Purniah³ is a large city, and the rivers Kūsi and Sūtra pass through it. Its soil is low and full of water. In the rainy season the floods rush down from the moun-

¹ At present each of these forms a police circle.

² Several Dūrjan Singhs are mentioned in the *Alamgirnamah*. One Bir Singh, Zemindar of Srinagar, is also mentioned in it.

³ It did not appear to me so when I was at Purniah in 1898. The old town or city appeared to me to have got into complete ruin, and very little trace of its former splendour and prosperity existed.

tains of the Mûrang, and the fields and wastes are inundated. Much of the cultivation is consigned to destruction by the floods. (Paddy, wheat, pulse and mustard-seed and other food-grains and all kinds of corn grow in abundance.) And oil and turmeric and saltpetre, both of water and fire, and pepper, and large cardamom and cassia-leaf and very large trees of ebony, are produced well there. And the flowers of jasmine and *bela* and the red-rose and other flowers that grow there possess exquisite scents. The mountains of the Mûrang are six days' journey to the north of Purniah. The Mûrangi wood, which is called *Bahadûri*, is obtained from those mountains. From the top of the mountains, the road towards Nepâl and Kashmir is very close, but it is very undulating. Half the mahals of Purniah pertain to the annexes of the province of Behâr; but Purniah itself is within Bengal. It is a cold country and the climate of that tract is insalubrious and incongenial. Tumours of the throat in men and women generally, as well as in wild beasts and birds, are common in that country. Masonry buildings are few, excepting the Fort,¹ the *Lâl Bâgh*,² and some others. Formerly, Saranâh was more populous than Purniah. And Gaudâh-golah (Caragola),³ on the banks of the Ganges, was the resort of traders and mahajans from various places. Owing to cheapness of food-grains and comforts, landholders and travellers and professional men come from every part, and dwell there. And very often boundary-disputes led to fightings with the Râjah of the Mûrang. Saif Khân, every year, used to go to Murshidâbâd for visiting Nawâb Jâfir Khân. The above Nawâb used to treat him like a brother. Whenever a disturbance occurred in that district, the storeroad Nawâb used to send troops for assistance. From Gandâbgolah (Caragola) and the banks of the Ganges to the Mûrang, the tract of Purniah is about ten days' journey in extent. And from the mountains of the Mûrang, a route⁴ leads to Kuch-Behâr and Assam. And the tribute of the Râjah of the Mûrang was paid in game.

¹ and ² No traces of these could be found by me, when I was at Purniah in 1898..

³ A fair is still held annually at Caragola, and is largely attended by Nepaulese, Bhutias and other hill-tribes, though not to the same extent as before.

⁴ Three routes to Kuch Behar and Assam are described in the *Alamgir-namah* (p. 683).

(DHAKAH (OR DACCA) *alias* JAHANGIRNAGAR.)

This city is on the banks of the Badhigangā, and the Ganges, named Padmā, flows three *karoḥ* or *kos* distant from this city. In past times it was known by this name. During the sovereignty of Nuru-d-din Mahammad Jahāngir, the Emperor, the city was called Jahāngirnagar. From that time till about the end of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, this city was the

(Dacca or Jahāngirnagar was the Musalmān Viceroyal Capital of Bengal during Mughul rule in India for a century, before it was shifted to Murshidabad by Murshid Quli Khān in 1704 A.C. In 1610 A.C., Isām Khān, the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, shifted the Viceroyal Capital from Rajmahal, or Akbarnagar, to Dacca. This transfer of capital appears to have been decided upon, because the Musalmān dominions in Bengal had considerably extended eastward, and Rajmahal ceased to occupy a central position, and also because Magh and Arracanese incursions from Arrakan had become frequent. To effectually guard against the latter, a powerful fleet was constructed and maintained at Dacca and on the rivers Padmā and Megna; and colonies of Musalmān feudal barons (most of whom have now died out or sunk into idleness), were planted throughout Eastern Bengal, especially at places of strategic importance, in order to hold in check all disloyal Afghan elements, and to prevent their intriguing with the Magh raiders. Except for about sixteen years, when Prince Shah Shujā re-transformed the Viceroyal Capital to Rajmahal, Dacca remained the Viceroyal Capital of Bengal throughout the seventeenth century under three illustrious Mughul Emperors, viz. Jahāngir, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzeb.) The most notable amongst the Mughul Viceroys of Dacca were Isām Khān, Mir Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb, and Shazata Khān (nephew of Empress Nūr Jahan). The latter two Nawāhs are still remembered for their encouragement of architecture, and for their construction of great public works conducive to the material improvement of the people. Whilst the great achievement of the first was the breaking of the last neck of Afghan opposition. The suburb of Dacca, it is related, extended northwards for a distance of 15 miles, now covered with dense jungles. The muslin manufacture of Dacca, once so famous, has now nearly died out. The old fort, erected in the reign of Emperor Jahāngir, has disappeared. The only old public buildings now remaining are the *Katra*, built by Shāh Shujā in 1645, and the palace of Lal Bāgh, both of these also being in ruins. (See Taylor's Topography of Dacca and Dr. Wise's History of Dacca). Dacca, or Dhakka, occurs in the *Abdurnāmah* as an Imperial Town in 1584 the mahal to which it belonged is named "Dhakka Bazar," it pertained in those early days to Sarkar Barīha. (See *Āin-i-Akhbari Jorrett's Trans.*, Vol. 2. Part. II, p. 135). Dacca, though it has lost its former Viceroyal magnificence and splendour, has not yet sunk into an ordinary Bengal town, by reason of its being the residence of the present liberal and public-spirited Nawāh of Dacca.)

Viceroyal Capital of Bengal. Since the period of his Nizamat, when Nawāb Jāfar Khān made Mārshidābād the seat of government, the latter became the Viceroyal seat. At present on behalf of the Chiefs of the English Company, there is a district officer at Jahāngirnagar. White muslin is excellently manufactured there.

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SARKAR SUNARGAON.¹

Sarkār Sunargaon is to a distance of six *kuroh* to the south-east of Jahāngirnagar. A species of very fine muslin is manufactured there. And in the Mouzā of Kathrahāndar there is a reservoir of water; whatever clothes are washed there are turned into white linen.

¹ Sunargaon City, close to Dacca to the south-east, was long an ancient Musalmān Capital of Bengal. To this place in 1231 A.C. (see p. 87 *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Barclay) Emperor Balban from Delhi came, and pursued Tughlak, who had proclaimed himself Sultān Mughisuddin in 1279 A.C.; and about 610 A.H. (1214 A.C.) it was together with Bang (East Bengal) subdued (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Pers. text, p. 163) by Sultān Ghiasuddin, one of the immediate successors of Bakhtiar Khilji. Sunargaon is a place of melancholy historical interest, for it was here that the line of Balbani kings of Bengal (1282 to 1331 A.C.) ended, and it was also here that the last Balbani sovereign of Bengal, Bahadur Shāh, in 1331 A.C., under the order of Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, was captured, put to death, and his skin stuffed and paraded throughout the Emperor's dominions. Subsequently, in 1335 A.C., the first Independent Musalmān king of Bengal, named Fakhruddin Abul Musaffar Mubarak Shāh, proclaimed his independence at Sunargaon, where he resided and minted coins (Thomas' "Initial Coinage" and *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, p. 480). Mubarak Shāh's son, Ghazi Shāh (third Independent king), also resided at Sunargaon, and minted coins there. In 1352 A.C., Haji Ilyas or Sultān Shamsuddin Abul Musaffar Ilyas Shāh (fourth Independent king) established himself at Sunargaon (Thomas' "Initial Coinage") and there founded a new dynasty of Independent Bengali kings, who (with an interruption only of about forty years) continued to rule over Bengal for over a century (1352 to 1495 A.C.), and divided their residence between Gaur and Sunargaon. It was at Sunargaon that the illustrious poet of Shiraz, Hāfiz, sent his famous ghazal to Sultān Ghiasuddin (son of Sikandar Shāh and grandson of Ilyas Shāh), when the latter invited the poet to his Royal Court at Sunargaon. Sunargaon has now become an insignificant village, without a single trace of its former regal splendour. (See also Dr. Wier's note on Sunargaon, J.A.S., 1874, p. 82).

(ISLĀMĀBĀD *alias* CHĀTGĀON.)

Islāmābād *alias* Chātgaon (Chittagong), from ancient times, has been a large town, and its environs are forests of trees. It is south-east of Murshidabad on the seacoast, and in ancient times it was a large port. The traders of every country—especially the ships of the Christians—used to frequent it. But at present, since Calcutta is a large port, all other ports of Bengal have fallen into decay. It is said that ships which founder in other parts of the sea re-appear in front of Chittagong; it rests with the narrator to prove this. The ebb and flow of the sea occurs also here. And the fighting-cocks of that tract are well known.



(SARKĀR BOGLĀ)

Sarkār Baglā was also a fort on the seacoast, and around it was a forest of trees. And the ebb and flow of the sea also occurs there, similarly to what occurs at other places on the seaside and in the environs of Calcutta. In the twenty-ninth year of the accession to the throne of Emperor Akbar, one hour of the day was remaining, when a strange flood occurred, in consequence of which the whole town was submerged. The Rajāh of that town, getting on a boat, escaped. For five hours the fury of the storm, and lightning and thunder, and tumult of the sea lasted. Two *laks* of human beings and cattle were engulfed in the sea of annihilation.

Chittagong was found to be in the hands of King Fakhruddin of Samargan about 1350 A.C., when Ibn-i-Batutah visited it. It was re-subdued by King Nasrat Shāh, son of Hussain Shāh, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In Todar Mal's rent-roll, it is assessed at Rs. 255,607, and the Sarkar is shown as including seven mahals. During the struggle for supremacy in Bengal between Afghans and Mughals in the seventeenth century, it temporarily slipped out of Moslem hands, and had to be re-conquered in 1604 A.C. by Nawāb Shujātā Khān, Emperor Aurangzeb's Viceroy at Dacca, who named it *Islāmābād*. (See the charming description of the re-conquest of Chittagong, in the *Atungirnamah*, pp. 949-953.) Chittagong was, from very early times, an important place of trade, and the early Portuguese traders called it "Porto Grande."

* Sarkar Bogla or Bakla in Abul Fazl's *Āin* is stated to have contained four mahals, and its revenue was Rs. 178,750. It comprised portions of the Backerguj and Sundarban districts and the southernmost portions of the Dacca district. The author of the *Sairat Mutakherin* calls it Sarkār Hagla.

(SARKAR RANGPŪR AND GHORĀGHĀT.)

Rangpūr and Ghorāghāt.—Here silk is produced, and Dingon ponies, coming from the mountains of Bhutān, sell. A fruit called *Lutkan* of the size of walnuts, and with the taste of pomegranates, and containing three seeds, grows there.

(SARKAR MAHMŪDĀBĀD.)

Sarkar Mahmūdābād was a fort, and in its environs were rivers. In the period when Sher Shāh conquered Bengal, a num-

1 Sarkar Ghorāghāt comprised portions of Dinājpur, Rangpūr, and Bogra districts. Being the northern frontier district skirting Koch-Bihar, numerous colonies of Afghan and Mughal chiefs were planted there under the feudal system, with large *jāgīr* lands under each. Many of the mahals bear purely Muhammaḍan names, such as Basū Zafar Shāhi, Basū Faḩūd Shāhi, Naṣratābād, Bayāzīdpur, Tanlūk Hussain, Tanlūk Ahuḩad Khān, Kābul, Manjī Hussain Shāhi. The Sarkar produced much raw silk. Eighty-four mahals; revenue, Rs. 202,077. The old Musalmān military outpost of Deocote near Gangarāmpur was in this Sarkar. It was established in the time of Bakhtiyar Khilji (see Blochmann's *Contr.*, J.A.S., 1873, p. 215, *Tahqiq-i-Nadiri*, p. 156, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 155 and Vol. I, p. 370). After the battle of Patna, 983 A.H., when Daud retired to Orissa. (*Badaoni*, p. 184, Vol. II), his generals Kalapahar and Babu Mankī proceeded to Ghorāghāt. (*Badaoni*, p. 193). Akbar's general, Majnun Khan, died at Ghorāghāt.

2 Sarkar Mahmūdābād, named after one of the Sultān Mahmūd Shāhs of Bengal, comprised north-eastern Nadiya, north-eastern Jessore, and western Faridpur. Eighty-eight mahals; revenue Rs. 290,255. Its principal mahals were Sauter, Naldi, Mahmūdghāhī, and Naṣratābādī. When Akbar's army in 1574 under Muḩim Khan-i-Khanān invaded Bengal, Murād Khān, another Imperial-General, invaded South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the Akbar-namah, Sarkara Bakia and Patubad (Faridpur) and settled and died there. It is remarkable that close to Faridpur there is a village (now a railway station) called *Khan-Khānānpūr*, which probably was the residence of Murād Khān, and which again is close to a place called Rājharī (probably the seat of the old Rājā). His sons were treacherously murdered at a feast to which they were invited by Mukund, the Rājā of Bhūma and Patubad. (See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 374, Bloch, *Trans.*) During the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, Saif-ud-Daula, son of Mukund, gave trouble, and at length in Shāh Jahān's reign was captured and executed at Dhaka (1638 A.D.). Nawāb Jāfar Khān about 1772 broke up this Sarkar, and annexed part of it to Rājshahi and part to the new Chaklah of Bhūma. Bhūma lies near Bonmāldīh and Dākshīnabari, ancient Moslem colonies, and it is curious that west of it, on the Nabaganga, we find Satrajitpur close to an ancient Moslem colony, at Alākdīh; whilst opposite to Faridpur we find Mukund-chor, which is again close to "Khan-

ber of elephants belonging to the Rājāh of that place escaped into the jungles; ever since which elephants are to be obtained in those jungles. And pepper also grows in those parts.

—o—
(SARKĀR BĀRBĀKĀBĀD.¹)

Bārbākābād. A good stuff called *Gangōjal* is manufactured there, and large oranges also thrive there.

—o—
(SARKĀR BĀZŪHĀ.²)

Sarkār Bāzūhā is a forest of trees, these being trees of ebony which are used in construction of buildings and boats. And mines of iron are also found in that tract.

—o—
(SARKĀR SILHAT.³)

Sarkār Silhat is a mountainous region, woollen shields are very well made there; they are famous for their beauty through-

Khannūpur station, referred to above. Satrajit's descendant or successor, the notorious Raja Sitaram Rai, had his head-quarters at Mahmūdpur town, at the confluence of the Barasia and Mathamati rivers, in Jessore. Quite close to Mahmūdpur, is an old Musalman colony at Shrigaon. (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 132, and Blochmann's *Contr.*, J.A.S., 1873, p. 217).

¹ Sarkār Bārbākābād, so named after Bārbak Shāh, King of Bengal. It extended from Sarkar Lakhanauti, or Gour, along the Padma to Bagura, and comprised portions of Maldah, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, and Bogra. Its clothes were well known, especially the stuffs called *khac-kh*. Thirty-eight mahals; revenue Rs. 436,288. (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 137, and Blochmann's *Contr.*, J.A.S., 1873, p. 215.)

² Sarkār Bāzūhā extended from the limits of Sarkar Bārbākābād, and included portions of Rajshahi, Bogra, Panna, and Maimansingh, and reached in the south a little beyond the town of Dacca. Thirty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 987,921. (See *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 137.)

³ Sarkār Silhat adjoining to Sarkar Bāzūhā, chiefly extended east of the Barma river. The country was conquered by Musalmans led by a warrior-saint called Shāh Jalāl in the end of the fourteenth century, when the Afghan King Shamsuddin ruled over Bengal with his capital at Gour. Shāh Jalāl's shrine in Silhat town still exists. Silhat supplied India with eunuchs, and Jahangir issued an edict forbidding people of Silhat from castrating boys. Eight mahals; revenue Rs. 167,032 (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 139, Blochmann's *Contr.*, J.A.S., 1873, pp. 210, 235, 275).

out the empire of Hindūstān. And delicious fruits—such as oranges, &c., are obtained. And the China-root is also procured from that tract, and the aloes-wood abounds in its mountains. It is said that in the last month of the rainy season, the 'ād tree is felled and is left in water and exposed to the air, then whatever shoots forth is utilised, and what decays is thrown away. A kind of small bird called *Baurāj*, which is black in colour, and has red eyes and long tail, and parti-coloured, pretty, and long wings, is easily snared and tamed there. It catches the note of every animal that it hears. Similarly, *Shīrganj* is the name of another bird; it is not different from *Baurāj* in any way, except in this that the legs and the beak of *Shīrganj* are red. Both these are flesh-eaters, and prey on small birds like sparrows, &c.

—o—

(SARKAR SHARIFABAD.¹)

Large cows, able to carry heavy loads, and large goats, and large fighting-cocks are bred there.

—o—

(SARKAR MADARAN.²)

Sarkar Madāran, is on the southern limit of the kingdom of Bengal. There is a mine of small diamond there.

—o—

(AKBARNĀGAR.³)

Akbarnāgar *alias* Rājmahal, is on the banks of the Ganges. Formerly it was a large and populous city. And a Fanjār of

¹ Sarkar Sharifābād comprised south-eastern portions of Bīrbhūm and a large portion of Burdwan, including Burdwan town. Twenty-six mahals; revenue Rs. 562,218. (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 139).

² Sarkar Madāran extended from Nagor in Western Bīrbhūm over Raniganj, along the Damādar to above Burdwan, and thence from there over Khānd Ghosh, Jāhānābād, Chandrakona (western Raighī district) to Maudalghāt, at the mouth of the Rūpnarāl river. Sixteen mahals; revenue Rs. 235,085. (See *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 141).

³ Sher Shāh had already made plans to shift the seat of Government of Bengal from Taudah to Agmahal, but this was carried out by Rājāh Mān Singh, Akbar's Governor of Bengal, who named the place Rājmahal, and subsequently Akbarnāgar, after Emperor Akbar. Before Mān Singh, Daud, the last Afghan King of Bengal, had fortified Agmahal (984 A.H.) in his

rank, on behalf of the Nāzim of Bengal, resided there. At present it is in complete dilapidation and ruin.

(MĀLDAH.)

The town of Māldah¹ is on the banks of the river Mahānanda. At a distance of three *karoḥ* towards the north, is situate holy Panduah,² which contains the sacred shrine of Hazrat Makh-dūm Shāh Jalāl Tabriz³ (May God sanctify his shrine!) and the last stand against Mughuls under Khān Jahan, Akbar's general (Badami, Vol. II, p. 229). Subsequently, in the time of Jahangir, Rajmahal was the scene of a sanguinary battle between Prince Shah Jahan and Jahangir's Viceroy of Bengal, Ibrahim Khān Fatah Jung, who was killed (*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 224). It was for about twenty years the Viceregal Capital of Bengal, under Prince Shāh Shuja, who adorned the city with beautiful marble palaces, no trace of which, however, now exists.—(See *Īn-i-Ālbarī*, Vol. II, p. 340).

1 As early as 1696 A.C., the English East India Company, with permission of Emperor Aurangzeb, established a silk factory here, and in 1770 A.C., English bazar, close to Māldah, was fixed upon as the Commercial residency. Māldah is mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*: "When I (Jahangir) was prince, I had made a promise to Mir Ziyaddin of Tarwin, a Sufi Syed, who has since received the title of Mustafa Khān, to give him and his children Pargana Māldah, a well-known Pargana in Bengal. This promise was now performed (1617 A.C.)."—See J.A.S., 1873, p. 215n.

² Panduah, like Gaur, is situate in the district of Māldah. 'Alī Mubarak had his capital at Panduah, and the third independent Musalman Afghan King of Bengal, named Shamsuddin Ilyas Shāh, fortified the place, and permanently removed the headquarters there about 1363 A.C. Panduah for over 50 years remained the Capital of Bengal, during the reigns of seven Afghan independent Kings of Bengal, after which the capital was in 1446 A.C. during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shāh re-transferred to Gaur, which was retained by Muhammadans for about three centuries as their capital. The principal buildings at Panduah are the mausoleums of Makh-dūm Shāh Jalāl and his grandson Qutb Shāh, the Golden Mosque (1535 A.C.) with wall of granite, and ten domes of brick, the Eklakhi Mosque containing the grave of Ghiasuddin II, the fifth Musalman independent King of Bengal, the Adina Mosque (fourteenth century) characterised by Mr. Fergusson as the most remarkable example of Pathan architecture, and the Satarpuk (seventy towered) palace. Panduah was once famous for its manufacture of indigenous paper, but this industry has now died out. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton gives a detailed description of the ruins of Panduah, and the *Khurashid Jahānumah* (an analysis of which Mr. Beveridge has published) supplements it.

³ Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was a disciple of Saïd Tabrizi, a vicegerent of Shihabuddin Shirwardi, and a friend of Khwījah Qutbuddin and Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyah. Shaikh Najmuddin, Shaikh-ul-Islam at Delhi, bore him

sacred mansoleum of Hazrat Nūr Qutub-i-'Alam Bangālī (May God illuminate his tomb!), which are places of pilgrimage for the people, and resorts of the indigent and the afflicted, and are channels of various boons. For instance, every traveller and beggar who arrives there, and stops therein the night, is not allowed to cook his food for three meals. The servants there supply him from the public store-house, either with cooked food, or with rice, pulse, salt, oil, meat and tobacco, according to his position in life. And every year in the month of *Shab-i-barāt* or *Zilhajjā*, whichever of these months falls in the dry season, a fair attended by a large number of people is held, so much so that *laks* of people from distances of fifteen and twenty days' journey, such as Hāghli, Silhat and Jahāngirnagar, &c., come and congregate, and benefit by pilgrimage. And in Māldah and in its environs, good silk-stuff as well as a kind of cotton-stuff of the sort of muslin is manufactured. Plenty of silk-worms are found in its environs, and raw silk is turned out. And for a period of time, the factory of the English Company has been fixed on the other side of the Mahānanda. They buy cotton and silk piece-goods, made to order of the chiefs of the English Company, who make advances of money in the shape of *bai 'sallam*. Raw silk is also manufactured in the factory. And since two or three years, an indigo-factory has been erected, close to the above factory. The Company manufactures and purchases indigo, loads it on ships, and exports it to its own country. Similarly, close to the ruins of Gaar, in the village of Goāmālī, another masonry-built factory has been erected; at it also indigo is manufactured. Although a description of the town of Māldah was not necessary, yet as since two years my master, Mr. George Udnoy (May his fortune always last) has been holding here the office of the Chief of the Factory of the Company, and also since in this place this humble servant has been engaged in the composition and compilation of this book, the above narrative has been given.²

sumily; so the saint went [to Bengal. His tomb is in the port of Dev Mahal (or Māldivāle).—See *Asn-i-'Abbārī*, Vol. II, p. 360.

¹ *Shaykh* Nūr Qutub-i-'Alam was son and vicegerent of *Shaykh* Alau-i-Husnī (the latter having been vicegerent of *Shaykh* Akhl Bīrā). He was a mystic of eminence, and died in A.H. 808 (A.C. 1405) and was buried at Panduah.—See *Ibn*, Vol. II, p. 371.

² Note as *Barkat* of Bengal (principally compiled from *Blochmann's* *Contribu-*

SECTION IV.—A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE RULE OF THE RAJAN (THE HINDU CHIEFS), IN ANCIENT TIMES, IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.

Since by the laudable endeavours of Bang, son of Hind, the dominions of Bengal were populated, his descendants, one after

tion, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Badooni*, Thomas's *Initial coinage*, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, *Badshahnamah*, and *Alamgirnammah*.)

(Before proceeding to the next section, it may be noted here that our author has not described all the Sarkars or old Musalman administrative divisions or districts of Bengal.)

Bengal before Muhammadan conquest in 1198 A.C. consisted of five Divisions, namely (1) Radha, the tract south of the Ganges and west of the Hughli; (2) Bagdi, the deltaic tract of the Ganges; (3) Banga, the tract to the east and beyond the delta; (4) Barendra, the tracts to the north of the Padma and between the Karatya and Mahananda rivers, and (5) Mithila, the country west of the Mahananda (See Hamilton's "Hindustan"). These Divisions appear to have been under different Hindu Rajas or petty chieftains, who had no cohesion amongst them, and were under no allegiance to any central authority, and whose form of government was patriarchal. When Bakhtiar Khilji with eighteen troopers stormed Nadia, then the Hindu capital of Bengal, and conquered Bengal in 1198 A.C. (594 A.H.) he appears to have conquered Mithila, Barendra, Radha, and the north-western portion of Bagdi. This tract was named Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti after its capital, Lakhnauti city. Its extent is roughly described in 1243 A.C. (641 A.H.) in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 162, when its author Minhaj-us-Siraj, visited Lakhnauti. Minhaj says that the Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti lies to both sides of the Ganges, and consists of two wings, the eastern one is called Barendra, to which Dootol belongs, and the western called Rai (Radha) to which Lakhnauti belongs, that on one side the town of Lakhnauti is connected with Dootol, and on the other side with Lakhnour by a causeway or embanked road, ten days' distance. Dootol has been identified with an old fort, now known simply as Hamdamah, on the left branch of the Purnahaba, south of Dinajpur, and close to Gangarampur. Bang or East Bengal appears to have been subdued in 1214 A.C. (610 A.H.) by Sultan Ghiasuddin, an immediate successor of Bakhtiar Khilji (*Tabaqat*, p. 162). During the rule of the Independent Musalman Kings of Bengal (1338 to 1538 A.C.), the extent of the kingdom of Bangala or Bengul was much more apparently than what is described in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and in the rent-roll of Bengall prepared by Akbar's Finance Ministers, Khwajah Masroff Ali and Toder Mall in 1582 A.C.—(See J.A.S., 1873, p. 254, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Thomas's "Initial Coinage"). In Akbar's rent-roll, the following 19, Sarkars are mentioned as composing the kingdom of Bengul Proper:—

another, rendering them habitable in a beautiful form, ruled over

(Sarkars North and East of the Ganges.)

1. Sarkār Lahnanti or Jounatabad extending from Tellegadhi (near Col-gong), including a few mahals now belonging to Bhagalpur and Purneah districts, and the whole of Maldah district. Sixty-six mahals; khalsa revenue, Rs. 4,71,174.

2. Sarkār Purneah, comprising a great portion of the present district of Purneah, as far as the Mahananda. Nine mahals; revenue Rs. 1,60,219.

3. Sarkār Tajpur, extending over eastern Purneah, east of the Mahananda and western Dinajpur. Twenty-nine mahals; revenue Rs. 1,03,003.

4. Sarkār Paurāb, north-east of the town of Dinajpur, comprising a large part of Dinajpur district. Twenty-one mahals; revenue Rs. 1,45,081.

5. Sarkār Ghoraghat, comprising portions of Dinajpur, Raizpur, and Bogra districts, as far as the Brahmapatrā. Eighty-four mahals; revenue Rs. 2,02,077.

6. Sarkār Barakhabad, comprising portions of Maldah, Dinajpur and large portions of Rajshahi and Bogra. Thirty-eight mahals; revenue Rs. 4,30,335.

7. Sarkār Barāha comprising portions of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Maimansingh, and reaching a little beyond the town of Dacca in the south. Thirty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 9,87,921.

8. Sarkār Sihat. Eight mahals; revenue Rs. 1,67,032.

9. Sarkār Sunargaon, extending to both sides of the Megna and the Brahmapatrā, including portions of western Tipperah, eastern Dacca, Maimansingh and Noakhali. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 2,58,233.—(See also Dr. Wier's 'note on Sunargaon,' J.A.S., 1874, No. 1, p. 52).

10. Sarkār Chatgam. Seven mahals; revenue, Rs. 2,83,607.

(Sarkars in the Delta of the Ganges.)

11. Sarkār Sitgaon comprised a small portion to the west of the Hughli, whilst a large portion comprised the modern districts of the 24-Parganas to the Kshaulak river, western Nadia, south-western Murshidabad, and extended in the south to Haliagarh below Diamond Harbour. To this Sarkar belonged mahal Kalkutta (Calcutta) which together with 2 other mahals paid in 1552 a land revenue of Rs. 23,405. Fifty-three mahals; revenue Rs. 4,18,113.—See also J.A.S., 1870, p. 280.

12. Sarkār Mahmūdabad, so called after Mahmūd Shah, King of Bengal (840 A.H.), comprising north-eastern Nadia, north-eastern Jessore, and western Faridpur. Eighty-eight mahals; revenue, Rs. 2,20,246.

13. Sarkār Khalifabad, comprising southern Jessore and western Bagirganj (Backergunge). The Sarkar is so named after the batell parganah Khalifabad (or 'clearance of Khalifah' Khān Jahān) near Bagurhat. The largest mahal of this Sarkar was Jamar (Jessore) or Ramulpur. Thirty-five mahals; revenue, Rs. 135,023. In this Sarkar is also Alulpur, which Professor Blochmann surmises to have been the residence of Sultan Alauddin Hossain Shah, before the latter became King of Bengal.

the country. The first person who presided over the sovereignty

(14. *Sarkār Patahabād*, so called after Pāth Shāh, King of Bengal (866 A.D.) comprising a small portion of Jessore, a large part of Faridpur, northern Bagirganj, a portion of Dhaka district, the island of Dakshin Shāhtārpār, and Sandip, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Faridpur lies in the barrell pargana of Pāthabād. 31 mahals; revenue Rs. 1,09,259.)

(15. *Sarkār Hakla* or *Hugla*, south-west of the preceding, comprised portions of Bagirganj and Dhaka districts. Four mahals; revenue Rs. 1,78,750.)

(Sarkars South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirati (Hughli).)

(16. *Sarkār Udner*, or *Tandah*, comprising the greater portion of Murshidābād district, with portions of Birbhūm. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 6,01,085. Sulaiman Shāh Kararī, the last but one of the Afghan Kings of Bengal, moved the seat of Government to Tandah from Gaur in 1554 A.C., that is, 11 years before the ruin of the latter.—(*Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 130a.)

(17. *Sarkār Sharifābād*, south of the preceding, comprising remaining portions of Birbhūm, and a large portion of Burdwan districts, including the town of Burdwan. Twenty-six mahals; revenue Rs. 5,63,218.)

(18. *Sarkār Sulaimānābād*, so called after Sulaiman Shāh, King of Bengal, comprising a few southern parganas in the modern districts of Nadia, Burdwan and the whole north of Hughli district. Pandnah on the E. L. R. belonged to this Sarkār. The chief town of the Sarkār called Sulaimānābād (afterwards changed to Salimābād) was on the left bank of the Damodar, south-east of the town of Burdwan. Thirty-one mahals; revenue Rs. 4,40,749.)

(19. *Sarkār Madaran*, extended in a semicircle from Nagor in western Birbhūm, over Raniganj along the Damodar to above Burdwan, and from there over Khond Ghosh, Jahānābād, Chāndrakona (western Hughli district) to Mandālikat at the mouth of the Rupnarai river. Sixteen mahals; revenue Rs. 2,35,085.)

(The above 10 Sarkārs which made up Bengal Proper in 1592, paid a revenue on khāles lands (crown lands) inclusive of a few duties on salt, hats, and fisheries, of Rs. 63,37,032. According to Grant the value of jagir lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,802, so that in 1592 A.C. and from before it, Rs. 10,685,944 was the total revenue of Bengal.—(See J.A.S., 1873, p. 210). This was levied from ryots in specie, as the equivalent of the sixth share of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as his share.—(See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, pp. 85 and 63, Vol. 2. This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahāngir. Under Shāh Jahān, the boundaries of Bengal were extended on the south-west, Medinipur and Riji having been annexed to Bengal, and in the east and north-east by conquests in Tipperah and Koch Hajo; and when Prince Shāhju was made Governor of Bengal he made about 1658 A.C., a new rent-roll which showed 34 Sarkārs and 1,350 mahals, and a total revenue, in khāles and jagir lands, of Rs. 1,31,15,907.—(See J.A.S., 1873, p. 210) Shāhju's rent-roll remained in force till 1722 A.C., an addition having been made after the re-conquest of Chitragung, and conquest of Assam and Koch Behar in Aurangzeb's time. In

of the country of Bengal was Rājā Bhāgirat,¹ of the Khatri tribe. For a long period he held the sovereignty of Bengal. At length he went to Delhi and was killed with Darjūdhān² in the wars of the Mahābhārat. His period of rule was 250 years. After this, 23 persons amongst his descendants, one after another, ruled for a period of nearly 2,200 years.³ After that, the sovereignty passed

that year, Nawāb Jafar Khān (Murshid Qull Khān) prepared his 'Kīmūl Jama' Tumārī' or 'perfect rent-roll,' in which Bengal was divided into 24 Sarkars, forming 13 *chokkas*, and subdivided into 1,000 *pergannas*, with a revenue of Rs. 1,42,88,180. After the rule of Nawāb Jafar Khān, *Abwab* revenue (imposts as fees, &c.), appeared in the books. In the time of Shuja Khan, Nawāb Jafar's successor, the *Abwab* (see Blochmann's Contributions and Grant's report) amounted to Rs. 21,72,052, and they rapidly increased under Nawāb Ali Vardi Khān and Kasim Khān, so that when the E.I. Company in 1765 acquired the *Deewān* from Emperor Shāh Alam, the net amount of all revenue collected in Bengal Proper was (see Grant's report) Rs. 2,56,34,223.

(I respectfully differ, however, from Professor Blochmann's conclusions on one point. He would seem to suggest that the above extent of territory with the above Revenue, as gathered from Tular Mal's rent-roll prepared in 1582 and also from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Iqtānāmāh*, *Podahānāmāh* and *Alamgirnāmāh*, might be taken to represent the territorial and fiscal strength of the Musalman Bengal kingdom of pre-Mughal times — (J.A.S., 1873, p. 214). This inference is vitiated, in view of the fact that the Musalman Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times included for the most part the whole of north Behar, and, under several Musalman Bengal rulers, also south Behar as far westward as Sarkar Mungher and Behar, besides Orissa. This consideration would indicate that the territorial and financial strength of the Musalman Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times was greater than what is arrived at in Professor Blochmann's conclusions. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Orissa is included in the *Sūbah* of Bengal, Orissa consisting of 5 Sarkars. Thus, the *Sūbah* of Bengal is described as consisting of 24 Sarkars (that is, including 5 Sarkars of Orissa), and 767 *mahals*, and the revenue is stated to be Rs. 1,49,51,492-15-7. — (See *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 129). Mutamad Khan who was attached to Emperor Jahangir's Court, in his account of the seventh year of Jahangir's reign, states that the revenue of Bengal was one *Kror* and fifty *lakh* in rupees. — (Vide *Iqtānāmāh-i-Jahangiri*, p. 60).)

¹ Rājā Bhagirath or Bhagidat, son of Narak, had his Capital at the city of Pragjatespur (identified with the modern Gauhati), is described in the Mahābhārat as espousing the cause of Darjūdhān, and as being slain by the victorious Arjūn. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 144, Vol. 2, Bhagirath or Bhagidat had twenty-three successors in his dynasty.

² According to the *Ain*, p. 147, Darjūdhān.

³ This is the period during which his dynasty ruled. In the *Ain*, p. 144, 2418 years.

from his family to Noj Gouriah,¹ who belonged to the Kyesth tribe, and for 250² years he and his eight descendants ruled. The fortune of sovereignty passed from his family also to Adisar,³ who was also a Kyesth, and eleven persons, including himself and his descendants, ascending the throne, ruled for 714 years over the Kingdom of Bengal. And afterwards the sovereignty passing from his family to Bhūpāl Kyesth, the latter with his descendants, forming ten persons, ruled over this kingdom for a period of 698 years. When their fortune decayed, Sakh Sen Kyesth with his descendants, numbering seven persons, ruled over the Kingdom of Bengal (Bangālah) for 160⁴ years. And these sixty-one persons ruled absolutely over this kingdom for a period of 4,240⁵ years. And when the period of their fortune was over, their fortune ended. Sakh Sen,⁶ of the Boido caste, became ruler, and after ruling for three years over this kingdom, died. After this, Ballāl Sen, who built the fort of Gaur, occupied the throne of sovereignty for fifty years, and died. After this, Lakhman Sen for seven years, after him Madhū Sen for ten years, after him Kaisā Sen for fifteen years, after him Sadā Sen for eighteen years, and after him Nanj⁷ for three years ruled. When the turns of these were over, Rājā Lakhmanā,⁸ son of Lakhman, sat on the throne. At that time, the seat of government of the *Rais* of Bengal was Nadiāh,⁹ and this Nadiāh is a well-known city, and a seat of Hindū learning. At present, though compared with the past, it is dilapidated and in ruin, still it is famous for its learning. The astrologers of that place, who were known over the world for their proficiency in astrology and soothsayings, unitedly

¹ In the Ain, p. 145, "Shoj Gauriah."

² In the Ain, p. 145, "520 years."

³ In the Ain, "Adisar."

⁴ In the Ain, p. 145, "109 years."

⁵ In the Ain, "45 44" years.

⁶ In the Ain, "Sakh Sin." He is not described as a Boido.

⁷ In the Ain, "Nangah."

⁸ In *Forishta* "Lakhmanah" ; in *Tabaqat-i-Najiri* "Lakhmaniah."

⁹ In *Tabaqat-i-Najiri*, "Nadiāh" or "new isle." According to current legends, it was founded in 1063 A.C. by Lakhman Sen, son of Ballāl Sen, who resided partly at Gaur, and principally at Bīkrampur, in Dacca district. Muhammad Bakhtīār Khūjī in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. stormed the fort of Nadiāh, and conquered Bengal with eighteen troops—*a sad commentary on the feebleness of the Hindu Rajah!*

at the time of delivery, informed Lakhmanā's mother, that at this hour, an unlucky child would be born, who would bring about bad luck and misfortune, and that if it be born after two hours, it would succeed to the throne. This heroine ordered that both her legs should be bound together, and she should be suspended with her head downwards; and after two hours she came down, and the child was brought forth at the auspicious moment, but its mother died. Rājā Lakhmanā for eighty years occupied the throne. In justice, he had no equal, and in liberality he had no match.¹ It is said that his gifts amounted to no less than one hundred thousand. Towards the end of his life, when the perfection of the period of his sovereignty approached decay, the astrologers of that place said to Rājā Lakhmanā: "From our knowledge of astrology, we have come to know, that shortly your sovereignty would come to an end, and that your religion would cease to be current in this kingdom." Rājā Lakhmanā, not regarding this prediction as truthful, put the cotton of neglect and ignorance in his ear, but many of the *élité* of that city secretly moved away to different places. And this prediction was fulfilled by the invasion of Malik Ikhtiar-ud-din Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji, as will be soon related hereafter.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DOMINATION OF CERTAIN HINDŪ RAIS OVER THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL, AND OF THE CAUSE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF IDOL-WORSHIP IN HINDESTAN.

Be it not hidden that, in ancient times, the Rais of the Kingdom of Bengal (Bangālah) were powerful, and of high rank and dignity, and did not owe allegiance to the Mahārājah of Hindustān, who ruled over the throne at Delhi. For instance, Śūraj,²

¹ This account is repeated in several Mussalman histories, such as Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Firishta, Ain-i-Akbari. The Tabaqat, p. 151, being the nearest contemporary record, may be specially referred to, especially as its author, Minhaj-us-Siraj, shortly after, in 641 A.H. visited Lakhnauti. One *lok* comes to mind.

² Minhaj-us-Siraj in the Tabaqat, pp. 150 and 151, pays a high eulogium to this Rājā, and extols his virtues and liberality, and winds up by saying: "May God bestow his paradise in the next world!" Verily, Minhaj was himself liberal in his views!

³ In Firishta (Per. text), Vol. I, p. 121, Bahadaj, father of Śūraj, is described as descended from Noah. It is worthy of note, that in the district of Moughyr,

who was a powerful Rājā, subjugated the Kingdom of Dakṣin (Dakin). At that time, his deputies commenced grasping and usurping; and in the Kingdom of Hindūstān, idol-worship dates from his time. It is said that, in the beginning, Hīnś, having seen and heard from his father Hām, son of Noah (peace be on him!) devoted himself to the worship of God; and that his children also, in the same manner, worshipped God, until, in the time of Rāi Mahārāj,¹ a person coming from Persia perverted the people of Hindūstān to sun-worship. I fluxes of time, some became star-worshippers, and others fire-worshippers. In the time of Rāi Sūraj, a Brahmin, coming from the mountains of Jharkand,² entered his service, and taught the Hindūs idol-worship, and preached that everyone preparing a gold or silver or stone image of his father and grandfather, should devote himself to its worship; and this practice became more common than other practices. And at the present day in the religious practice of Hindūs, the worship of idols, and of the sun, and of fire is very common. Some say that fire-worship was introduced by Ibrāhīm Zardashtī³ in

on the southern bank of the Ganges, near Manlānagar, there is a town called "Sūrajgarh," or "fort of Sūraj." Might not this place have been the birthplace or seat of government of Rājā Sūraj in the text? The locality is one which would facilitate his excursion into the Dakṣin through the defiles of the Vindhya range, of which the text speaks.

¹ This is apparently a mistake in the text for "Rāi Bahadaj," who is mentioned in Ferishta as the father of Rāi Sūraj, and as a descendant of Noah.

² We meet with the name of "Jharkand" in the "Akbarnāmah"; it was the Mussulman appellation of "Chutia Nagpur" just as Bharkand was the Mussulman appellation of "Sonthal Pargana."

The Aryans must have fallen very low in the scale of spiritualism, to have needed lessons in religion from a preceptor hailing from Chutia Nagpur, who was apparently a Dravidian or Sonthali Brahman.

This impingement of "spiritual light" from the defiles of Chutia Nagpur tract, in the time of Rājā Sūraj, strengthens my surmise that Sūrajgarh, which is not far from Chutia Nagpur, was the home or residence of Rājā Sūraj. It may also be noted that the Sonthalese worship images of their ancestors, which worship is referred to in the text.

³ Zardashtī or Zartashtī or Zardashtī is the name of a person descended from Manūchakar, and a disciple of Tythagoras. During the reign of Emperor Gashnasp of Persia he claimed to be a prophet, and introduced fire-worship. The Magians regard him as a prophet, and say that his name was Ibrāhīm, and consider his book the Zend (or Zandavesta), as a revealed book. He is supposed to have been the Zoroaster of the Greeks.

the time of Gashāsp,¹ Emperor of Persia, and spread to Kābul and Sistān and throughout the empire of Persia, and that, in process of time, the kingdom of Bengal became subject to the Rāis of Hindūstān, and the Rāis of Bengal paid revenue and sundry tributes. After this, Shangaldip,² emerging from the environs of Koch,³ became victorious over Kūlār, and founded the city of Gaur, and made it the seat of government, and for a period ruled over the Kingdom of Bengal and the whole empire of Hindūstān. When Shangaldip collected four thousand elephants, one lak cavalry, and four laks of infantry, the breeze of insolence wafted in the recesses of his brain, and he ceased to pay tribute to the Emperors of Persia,⁴ as was hitherto the practice with the Rāis of Hindūstān. And when Afrāsiāb⁵ deputed some one to demand the tribute, he rebuked and insulted him. Afrāsiāb flew into rage, and despatched his General, Piran-vishah, with fifty thousand

¹ Gashāsp or Keshāsp was the Darius Hytaspas of the Greeks, and belonged to the Kainian dynasty; his son, Isfandīār, was the Xerxes of the Greeks, and his grandson, Bahman, was the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. (See *Namah-i-Khasrun*, p. 59).

² In Ferishta, "Shangaldip" is called "Shangal," and so in the text in another place. In Ferishta (Persian text), Vol. 2, p. 293, the following account of Shangaldip or Shangal appears: "Shangal, towards the close of the reign of Rājā Kodār Brahman, emerging from the environs of Koch (Koch Behar) won a victory over Kodār, and founded the City of Lakhnauti, which is otherwise known as Gaur. Shangal mobilised a force of four thousand elephants, one lak cavalry, and five lak infantry, and stopped paying tribute to Afrasiāb, the King of Tūran or Tartary or Scythia. Becoming enraged, Afrasiāb deputed his generalissimo, Piran-Vishah, with fifty thousand cavalry, to chastise Shangal." The rest of the account of Ferishta tallies with that in the text.

³ Koch Behar used to be known in early days as the tract of the "Koch tribe" or simply as "Koch."

⁴ "Iran" or Persia here in the text is evidently a mistake for "Tūran" or Tartary or Scythia, of which Afrāsiāb was monarch. This indicates the subjection of India (like Persia) to the Scythians at a remote period.

⁵ Afrāsiāb (conqueror of Persia) was an ancient king of Tūran or Tartary or Scythia. He was a Mongol by birth. He conquered Persia, killed Naxar with his own hand, and reigned there for about twelve years, about seven centuries before the Christian era, but was subsequently driven beyond the Oxus by a famous chief called Zalsar. Afrāsiāb again overran Persia, but was at last defeated and slain in Arzibījān by Zalsar and his celebrated son, Kustam, the Persian Hercules. Afrāsiāyah appears, however, to have been a family surname, like the Pharaohs, the Ptolemys, the Cæsars.

Mongols, thirsty for blood. In the mountains of Koch, near the limits of Ghorāghat, in Bengal, an engagement took place; for two days and nights the fighting continued. Although the Mongols displayed deeds of bravery, and put to the sword fifty thousand of the enemy, yet owing to the overwhelming numbers of the Indian army, they could effect nothing. The Mongols also lost eighteen thousand of their numbers, and on the third day, seeing symptoms of defeat on the forehead of their condition, they retreated. And as the Indian army was victorious, and the Mongol's country was distant, the Mongols gave up fighting, and retiring into the mountains, secured a strong place, where they entrenched themselves, and sent to Afrāsīāb an account narrating the state of things. At that time, Afrāsīāb was in the town of Gangdoah, which is situate midway between Khatā and China, and is distant a month's journey on the other side from Khānbāligh¹. On the simple receipt of the account, and being apprised of the state of things, he marched swiftly to the aid of the Mongols, with one lak chosen cavalry. And at a time, when Shangal, summoning together the Rāis of the surrounding countries, was pressing the siege hard against Pirān, and was about to put all to the sword, he (Afrāsīāb) attacked him on the way. The Hindūs, on the first onslaught, losing heart and feeling paralysed, dispersed, like the constellation of the bear. Pirān, relieved from the anxiety of the siege, paid his obeisance to Afrāsīāb. Afrāsīāb threw down on the soil of annihilation as many of the Hindu army as he could. And Shangal with the remnants being vanquished, retreated to the town of Lakhnanti, and owing to the pursuit of Afrāsīāb, could not prolong his stay at Lakhnanti more than a day, and took refuge in the hills of Tirhūt. And the Mongols, ravaging the Kingdom of Bengal, spared no trace of fertility. And when Afrāsīāb planned an expedition towards the hills of Tirhūt, Shangal begged forgiveness for his misbehaviour through wise envoys, and presented himself before Afrāsīāb with a sword and a winding-sheet, and prayed for leave to go to the country of Tārān. Afrāsīāb, being pleased, bestowed the Kingdom of Bengal and the whole empire of Hindūstān on Shangal's son, and carried Shangal in his company, and in the battle of Hāmā.

¹ The capital of China used to be called in those days "Khanbaligh," or "City of the Great Khān."

wāran Shāngal was killed at the hands of Rustam.¹ And in the reign of Rājā Jaiśāh,² owing to whose neglect, decay had overtaken several provinces of Hindūstān, and for years Hindūstān did not see its normal state, ruin was visible over the whole empire of India. At that time, certain Rājās of Bengal, finding an opportunity, and grasping at domination, became independent. And when Fūr (Purna),³ who was a relation of the Rājā of Kumāyūn,⁴ emerged, he first subjugated the province of Kumāyūn, and then capturing in battle Rājā Dabhū, brother of Jaiśāh, who had founded Dehlī,⁵ subjugated Kanauj, and after this he marched with his force towards Bengal, and brought it to his subjection, up to the confines of the sea. And this Purna is he, who was killed at the

¹ Rustam, the Persian Hercules. He was a successful general under the first kings of the Kaland dynasty, in their wars of defence against the incursions into Persia of the Turanian or Scythian monarchs. For a graphic account of those stirring warfares between the Scythians or Turanians or Mongolians and Iranians or Persians, see "Shahnameh" of Ferdusi, the Homer of the East. It is worthy of note that Ferdusi, in his immortal Persian epic, gives also the name of an Indian prince as Shāngal, in connection with the adventures of Bahram Gaur, a Persian monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, who reigned in the middle of the fourth century. Perhaps, this later Shāngal was a descendant of the original Shāngal taken captive by Afrāsīb, the Scythian monarch. In this connection, it may also be noted for grasping chronological relations referred to in the text, that there were the following four dynasties of old Persian kings: (1) Puzhulidians, including the Kalmāras, the Jamshīds, and the Farīdāns; (2) the Kalandians, founded by Kalkabād about 600 B.C., including Khūman or Kai Khūman, Shāman, and Darab or Darius &c. (3) Ashkanians, including Hormiz, &c., &c. (4) the Sassanians, founded in 202 A.C. by Ardāshīr Bahgān, including Bahram Gaur and Naushīrwan, &c. (See Sammi-Khūzman, a short Persian History of Persia by Mirza Muhammad).

² At the time when Sulṭān Muḥammad bin alau-Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghori, made incursions into Hindustān, Rājā Jaiśāh Bahor ruled at Kanauj and Benares, and Rājā Pothana Tonwar ruled at Delhi. Tabaqat, p. 120.

³ But it must be noted that there is in the text (probably owing to mistake of the copyist of the original manuscript text) a confusion in the sequence of events related.

⁴ In the neighbourhood of the Panjab, Alexander gave battle to the Hindu prince, Purna, who had advanced from Kanauj, and put him to rout.

⁵ Abū Faiz in the Ain says: "A part of the northern mountains of the Subah of Delhi is called Kumayun. Here are mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, and borax. Here are also found the musk-deer and the Kūla cow and silkworms" *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, p. 280.

hands of Alexander. After this, Rājāh Madiw Rāthor,¹ like whom there had been few such powerful Rājāhs in Hindustan, marching with his forces, conquered the Kingdom of Lakhnauti, and allotted it to his nephews, and after introducing perfect methods of government, returned to Kananj with immense booty. And, in efflux of time, the Rājāhs of Bengal again asserting independence, continued to rule peacefully.²

Inasmuch as the object of the author is to chronicle the history of the Musalman sovereigns, therefore, not basing himself with the details of the affairs of the Hindū Rāiz, he reins back the graceful steed of the black pen of writing from striding this valley, and gives it permission to canter towards relating and reciting the details of the history of the Muhammadan rulers and sovereigns.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE ILLUMINATION OF THE DARKNESS OF BENGAL BY THE RAYS OF THE WORLD-ILLUMINATING SUN OF THE RELIGION OF MUHAMMAD (PEACE BE ON HIM!) BY THE ADVENT OF MALIK IKHTIARU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTIAR KHILJI, AND OF HIS SUBJUGATION OF THAT KINGDOM:—

¹ In *Perishta*, "Ramdeo Rathor."

² Most of these legends and traditions regarding Bengal and India of pre-Moslem times have been borrowed by our author from *Perishta*. For the most part, they consist of a huge mass of mythological fictions; to extract a few grains of sober historical truth wherefrom, I must leave to more competent hands. Yet it is worthy of note (as our author's narrative indicates) that India and Bengal in very early times had political connection of some sort with Scythia and (through the latter) with Persia. It is probable that ethnologically, these Scythian incursions resulted in a great extent in an admixture of Scythian and Aryan races in India, which admixture was further complicated by the subsequent Dravidian incursions from the south.

CHAPTER I.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RULE OF THE MUSALMAN RULERS WHO RULED OVER THIS KINGDOM OF BENGAL, AS VICEROYS OF THE EMPERORS OF DELHI.¹

Be it not hidden from the enlightened hearts of those who enquire into the histories of Musalman sovereigns and rulers, that the commencement of the effulgence of the sun of the Muhammadan faith in the Kingdom of Bengal, dates from the period of the reign of Sultan Qutb-d-din Aibak,² Emperor of

¹ This period extended from 1198 A.C. to 1339 A.C.

² This is not quite accurate. Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiar Khilji-al-Ghori (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 146), in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. (for the discussion of the date, see *Tabaqat*, p. 150, and Blochmann's contribution to history of Bengal), whilst Emperor Shihabuddin Ghori alias Muizuddin Muhammad Sam was yet alive, and whilst Qutbuddin Aibak ruled at Delhi, as the latter's Indian Viceroy, that is, only 7 years after the Musalman occupation of Delhi, which took place in 587 A.H. or 1191 A.C. (*Tabaqat*, pp. 139, 140 and 128). He was called "Aibak," because his little finger was feeble or paralyzed (*Tabaqat*, p. 138), whilst according to another account, "Aibak" signified the "brilliant chief." His name is preserved in his Capital by the Qutb mosque and by the Qutb Minar, though these were erected to commemorate other more or less forgotten worthies. Bakhtiar Khilji in the first instance conquered Bengal on his own initiative, though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of Shihabuddin and subsequently of Qutbuddin, when the latter mounted the throne of Delhi (*Tabaqat*, p. 140). That this was so, appears from the circumstance that in the list of Maliks and Sultans under Shihabuddin alias Muiz-d-din contained in *Tabaqat* (pp. 146 and 137), Bakhtiar is assigned a co-ordinate position with Qutbuddin. In this connection, it is worth noting that owing to a popular and common fallacy, these early pre-Mughul Moslem rulers of India have been described as 'Pathan rulers of India.' As pointed out by Major Raverly in his translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, neither the Ghoris, nor their slaves, "the Slave-kings of Delhi," nor the Tughlaks, nor the Khiljis were Afghans or 'Pathans,' but that they were all Turkish tribes. (See also *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 150, where the expression "Turkic" or "Turks" is constantly employed, with reference to the first Musalman conquerors of Behar and Bengal).

Delhi. And the origin of the title "Aibak" is that his little finger was feeble; hence he was called 'Aibak.' When Sultān Qutbu-d-din in 590 A.H. wrested by force the fort of Kol from the Hindus, and captured one thousand horses and an immense booty, the news spread that Sultān Mu'izzu-d-din Muhammad Sām, also called Sultān Shahābu-d-din, had planned expeditions for the conquests of Kanūj and Banāras. Sultān Qutbu-d-din marched forward from Kol to receive him, presented to him the booty of Kol with other valuables, and becoming recipient of a special Khila't, formed the vanguard of the imperial forces, and marched ahead. And engaging in battle with the forces of the Rajah of Banāras, he routed them, and at length, slaying on the battle-field Rajah Jaichand, the Rajah of Banāras, he became victorious. Sultān Shahābu-d-din, marching with a force from the rear, moved up and entered the city of Banāras, and pillaging the whole of that tract up to the confines of Bengal, carried off as booty incalculable treasures and jewels. The Sultān then returned to Ghazni. And the Kingdom of Bengal as an adjunct of the Empire of Delhi, was left in the hands of Qutbu-d-din. Sultān Qutbu-d-din entrusted to Malīk Ihtiyāru-d-din Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khilji the Viceroyalty of the Provinces of Behar and Lakhnauti.¹ Muhammad Bakhtiyār, who was one of the

According to the 'Masalik-ul-Mumalik,' says Major Raverty in an article in A.S.J. for 1875, No. 1, p. 37, "the Khilji are a tribe of Turks which in former times settled in Gurmair, between Sijistan and the region of Hind. They are in appearance and dress like Turks, and observe the customs of that race, and all speak the Turkish language." The Khilji or Khiljis have been by several writers erroneously confounded with the Afghan tribe of "Ghalzis" or "Ghiljis." The first Afghan or 'Pathan' who sat on the throne of Delhi was Sultān Bahlul of the Lodi tribe, the thirtieth Mussalman ruler of India, counting from Qutbuddin Aibak.

¹ It is worthy of note that in the times of Bakhtiyār Khilji and his immediate successors, South Behar was included in the Bengal or Lakhnauti Viceroyalty. South Behar was separated from the Bengal Viceroyalty in 622 H. by Emperor Altamash who placed it under a distinct governor, named Alaaddin Jau. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Behar was again annexed by the Bengal ruler, Ghiasuddin (see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 169). It continued to be a part of the Bengal Kingdom till 1320, when Emperor Ghiasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Behar belonged to the Shari Kingdom of Jaunpur from 1307 A.C. again under Ibrahim, Bahadur Khan, son of Governor Darya Khān, assumed independence in Behar, with the title of Shah Muhammad, and about 1498 A.C. or about 903 A.H. South Behar.

chiefs of Ghor¹ and Garmair, was a brave man, well-built and very strong.² In the beginning, he was in the service of Sultān Shabāha-d-dīn Ghori at Ghazni. He was allowed a small allowance, as neither he was externally prepossessing, nor was his appearance grand. Becoming despondent, Muhammad Bakhtīār came to Hindustan in the company of the Sultān, stayed behind, and did not even then get into the good graces of the Ministers of Hindustan. Departing thence, he went to Bardāwan³ to Anghal Beg who was the ruler over the Doab country, and there gaining in eminence, he advanced himself to the exalted office of generalissimo. And the tract of Kambālah⁴ and Betālī was given to him as a *jāgīr*. From there he went in the service of Malik Hassama-d-dīn⁵ to the Subah of Andh (Oude). Subduing

again became more or less subject to the Muslim Kings of Gaur, Hamid Shāh and Nasir Shāh. Under the early Mogul Emperors, Behar was again formed into a distinct Subah, but under the later Moguls, it again became incorporated along with Orissa in the great Bengal Viceroyalty. North Behar appears to have been generally included in the Muslim Kingdom of Bengal (see *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shāh*, pp. 451 and 589).

¹ Abūl Fazl places 'Ghor' to the north of Kandahar, and 'Garmair' to the west of Kandahar. In 'Garmair' lay the city of Ferokoh, the capital of the Ghorian Sultāns.

² *Tabaqat-i-Nagiri*, (Pers. text, p. 146) which is the nearest contemporary account, describes Bakhtīār Khilji as "active, agile, brave, bold, learned and intelligent." It says that he went to Ghazni to seek service under Sultān Muizuddin, but owing to his slender appearance was rejected by the Sultān's War Minister. Disappointed, Bakhtīār came to Delhi, where also he was rejected by the War Minister (*Dewan-i-'Arā*).

³ In *Tabaqat-i-Nagiri* p. 147, which is the most reliable account, 'Badaon.' The *Tabaqat* mentions the name of the feudatory of Badaon to be *Sipāhsār* Hasbār-d-dīn Hasan Arnab.

⁴ Major Raverty identifies Bakhtīār Khilji's *jāgīr* lands with the *parganahs* of 'Shugwan and Bhollī,' south of Benares, and east of Chānargarh. Professor Blochmann considers this identification satisfactory. (See Raverty's translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nagiri* and Blochmann's contr. to history and Geography of Bengal).

⁵ This account does not accord strictly with what is contained in the *Tabaqat-i-Nagiri*, (Pers. text, p. 147), the nearest contemporary account for the period. In *Tabaqat*, it is stated that after being rejected by War Ministers both at Ghazni and at Delhi, owing to his slender appearance, Bakhtīār Khilji proceeded to Badaon, presented himself before its feudal baron, general Hasbār-d-dīn Hasan Arnab, who allotted him a fixed pay, that thence Bakhtīār proceeded to Oudh and presented himself before its feudal

that province, he advanced himself farther in rank and dignity. When the fame of his bravery and liberality, and the reputation of his heroism and gallantry, spread over the confines of Hindustan, Sultān Qutbu-d-din who, not yet ascending the throne of Delhi, was still at Lāhor, sent to him valuable *Khilā't*, and summoned him to his presence, and granting to him an illuminated *Farmān* of Chiefship over the province of Behār, deputed him there. And Muhammad Bakhtīār marching quickly to that side, spared no measure of slaughter and pillage. It is said that in Behār there was a Hindū Library which fell into the hands of Muhammad Bakhtīār. The latter enquired from the Brahmins as to the reason for the collection of the books. The Brahmins replied that the whole town formed a college, and that in the Hindī language a college was called Behār, and that hence that town was so called. After this, when Muhammad Bakhtīār being victorious¹ returned to the service of the Sultān, he became more renowned and enviable than other servants. And his rank was advanced so much, that the juice of envy set flowing amongst Sultān Qutbu-d-din's other officers, who burned in the fire of envy and shame, and combined to expel and destroy him, so much so, that one day in the presence of the Sultān, in regard to his strength and prowess, they said unanimously that Muhammad Bakhtīār, owing to exuberance of strength, wanted to fight with an elephant. The Sultān wondering questioned him. Muhammad Bakhtīār did not disavow this false boastfulness, though he knew that the object of the associates of the king was to destroy him. In short, one day when all the people, the *elite* as well as the general public, assembled in

baras, Malik Hasammuddin Ughalbak, who conferred on him fiefs of Saklat and Sahli (identified with Bhagwat and Bhoeli), and finding him brave and bold sent him (apparently on reconnoitering expeditions) towards Munir near Patna, and Behar town. In these reconnoitering expeditions for one or two years, Bakhtīār gathered a large booty, when the Delhi Viceroy (Qutbuddin) recognized tardily Bakhtīār's merits. It would thus appear that but for Bakhtīār's own tenacity, the stupidity of the War ministers of Ghazna and Delhi would have robbed the Indo-Moulvi Empire of a valuable recruit, and perhaps postponed indefinitely its rapid expansion towards Behar and Bengal!

¹ In *Tahqiq-i-Najiri*, pp. 147 and 148 it is stated that Bakhtīār presented himself before the gate of the fort of Behar with two hundred horse-giriths and armours covered with fur-cloth (برگستون), and stormed the fort, and that Bakhtīār had with him at the time two wise brothers, named Nizamuddin and Samammuddin (of Farghana).

Darbār, a white-rodeo elephant was brought to the White Castle (Qasr-i-Safed). Muhammad Bakhtīār tying up the loin of his garment on the waist, came out to the field, struck the elephant's trunk with a mace, when the elephant ran away roaring. All the spectators, including those assembled, and the envious, raising shouts of applause to the sky, were confounded. The Sultān bestowing on Malik Muhammad Bakhtīār special *Khilā't* and many gifts, ordered the nobles to bestow on him presents, so that all the nobles gave him numerous largesses. Muhammad Bakhtīār, in the same assembly, adding his own quota to all the largesses, distributed the same amongst those present. In short, at this time, the Viceroyalty of the Kingdoms of Behār and Lakhnauti was bestowed on him; and with peace of mind, having gained his object, he proceeded to the metropolis of Delhi. That year¹ Malik Bakhtīār, bringing to subjugation the Sūbah of Behār, engaged in introducing administrative arrangements, and the second year coming to the Kingdom of Bengal, he planted military outposts in every place, and set out for the town of Nadiāh, which at that time was the Capital of the Rājās of Bengal. The Rājā of that place, whose name was Lakhmanā, and who had reigned for eighty years over that Kingdom, was at the time taking his food.²

¹ The second year after his conquest of Behār, Bakhtīār *Khilji* set out for Bengal, stormed Nadia, and conquered Bengal. Therefore, the conquest of Behār took place in 592 A.H. or 1196 A.C.

The text is not strictly in accord with the account given in the *Tabaqat-i-Najiri* which is the most reliable and the nearest contemporary account for the period. Whilst in the service of the feudatory of Oudh (*Tabaqat*, Pers. text, p. 147), Bakhtīār reconquered Behār for one or two years, and carried off much plunder. Qutb-u-din, the Delhi Viceroy, then called Bakhtīār to Lahor, readily recognised his merits, and loaded him with presents. Bakhtīār returned to Behār, and conquered it, and carrying off again a large booty, presented himself to Qutb-u-din at Delhi, where he had to undergo a gladiatorial ordeal at the White Castle (Qasr-i-Safed of Delhi), and then receiving presents from Qutb-u-din, returned to Behār, and the second year after his conquest of Behār, he invaded and conquered Bengal, storming and sacking Nadia, and establishing himself at the village or mosque of Lakhnauti (*Tabaqat-i-Najiri*, p. 151). This would indicate that Lakhnauti was founded by him, and was distinct from Gaur, though possibly close to it.

² The *Tabaqat* (Pers. text, p. 151) states that the Rājā (Lakhmanā) was then sitting in his inner apartments, with his food set before him in gold and silver plates, when the sudden intrusion of Bakhtīār *Khilji* with eighteen troops, struck terror, and the Rājā ran out bare-foot by a back-door, and fled to

Suddenly, Muhammad Bakhtīār, with eighteen horsemen, made an onslaught, so that before the Rājāh was aware, Bakhtīār burst inside the palace, and unsheathing from the scabbard his sword that lightened and thundered, engaged in fighting, and put the harvest of the life of many to his thundering and flashing sword. Rājāh Lakṣmanā getting confounded by the tumult of this affair, left behind all his treasures and servants and soldiers, and slipped out bare-foot by a back-door, and embarking on a boat, fled towards Kāmruṭ.¹ Muhammad Bakhtīār sweeping the town with the broom of devastation, completely demolished it, and making anew the city of Lakṣmanā, which from ancient times was the seat of Government of Bengal, his own metropolis, he ruled over Bengal peacefully, introduced the *Ḍaḡbah*, and minted coin in the name of Sulṭān Qutb-u-d-dīn, and strove to put in practice the ordinances of the Muhammadan religion.² From that

Sankat and Bang, his treasures, harem, slaves and servants and women and elephants all falling into Bakhtīār's hands.

¹ Some copies of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* have 'Sankat' and also 'Sankanat.' *Tabaqat-i-Akhbari* has "Jagannath."

According to other and more reliable accounts, the Rājāh fled from Nadiah to Bīkrampur, south-east of Dacca. I think therefore "کناک و بنگ" in the printed text of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* is a copyist's mistake for "سکنت و بنگ," meaning the Rājāh's "Bengal Residence" which was at Bīkrampur from before.

Kāmruṭ (or Kāmruṭ) as well as Sankat and Bang is mentioned in the *Tabaqat* (Pers. text, p. 150), in connection with the previous flight from Nadiah of Brahmins and Sahas who hearing of Bakhtīār's prowess and of his conquest of Behar, anticipated Bakhtīār's invasion of Bengal, and had advised the Rājāh to shift with all his troops and people from Nadiah to his residence in East Bengal (at Bīkrampur). The astrologers had also prepared the Rājāh for Bakhtīār's conquest. But the Rājāh was deaf to all advice, whilst the Brahmins and Sahas had fled. It is opposed to the probabilities of the case that the subsequent defeat of the Rājāh by eighteen troopers of Bakhtīār was brought about by any fool play or stratagem from one side or the other; because the Rājāh was a good, noble and generous prince, and the idol of his people, and even the Musliman historian (author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*) pays him a glowing tribute. (See *Tabaqat*, p. 140).

² Muhammad Bakhtīār-*Khilji* was not a military marauder or a religious fanatic. He was, no doubt, a champion of Islam, but at the same time combined in himself all the qualities of a great general and a wise statesman. We read in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Pers. text, p. 151), that both in Behar and Bengal, just after their conquest, he established Mosques, Colleges, *Khanqahs*

date¹ the Kingdom of Bengal became subject to the Emperors of Delhi. Malik Ikhtiarud-din Muhammad Bakhtiar was the first Muhammadan ruler of Bengal. In the year 539 A.H. when Sultan Qutub-d-din after conquest of the fort of Kalinjar,² proceeded to the town of Mahubah³ which is below Kalpi⁴ and conquered it, Malik Muhammad Bakhtiar going from Behar to wait on him, met the Sultan, at the time, when the latter was proceeding from Mahubah towards Badoun.⁵ He presented jewellery and divers valuables of Bengal and a large amount in cash. And for a time remaining in the company of the Sultan, he took permission to return, and came back to Bengal, and for a period ruling over Bengal he engaged in demolishing the temples and in building mosques. After this, he planned an expedition towards the Kingdoms of Khata⁶ and Tibbat, with a force of ten or twelve thousand select cavalry,⁷ through the passes of the north-eastern moun-

or Charitable establishments consisting of Students' Hostels and travellers' Guest-houses, founded cities, and established military outposts at strategic points, and introduced the coinage of money (see *Tabaqat*, pp. 151 and 149). He laid down embankments, constructed roads and bridges connecting his northern military outposts at Deokot and his southern military outpost at Laknor (perhaps Nagar in Birbham) with his newly-founded capital at Lakhnauti.

¹ *Id.*, 504 A.H. or 1108 A.C. This subordination (during Bakhtiar Khilji and at least two of his immediate successors) was nominal, as Bakhtiar conquered Bengal and Behar on his own account, though he outwardly acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi.

² A town and a celebrated hill-fort in Banda district.

³ In the text 'Mahma,' which is evidently a mistake of the copyist. Mahaba is a town about 15 miles from Lucknow city.

⁴ A town in Jalaun district, North-Western Provinces, on the right bank of the Jamna.

⁵ On the banks of the river Sat, North-Western Provinces, first conquered by Sayad Sabar Masud Ghazi, nephew of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, in 1028 A.C., and re-conquered by Qutub-d-din in 1196 A.C.

⁶ In *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 152, "Tibbet and Turkistan."

⁷ One can easily imagine what an immense Muhammadan army Bakhtiar Khilji must have subsequently poured into Bengal from the Upper Western Provinces, to have enabled him to detach 10,000 cavalry for an expedition into Tibbat, without weakening his garrison in the newly conquered Provinces of Bengal and Behar, especially as we read in the *Tabaqat* (p. 157), that at the same time he sent a detachment under Mohammad Shikri to invade Jajna-gar (Orissa). Those who are given to amusement at the present numerical

tains of Bengal. Guided by one of the Chiefs of Koch, named 'Ali Mich, who had been converted to Mohammadan faith by Muhammad Bakhtiar, he reached towards those mountains. 'Ali Mich led Bakhtiar's forces to a country, the town whereof is called Abardhan,¹ and also Barahmangadi. It is said that this town was founded by Emperor Garahāsp.² Facing that town, flows a river called Namakdi,³ which in its depth and breadth, is thrice as much as the river Ganges. Since that river was tumultuous, broad, and deep, and fordable with difficulty, marching along the banks of the river for ten days,⁴ he reached a place where existed a large bridge⁵ made of stone, and extending over twenty-nine arches, erected by the ancients. It is said that Emperor Garahāsp, at the time of invading Hindūstān, constructed that bridge, and came to the country of Kāmrūp. In short,

strength of Musalman population in Bengal, and are at pains to evolve theories to account for it, might as well bear in mind these elementary facts of history.

¹ In *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* p. 152 "Mardhan-Kote" and "Bardhan-Kote;" in *Badauni*, p. 58, Vol. I, "Brahman." The ruins of 'Bardhan-Kote' lie north of Bogra close to Gobindganj, on the Karatya river, not far from Ghoraghat, and this is the place meant according to Professor Blochmann.

² A King of Tūrkān or Turkistan or Tertiary or Seythiā; but in *Namā-i-Khausrum*, p. 7, he is described as the last sovereign of the Peshiadian dynasty of Persia. In *Ferishtas* it is stated that when Garahāsp made an incursion into Hindustān from Turkistan, he founded the city of Bardhan.

³ In *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* p. 152, 'Bagnati' and 'Bakmedi'; in *Badauni*, p. 58, Vol. I, "Brahmanputr" and "Brahmkadi." The river referred to has been identified by Professor Blochmann to be the Karatya, which formed for a long time the boundary between ancient Mohammadan Bengal and Kāmrūp.

⁴ This ten days' march extended northward along the banks of the Karatya and the Teesta, which latter before 1794 flowed west of the Karatya, joined the Atrai, and fell into the Padma, and of all Bengal rivers extended furthest into Tibbat. This march then was along the frontier between ancient Musalman Bengal and the territory of the Rājā of Kāmrūp. Bakhtiar's Tibbatan expedition must have commenced in the latter part of 606 A.H. (1209 A.C.) or beginning of 606 A.H. (1210 A.C.)

⁵ This bridge must have been in the neighbourhood of Darshuling (or Darjeeling) which in those days appears to have been the boundary separating the Meches from the hill-tribes. The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Pers. text, p. 152), in this connection mentions the following three tribes as then inhabiting Northern Bengal, *viz.*, (1) Koch, (2) Mech, and (3) Tharo; *vide also* Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*.

Mahammad Bakhtiār sending across his forces by that bridge, and posting two commandants for its protection, planned to advance. The Rājā of Kāmrup, dissuading him from an advance, said that if he (Mahammad Bakhtiār) would postpone his march to Tibbat that year, and next year collecting an adequate force would advance towards it in full strength "I too would be the pioneer of the Moslem force, and would tighten up the waist of self-sacrifice." Mahammad Bakhtiār absolutely unheeding this advice, advanced, and after sixteen days,¹ reached the country of Tibbat. The battle commenced with an attack on a fort which had been built by king Garshāsp, and was very strong. Many of the Moslem force tasted the lotion of death, and nothing was gained. And from the people of that place who had been taken prisoners, it was ascertained that at a distance of five *farsang* from that fort, was a large and populous city.² Fifty thousand Mongolian cavalry thirsty for blood and archers were assembled in that city. Every day in the market of that city, nearly a thousand or five hundred Mongolian horses sold, and were sent thence to Lakhnauti.³ And they said "you have an impracticable scheme in your head with this small force." Mahammad Bakhtiār, becoming apprised of this state of affairs, became ashamed of his plan, and, without attaining his end, retreated. And since the inhabitants of those environs, setting fire to the fodder and food-grains, had removed their chattels to the ambuscades of the rocks, at the time of this retreat,⁴ for fifteen days, the soldiers did not see a handful of food-grains, nor did the cattle see one bushel of fodder.

¹ In the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Pers. text, p. 159), this march is thus related: "After leaving a Turkish officer and a *Khilji* officer with a large body of troops to guard the bridge.....Mahammad Bakhtiār *Khilji* with his army for fifteen days marched across high hills and low dales, and on the sixteenth day (from his march from the bridge) descended into the open plain of Tibbat, and passed many populous villages,.....and after some eight hours' hard fighting, entrenched himself in a fort there."

² The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* names the city Karmatan. Bakhtiār *Khilji*'s march from the bridge was northward for sixteen days.

³ The fair at Nik-mardan, 40 miles north-west of Dinajpūr, attracts every year a large number of hill-ponies, which go thence to other places in Bengal and elsewhere.

⁴ In 15 days Bakhtiār *Khilji* retreated from the hills of Tibbat into the plains Kāmrup. According to Major Buxton, from the hills of Darjeeling, Bakhtiār *Khilji* had advanced through Sikkim into Tibbat towards the Sangpo.

Neither human beings saw any bread except the circular disc of the sun.

Nor did the cattle see any fodder except the rainbow !

From excessive hunger the soldiers devoured flesh of horses and horses preferring death to life placed their necks under their daggers. In short, in this straitened condition, they reached the bridge. Since those two commandants quarrelling with each other had deserted their posts at the head of the bridge, the people of that country had destroyed the bridge. At the sight of this destruction, the heart of the high and the low suddenly broke, like the Chinese cup. Muhammad Bakhtiār engulfed in the sea of confusion and perplexity, despaired of every resource. After much striving, he got news that in the neighbourhood there was a very large temple,¹ and that idols of gold and silver were placed there in great pomp. It is said that there was an idol in the temple which weighed a thousand maunds. In short, Muhammad Bakhtiār with his force took refuge in this temple, and was busy improvising means for crossing the river. The Rājā of Kām-rūp² had ordered all his troops and subjects of that country to commit depredations. The people of that country, sending out force after force, engaged in besieging the temple, and from all sides posting in the ground bamboo-made lances, and tying one to the other, turned them into the shape of walls. Muhammad Bakhtiār saw that all chance of escape was slipping out of his hands, and that the knife was reaching the bone, so at once with his force issuing out of the temple and making a *sortie*, he broke through the stockade of bamboos, and cutting through his way, rescued himself from the hard-pressed siege. The infidels of that country pursued him to the banks of the river, and stretched their hands to plunder and slaughter, so that some by the sharpness of the sword and others by the inundation of water, were engulfed in the sea of destruction. The Musalman soldiers on reaching the river-banks stood perplexed. Suddenly, one of the soldiers plunged with his horse into the river, and went about one arrow-shot, when another soldier seeing this, plunged similarly into the river. As the river had a sandy bed, with a little movement, all

¹ Very likely, the temple of Mahumani in Kām-rūp district.

² It would appear that the Rājā of Kām-rūp who had offered his services to Bakhtiār Khilji, in the end turned out treacherous.

were drowned. Only Muhammad Bakhtiar with one thousand cavalry (and according to another account, with three hundred cavalry) succeeded in crossing over;¹ the rest met with a watery grave. After Muhammad Bakhtiar had crossed safely over the tumultuous river with a small force, from excessive rage and humiliation, in that the females and the children of the slaughtered and the drowned from alleys and terraces abused and cursed him, he got an attack of consumption, and reaching Deokot² died. And according to other accounts, 'Ali Mardān Khilji, who was one of his officers, during that illness, slew Bakhtiar, and raised the standard of sovereignty over the kingdom of Lakhanuti. The period of Malik Ihtishār-u-d-din Muhammad Bakhtiar's rule over Bengal was twelve years. When Muhammad Bakhtiar passed³

¹ For a discussion of the route of Bakhtiar Khilji's expedition into Tibhat, and of his retreat therefrom, see Raverty's notes in his translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, and Blochmann's *Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal*, J.A.S. for 1875, No. 3, Part I, p. 253.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Pers. printed text, p. 156) states that Bakhtiar Khilji successfully swam across the river with only one hundred troopers, whilst all the rest of his army were drowned.

² Deokot or Daudamoh, near Gangarainpur, south of Dinajpur, was the northern Musalman Military outpost in the time of Bakhtiar Khilji, who had set out for Tibhat either from Deokot or Lakhanuti.

³ 'Ali Mardān assassinated Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji in 606 A.H. (1210 A.C.) at Deokot. This date is arrived at if Bengal was conquered in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. by Bakhtiar Khilji, as the best accounts would indicate, and also if he reigned for 12 years over Bengal. Professor Blochmann mentions 602 A.H. as the date of Bakhtiar's assassination; but he accepts 594 A.H. as the date of the Bengal conquest—which involves chronological contradiction.

Mr. Thomas in his "Initial Coinage of Bengal" states that 'Ali Mardān assumed independence under the title of Alauddin when Qutubuddin Aibak died in Lahore in 607 A.H. Thus allowing 8 months for Malik Alauddin's rule, Bakhtiar Khilji appears to have been assassinated about the middle of 606 A.H.—the date previously arrived at by me.

In Badaoni, it is stated that Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji returned to Deokot from Tibhat with only some three hundred troopers, the rest of his expeditionary force having perished, and fell ill from vexation, and was attacked with hectic fever, and used to say "na donha Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin has met with an accident, that fortune has gone on against me." And when he became weak from illness, 'Ali Mardān, one of Muhammad Bakhtiar's principal officers, arrived at Deokot, and finding him bed-ridden, pulled down the sheet from his face, and despatched

from the rule of this transitory world into the eternal world, Malik¹ 'Azz-ud-din Khilji succeeded to the rule over Bengal. Eight months had not passed, when 'Alī Mardān Khilji slew him.

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RULE OF 'ALĪ MARDĀN KHILJĪ IN BENGAL.

After the assassination of 'Azz-ud-din, his assassin, 'Alī Mardān Khilji became ruler of Bengal, styled himself Sultān 'Alān-d-din,

him with one blow of a dagger. The above account is rendered thus by the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, the nearest contemporary account. (Pers. text, l. p. 156).—When Bakhtiar Khilji with about one hundred troops only made good his escape across the river, 'Alī Mīch with his relatives rendered good services, and conducted Bakhtiar Khilji towards Deokot. On arrival at Deokot, from excessive humiliation Bakhtiar fell ill and shut himself up, and did not ride out in the streets, for whenever he did so, widows and orphans of the soldiers and officers that had fallen, used to curse and chase him from the terraces and the streets. Bakhtiar would say "Some mishap must have befallen Sultan Muizuddin, for the tide of fortune to have thus turned against me." And it was a fact, for at that time Sultan Muizuddin had fallen at the hands of an assassin (a Ghakkar). From excessive humiliation, Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji fell ill and was confined to his bed, and at length died. And according to another account, one of his officers 'Alī Mardān Khilji who was bold and ferocious, and held the *Bel* of Deokot, on hearing the news of Bakhtiar's illness, came to Deokot, found him lying in bed, threw aside the sheet from his face, and slew him."

¹ His name was Malik 'Azuddin Muhammad Shirān Khilji (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Pers. text p. 157). The following account of him is summarised from *Tabaqat*, the nearest contemporary account: "Muhammad Shirān and Almasud frāw were two brothers, both being Khilji noblemen, and in the service of Bakhtiar. When Bakhtiar led his expedition towards Tādhā, he sent the above two brothers with an army towards Lakhanāū and Jāhnagar (Orissa). When these heard the news of Bakhtiar's assassination, they returned to Deokot, and after performing funeral ceremonies, proceeded towards Narkot (not identified, but must have lain not far from Deokot) which was held in *Bel* by 'Alī Mardān Khilji. They captured the latter, and placed him in charge of the Kotwal (the police commissioner) of that place, named Haba Kotwal Ispahani, and returned to Deokot. Muhammad Shirān was an energetic man, endowed with noble qualities. At the conquest of Sudekh, he had rendered good service by capturing elephants. As he was head of the Khilji oligarchy, all the Khilji nobles acknowledged him as their chief and paid homage to him. In the meantime, 'Alī Mardān Khilji made good his escape, proceeded to Delhi, and persuaded Sultān Qutbuddin to depute from Oudh Qaimas Bān to Lakhanāū, in order to put down the Khilji oligarchy in Bengal. Husamuddin Iwaz who held the *Bel* of Kankori (Kangra, near

and introduced the *Khatib* and the coin in his own name.¹ The breeze of insolence and vanity blew into the recesses of his brain, and he commenced oppressions and innovations. Two years he continued to rule, at length when the Imperial army from Delhi arrived, all the *Khiljis* making a common cause with the Imperial army avenged the murder of 'Azu-d-din. After this, the rule of this kingdom passed to *Ghiyāṣ-d-din Khilji*.



RULE OF GHIYAS-U-D-DIN KHILJI IN BENGAL

*Ghiyāṣ-d-din Khilji*² succeeded to the rule of Bengal. In that year 607 A.H., *Sultān Qutb-d-din*, whilst playing at polo at

Deokot) from *Bakhtiar Khilji*, went ahead to receive *Qaimaz Rumi*, and in the latter's company proceeded to Deokot, and on the initiative of *Qaimaz*, received the *Ref* of Deokot. When *Qaimaz* was returning from Deokot, *Muhammad Shīrān* and other *Khilji* nobles collected together, and attempted to re-take Deokot. *Qaimaz* came back, fought with the *Khilji* nobility and *Muhammad Shīrān*, who being defeated, dispersed, quarrelled amongst themselves near *Makilah* (*Masālah*, a *perganah* south-east of Deokot) and *Mantosh* (*Santosh*, a *perganah* south-east of Deokot), and *Muhammad Shīrān* was slain. He lies buried at *Santosh* (on the banks of the *Atrai* river).

¹ *Ali Mardan Khilji*, assassin of *Bakhtiar Khilji*; and *Azuddin Khilji*, ruled from 607 A.H. to 609 or 610 A.H. and assumed independence and title of *Sultān 'Alauddin*, on the death of *Qutb-d-din Alauk*. In *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* it is stated that he recited the *Khutbah*; but *Badaoni* states that he minted also coins in his own name. [I have not yet seen any of his coins. Mr. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal' notices the coins of *Alauddin's* successor, *Ghiyāṣuddin*, struck in A.H. 616, see J.A.S., p. 354, p. 1. Vol. XLII for 1873]. It is also stated in *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* (Pers. text, p. 159), that from excessive insolence, he divided the country of *Irān* and *Tārān* amongst his adherents, and no one dared to suggest that those dominions did not pertain to him. One person complained of poverty to *Alauddin*, who enquired whence he came. On learning he came from *Ispahan*, he ordered his ministers to write out a document assigning lands in *Ispahan* to him!

It is stated in *Tabaqāt*, that on escape from the custody of the *Kotwal* of *Narkoti*, *Ali Mardin* went to *Sultān Qutb-d-din*, and received the Viceroyalty of *Lakhnauti*. When he crossed the *Kosi* river, *Husammuddin* from Deokot received him, conducted him to Deokot, where *Ali Mardin* was formally installed in power. He was cruel and ferocious, killed many *Khilji* nobles, and the native chieftains trembled under him. The subjects as well as the soldiers were in disgust with him.

² His real name was *Husammuddin Iwaz-bin Al-Husain*. He was a noble of *Khilji* and *Garmir*, and on joining *Bakhtiar Khilji* was first ap-

Lahor, fell from his horse, and died, and his son, Aram Shāh, mounted the throne of Delhi, and the Empire fell into decay. Ghiyāṣ-d-dīn establishing completely his rule over this province,

pointed to Baf of Kangor, (which lay south-east of Deokot) and next promoted to charge of the important northern military outpost of Deokot. On the appointment of Ali Mardan Khilji to the rule of Bengal, he advanced to receive the new Viceroy on the banks of the Kosi river, and helped in the latter's installation at Deokot. On the assassination by the Khilji nobles of Ali Mardan, who had since the death of Emperor Qutbuddin Aibak assumed independence, Husamuddin was elected chief of the Khilji oligarchy in Bengal in 609 or 610 A.H. Seeing the feebleness of Qutbuddin's successor, Aram Shāh, Husam-d-din assumed independence, made Lakhnauli his capital, and assumed the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-d-dīn about 612 A.H., and minted coins in his own name. Mr. Thomas in his "Initial Coinage of Bengal" notices several coins of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-d-dīn struck at Gaur or Lakhnauli between 614 and 620 A.H. An examination of these coins indicates the interesting and curious fact that Ghiyāṣ-d-dīn had put himself in communication with the Khalifa of Baghdad so far back as 620 A.H. (that is, earlier than Emperor Altamash of Delhi who obtained similar honour in 626 A.H.) and obtained a pontifical patent, recognizing the sovereign of Bengal amongst the Moslem hierarchy of the world. This circumstance, as suggested by Mr. Thomas, would also indicate that in those days there was freer sea and ocean-intercourse between the Mussalmans along the shores of Bengal and the Arabs of the sea-ports of Basrah and Bagdad, than between Mussalmans of more inland places in India and the Arabs of the aforesaid sea-ports.

In 622 A.H., Emperor Altamash from Delhi invaded Bengal, and on Sulṭān Ghiyāṣuddin paying him tribute, peace was concluded. In 624 A.H. Sulṭān Nisā'uddin, eldest son of Emperor Altamash, invaded Lakhnauli, whilst Ghiyāṣuddin was engaged at Kamrup and Bang (East Bengal), and fought a battle with Sulṭān Ghiyāṣuddin, on the latter's return, and killed the latter, and succeeded to the rule over Bengal in a semi-sovereign capacity, with the approval of his father, Emperor Altamash. It is stated that Sulṭān Ghiyāṣuddin extended and consolidated the Moslem sovereignty in Bengal, and extended his empire over Jajnagar (Orissa), Bang (East Bengal), Kamrup (or Kamrup, Western Assam), and Tirhut (see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text, p. 163.) Minhaj-us-Siraj, Author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri who visited Lakhnauli shortly after in 641 A.H. and appreciated the material improvements effected by Ghiyāṣuddin, pays him a high tribute (Pers. text, p. 161), a tribute which in 627 A.H. Emperor Altamash had also paid to the memory of this good and great sovereign, by decreeing that Ghiyāṣuddin should in his grave be styled as a Sulṭān. Amongst his public works, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri mentions that he founded the Fort of Baskot (Basankot near Gaur), established mosques, and Public Halls, &c.

introduced the *Khatbah* and the coin in his own name, and to some extent arrogating to himself the sovereign power, he ruled over this country. And when the throne of Delhi by the secession of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh received *asat* in the year 622 A.H., the latter marched with his forces to Behār, and invaded Lakhanuti. Sultān Ghiyān-d-din not finding strength in himself to stand an encounter, presented to the Emperor thirty-eight elephants, eighty thousand rupees, together with various valuables and other presents, and enlisted himself amongst the adherents of the Emperor. Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh introducing there the *Khatbah* and the coin in his own name and bestowing on his eldest son the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din and entrusting to him the rule over the kingdom of Lakhanuti, and presenting to him the royal umbrella and staff, himself returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Sultān Ghiyān-d-din was just and liberal, and the period of his rule was twelve years.



RULE OF SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN ALTAMSH, EMPEROR OF DELHI.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din succeeded to the rule of Bengal. After the return of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh towards Delhi, Ghiyān-d-din who had gone towards the kingdom of Kamrup, returning, raised the standard of revolt. Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din killed him after a bloody engagement, and obtaining much booty, sent many valuables and presents of this country to many of his acquaintances at Delhi, and for three years and some months he continued to rule over Bengal. In the year 626 A.H., at Lakhanuti, he tasted the untasty lotion of death.¹ And Husām-u-d-din Khiljī

¹ His body was brought to Delhi, and enshrined by the loving father in a beautiful mausoleum (known as the mausoleum of Sultan Ghiyān), about three miles west of the celebrated Qutb Minar. In the inscription on the mausoleum, Nāṣiruddīn is entitled "Emperor of the East," or "Malik-ul-Malak-ul-Sharq." Emperor Altamsh so much loved the memory of his eldest son (the King of Bengal) that he bestowed his name (i.e., Nāṣiruddīn) on his (Emperor's) younger son who afterwards mounted the throne of Delhi, after whom Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī is named.

² In Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, "Balika Malik Khiljī." The correct name appears to be Malik Ihtisharuddīn Balika, who assumed the title of Donat Ghāh, and minted coins. Mr. Thomas in his "Initial Coins of Bengal" notices

who was one of the nobles of Md. Bakhtiar succeeded to the rule of Bengal.

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RULE OF 'ALAU-D-DIN KHAN.

When Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altamsh heard the news of the death of his beloved son, he observed the necessary ceremonies of mourning, and in the year 627 A. H. for the purpose of quenching the fire of insurrection which had appeared in Bengal after the death of Nāṣiru-d-din, proceeded to Lakhnauti, and after fighting with Malik Husamu-d-din Khilji, who raising insurrection had brought about complete disorder in the government of Bengal, captured him. After weeding out the root of insurrection, and quelling the tumult of rebellion, he assigned the rule of that kingdom to Izzu-mulk Malik 'Alau-d-din Khan.¹ And the latter devoting himself to the subjugation and administration of the country enforced in this country the Imperial Khutbah and coin. After ruling three years, he was recalled.

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RULE OF SAIFU-D-DIN TURK.²

After supercession of Izzu-l-mulk 'Alau-d-din, Saifu-d-din Turk received the Royal patent of Vicerealty of Bengal. He,

a coin of Doulat Shāh struck in 627 A.H. To put down Doulat Shāh, Emperor Altamsh personally invaded Bengal for the second time in 627 A. H., defeated Doulat Shāh or Iqtidaruddin Balak, and entrusted the government of Bengal to Alauddin Khān or Alauddin Jāni. (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text, p. 174).

¹ In Badoni, "Malik Alauddin Khān," in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri "Alauddin Jāni." After his first invasion of Bengal, in 623 A.H., Sultan Shamsuddin Altamsh separated Behar from Bengal, which was under Sultan Ghiasuddin, and left Alauddin Jāni as its Governor. On Altamsh's withdrawal, Sultan Ghiasuddin arrested Behar again from Alauddin Jāni, and hence the second invasion of Bengal by Emperor Altamsh's son.

² The following account of him is abridged by me from Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, the nearest contemporary account (Pers. text, p. 238):—"Malik Saifuddin Aibak Ighantat was a Turk of Khata; he was a noble Malik, and was endowed with excellent qualities. Sultan Nusratdin Mahmud, King of Bengal, (son of Emperor Altamsh), purchased him, and kept him in his company, first appointing him as Amir-ul-Majlis (Lord Chamberlain) and then conferring on him the fief of Saranti. Subsequently, for his good services, he was appointed Governor of Behar, and next promoted to the

too, occupied the Viceregal throne for three years, when he died of poison.

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RULE OF IZZU-D-DĪN TUĞHAN KHĀN.¹

Since the juggling sky at that time had thrown the reins of

Viceroyalty of Bengal (Lakhnauti), when Alauddin Jani, the Bengal Viceroy, was recalled. He captured several elephants in Vilayat-i-Bang (East Bengal), sent them as presents to the Delhi Emperor (Shamsuddin Altamash) and received the title of Ighastat.

1 The following account of him is summarised by me from *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, the nearest contemporary account (Pers. text, p. 242):—Malik Tughan Khān Turkī was comely in appearance, and noble in heart. He hailed from Khata. He was liberal and generous, endowed with noble qualities; in liberality and generosity, and in conciliating and winning over people, he had no match in the army. When the Sultan (Emperor Altamash) purchased him, he first became the Royal cup-bearer, next he was appointed Secretary and Keeper of the Imperial Seal (Dawat Dar). He lost the Imperial jewelled ink-pot, and was degraded to the office of Uhashnigir (a toaster to a prince), and after a long time, was appointed Superintendent of the Imperial stables (Amir-i-Akhur); and after some time, was appointed feudatory of Haliun, and next appointed Governor of Behar, when Lakhnauti (Bengal) was conferred on Ighastat Saifuddin Aibak. At length when Saifuddin died, Tughan Khān was appointed to the vacant Bengal (Lakhnauti) Viceroyalty. After the death of Sultan Nāṣiruddin Mahmūd (son of Emperor Altamash, and Viceroy of Bengal), between Tughan Khān and the feudatory of Lakhnauti named Lakor Aibak, who enjoyed the title of Aar Khān, ill-feeling broke out. Tughan Khān fought with Lakor Aibak before the fort of Basankot, close to Lakhnauti, defeated and killed the latter, and subdued both wings of Lakhnauti, one being in Badi on the side of Lakor (probably Nagor) and the other being in Barand, on the side of Beokot. At this time, Empress Raziyah ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, and Tughan Khān sent envoys with presents to Delhi, and received in return Imperial presents sent in charge of Qazi Jallatuddin. Tughan proceeded from Lakhnauti to Tirhut district, and acquired much booty and treasure. When Sultan Muzaffar Bahram Shāh ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, Tughan Khān sent the former also presents. When Sultan Alauddin succeeded Bahram Shāh, Batsuddin Hahai Sadaul invaded Oudh, Manikpur, and Karah and cast eyes on the eastern provinces, and so Tughan Khān went to Karah and Manikpur, (to conciliate Bahauddin and to turn him back), and in Oudh met Minhaj-a-Siraj, (author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*), and with the latter went back to Lakhnauti in 641 A.H. At this time the Rajah of Jajnegar (Orissa) committed depredations in Lakhnauti. Tughan Khān that year, by way of reprisal, invaded Jajnegar (Minhaj-a-Siraj accompanying him) and reached and stormed the fort of Bakisau,

the empire of Delhi into the hands of Sultān Raziah,¹ daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamah, during her reign, the Viceroyalty

which is on the Orissa frontier. Fighting ensued, and the Mussalmans were defeated. Tughan Khān returned to Lakhnauti, sent Sharfu-l-mulk Azhari to the Emperor of Delhi, to seek for help. Under Emperor's order, a large army led by Tamar Khān Qasraddin Qima, feudatory of Oudh, was sent to Lakhnauti, in order to repel and chastise the infidels of Jajugar (Orissa). The Rajah of Jajugar invaded Lakhnauti, owing to Mussalmans in the previous expedition having demolished the Orissa fort of Katanan (or Baktaman). The Orissans first took Lakor (probably Nagor), and slaughtered a large body of Mussalmans including the Commandant of Lakor, named Fakhrul Malik Karimuddin, and then approached the gate of Lakhnauti, but after fighting retreated. Then between Tughan Khān and Tamar Khān ill-feeling ensued, and they fought against each other, and on both sides many were killed. By the intercession of Minhaj-u-Siraj (author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*) peace was brought about between the two, on condition that Lakhnauti would be left to Tamar Khān, and Tughan Khān with his treasures and elephants and effects would retire to Delhi. Tughan did so (in his company being Minhaj-u-Siraj); the Emperor loaded him with presents, bestowed on him the Governorship of Oudh, whilst Tamar Khān held the Bengal Viceroyalty. On the same night, both died, Tamar Khān at Lakhnauti, and Tughan in Oudh!"

It would appear from the above that the invasion of Bengal by Mughals under Changiz Khān, referred to in the text, is a myth and a mistake for the invasion of Lakhnauti by the Hindus of Jajugar (Orissa). The mistake is repeated in many histories, but *Tabaqat's* account is the most reliable, as its author was an eye-witness of the affair.

¹ The daughter of Emperor Altamah, named Raziah, ascended the throne of Delhi in accordance with her father's wishes in 634 A.H. (1236 A.C.) The sight of an unveiled Moslem Empress seated on the Imperial throne of Delhi, struck all Indo-Moslem eyes in those days as a curious phenomenon, and hence our author's expression, "Juggling sky." She reigned for three years from 1236 A.C. to 1239 A.C. According to Badaoui, the Empress was endowed with excellent qualities, and was brave, generous and intelligent. She followed the path of equity and the principles of justice, and set in order the affairs which had remained in confusion during the brief reign of her step-brother Sultān Bakraddin Firuz Shah. She set before her the pursuit of beneficence as the object of her ambition, and made Nizamul Junaidi, Chief Vizier. The Empress came out of the curtain, wore masculine garments, such as a tunic and a *Kullah*, and sat on the throne. According to *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, she was put to death by the Hindus. She was learned in the *Qur'an*, industrious in public business, firm and energetic in every crisis. Indeed, she was a great woman and a great Queen.

of Lakhnauti was bestowed on Izzu-d-din Tughan Khān. The latter devoted himself to the administration of the country, and for a period was successful. When in the year 639 A.H. Sultān Alau-d-din Masud ascended the throne of Delhi, Tughān Khān sent many presents and valuables to the Emperor of Delhi in charge of Sharfu-l-Mulk Saugart, and the Emperor sent to Izzu-d-din Tughān Khān in charge of Qāzi Jalālu-d-din, Governor of Oudh, a ruby-laid umbrella and a special robe of honour. And in the year 642 A.H., thirty thousand Mughal soldiers of Changiz Khān, making an incursion into the kingdom of Lakhnauti through the passes of the northern mountains, created much confusion. Malik Izzu-d-din sent an account of this to Sultān Alāu-d-din. On hearing of this, the Emperor despatched to Lakhnauti a large force under Malik Qurābēg Tamar Khān, who was one of the servants of Khwājah Tāsh, for assisting Tughān Khān. At the time of engagement, the Mughal forces not being able to give battle returned to their country, vanquished. In the meantime, on certain occasions between Izzu-d-din Tughān Khān and Malik Qurābēg Tamar Khān, dissension set in; consequently, Sultān Alāu-d-din, in accordance with the saying "Two rulers cannot rule over one country," appointed Malik Qurābēg Tamar Khān to be ruler of Lakhnauti, and recalled to Delhi Malik Izzu-d-din Tughān Khān. Tughān Khān ruled for 13 years and some months.



RULE OF MALIK QURĀBĒG TAMAR KHĀN.¹

After supercession of Malik Izzu-d-din Tughān Khān, Qurābēg Tamar Khān, becoming ruler of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, set

¹ Malik Qurābēg Tamar Khān or Qamru-d-din Qiran Tamar Khān was Governor of Bengal from 642 A.H. to 644 A.H., when he died.

An account of his career in Bengal already appears in a previous note. His previous career may, however, be noticed here. I summarise it from Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Pers. text, p. 247), which is a contemporary account.—"Malik Tamar Khān Turk was virtuous and polished in manners, very energetic and generous and active and brave. He had a handsome appearance. Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamash purchased him for 50,000 *chital*, appointed him Deputy Superintendent of the Royal Stables, whilst Tughān Khān was the Chief Superintendent. In the reign of Empress Raziah, he became founder of Kanauj, and fought in the expedition against Kalwar and Malwah, and rendered good services. He received *def* of Karah, and also did good

himself to administrative affairs. After ruling ten years, he died. And in the reign of Emperor Nasir-u-d-din¹ Mahmūd, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh in the year 655 H. the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti was entrusted to Malik Jalālu-d-din Khān.



RULE OF MALIK JALĀLU-D-DĪN KHĀN.²

When Malik Jalālu-d-din Khān succeeded to the Viceroyalty of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, he ruled over it for a year more or less, and in the year 656 A.H. he was superceded, and Arsalān Khān was appointed Viceroy of that province.



RULE OF ARSALĀN KHĀN.³

When Arsalān Khān became Viceroy of Lakhnauti, he devoted himself to administrative matters. He asserted some amount of independence. In the year 657 A.H., he sent two elephants and much jewellery and rare stuffs to Sultan Nasir-u-d-din, and shortly after died at Lakhnauti.

service there. On the death of Nasir-u-d-din, he was appointed Governor of Oudh. Whilst at Oudh, he invaded all the eastern tracts including Tírhut, and carried off immense booty. He was thence sent to Lakhnauti to help Tughan Khān in repelling the Goriya invasion, and after that settled down in Bengal as its Viceroy.

¹ After him the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri is named; it is a general history of India from the commencement of Muslim Rule down to 658 A.H. (1260 A.C.) Sultān Nasir-u-d-din succeeded Sultān Alau-d-din to the throne of Delhi in 1246 A.C. His Vizier was Ghiyas-u-d-din Balban (afterwards Emperor Balban). Of the six years which intervened between 636 A.H. and 644 A.H. (the date of assumption of sovereignty by Emperor Balban) there is no known historical work. The Tarikh Firoz Shahi of Zau-d-din Barni only began from Ghiyas-u-d-din Balban's reign. Emperor Balban reigned from 1265 to 1287 A.C.

² Jalaluddin Mas'ud, Malik Jani Khilji Khān, became Governor of Bengal in 656 A.H.

I do not find any detailed account of him given in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.

³ Isau-d-din Balban was Governor of Bengal in 657 A.H., in which year he was attacked by Taju-d-din Arsalan Khān Sanjar-i-Khwarizmi, who was subsequently captured or killed at Lakhnauti by Isau-d-din. Hence Taju-d-din Arsalan Khān cannot count amongst Governors of Bengal (see Blochmann's Contr. to Hist. and Geog. of Bengal, and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text, p. 207).

RULE OF MUHAMMAD TĀTĀR KHĀN.¹

After the death of Arsalan Khān, his son, Md. Tātār Khān, who was illustrious for his bravery, liberality, heroism and honesty, becoming independent in his rule of Lakhnauti, did not much bend his head in submission to Emperor Nāsiru-d-din. And after a while, he had the Khutbah in the kingdom of Lakhnauti recited in his own name, and for some time he passed in this wise. And when in the year 664 A.H. the throne of Dehli received eclat from the accession of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-din Balban, and the fame of high aspiration and steadiness and high ambition of that Emperor spread to all sides, Md. Tātār Khān, using foresight, went sixty-three head of elephants, together with other presents, to Dehli. As this was the first year of his accession, Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-din Balban considering this an auspicious augury, illuminated the City with lamps, and the nobles, flatterers and the principal officers presenting nazar became recipients of gifts. And the envoys of Muhammad Tātār Khān, after being loaded with presents, got permission to return. Tatar Khan pleased with the Imperial gifts, submitted and enrolled himself in the ranks of the Emperor's *Omara*. Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-din Balban appointed a Turkish slave named Taghral to the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti.²

¹ Muhammad Arsalan Tātār Khān, son of Arsalan Khān Sanjar, had been for some time Governor of Bengal, when the Emperor Balban ascended the throne (664 A.H.) (See *Tārīkh-i Firuz Shāhi*, by Zia-d-din Barni, Pers. text, pp. 53 and 66.) He was generous, liberal and brave. After a few years he was succeeded by Tughral, who proclaimed himself king, under the title of Sultān Mughis-u-d-din.

² This account differs slightly from Professor Blochmann's conclusions derived from inscriptions and the evidence of coins, as set forth in his Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal. Professor Blochmann holds that on the death of Mohammed Tātār Khān, which took place shortly after Balban's accession, Sher Khān was appointed Imperial Governor of Lakhnauti; that Sher Khān was succeeded in the office by Amin Khān, whose Deputy or Naib was Taghral. Tughral heard of Balban's illness, attacked and defeated Amin Khān, and proclaimed himself king of Bengal under the title of Sultān Mughis-u-d-din (A.C. 1279). Balban recovered from his illness shortly after, invaded Bengal in person, defeated Tughral, at some place near Sunargaon, where Daulat Ali was the saminalar (*Tārīkh-i Firuz Shāhi*, p. 87), and in 681 H. (A.C. 1282) before leaving Bengal conferred the throne of Bengal on his (the Emperor Balban's) son, Baghra Khān, who assumed the title of Sultān Nāsiru-d-din. Nāsiru-d-din appears to have died in 691 H. (1292 A.C.), that is about five years after the death of his

RULE OF TUGHRAL, STYLED SULTÂN MUḠHISU-D-DIN.

Tughral became Viceroy of Lakhnauti. In that, in liberality and bravery, courage and sagacity he was unequalled, in a short time he brought the kingdom of Lakhnauti to subjection and order, and subjugated Kamrup (Western Assam). In the year 678 A.H. he marched with his forces from Lakhnauti to Jajugar, and vanquishing the Rajah of that place, obtained many elephants and much riches and chattels and stuffs. In that Sultân Ghiyas-d-din Balban had become old, and both of his sons were at Multân with large forces engaged in fighting the Mughals, the kingdom of Lakhnauti was lost sight of. In consequence of this circumstance, Tughral failed to despatch elephants and booty to the Emperor. And also as at the time the Emperor was sick at Delhi, and had not come out of the palace for one month, and rumours of his death had spread in the Empire, Tughral finding the field completely open, sallied out, and collecting a large force proclaimed himself Sultân MuḠhisu-d-din, and unfurling on his head the red Royal umbrella, had the *Khutbah* in that country recited after his own name. Simultaneously with this event, the Emperor recovered health, and royal edicts announcing the recovery were received. Tughral, not becoming ashamed of what he had done, struck the hand of disloyalty on the hem of hostility. When Sultân Ghiyas-d-din Balban became aware of this, he despatched Malik Abtakin who had long hairs, and who had the title of *Amin Khân* and was Governor of Oudh, appointing him generalissimo

illustrious father Emperor Balban. For a full account of Tughral styled Sultân MuḠhisu-d-din, see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Pers. text, p. 261), and also *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Pers. text, pp. 81 to 94), by Zian-d-din Barni. Before becoming Governor of Bengal, he held the following offices: Chahnigir (Taster to a prince) under Shamsu-d-din Altamsh; Amir-al Majlis or Lord Chamberlain under Emperor Ruknu-d-din, Superintendent of Elephants, next Superintendent of Stables under Empress Raziah, feudatory of Tabarkhind under Sultân Alau-d-din, next feudatory of Kanauj and Governor of Oudh, and next Viceroy of Bengal. He invaded Jajugar (Orissa), Oudh and Kamrup (Western Assam) successfully, and then proclaimed his independence. Tughral was active and energetic, bold and courageous, liberal and generous. It is worthy of note that in this connection, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (p. 93), for the first time uses expressions like these, "Iqlim-i-Lakhnauti," "Iqlim-i-Sanargam," "Arpah-i-Bangalah,"—indicating that Tughral had considerably extended his Bengal Satrapy.

of the expedition, and also Viceroy of Lakhnauti, together with other nobles, such as Tamar Khān Shamsī, Malik Taju-d-din, son of 'Alī Khān,¹ and Jamāla-d-din Qandahārī, for destroying Tughral. And when Malik Abtakin with a large force crossed the river Sro, and marched towards Lakhnauti, Tughral, too, with a large force came to encounter him. In that, in bravery and generosity, he was matchless, some nobles and soldiers deserting Amin Khān joined Tughral, so that on the day of engagement the force of Amin Khān was routed. And when Amin Khān being vanquished retreated to Oudh, the Emperor hearing of this became anxious and perplexed, ordered that Amin Khān should be hanged at the gate of Oudh, and afterwards appointed Malik Tarmini with a large force for destroying Tughral. And Tughral making a bold attack vanquished this force also, and obtained much booty.

Owing to strength of fortune,
that rampant lion,
Twice routed the army of the enemy.

Sultān Ghiyān-d-din, on hearing this bad news, became dejected and anxious, and made kingly efforts, and boldly resolved to march out himself, and ordered that numerous boats should be kept ready in the rivers Jon and Ganges, and he himself on the pretext of a hunting excursion went towards Sanām and Samānah. Appointing Malik Sūnaj to be governor of Samānah, he took his young son, Bughrā Khān, with a select force in his own company, and passed from Samānah to Doāb. Leaving Malika-l-Umara-Fakhr-d-din Kotwāl to rule as Viceroy at Dehli in his absence, he crossed the Ganges, and not heeding that it was the rainy season, by forced marches, proceeded towards Lakhnauti. Tughral who in this interval had collected his efficient troops, marched in state towards Jājnagar with his treasures and a large army, and planned to take it and to encamp there, and subsequently to return to Lakhnauti, when the Emperor would return to Dehli. But when the Emperor reached Lakhnauti, after staying there a few days, he despatched General Hassām-d-din Vakil-dar Hārbaṭ (Secretary of State), who was the grandfather of the author of the *Turikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, to subjugate the

¹ In *Turikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, "Qutluḡ Khān Shamsī."

kingdom of Lakhnauti, and the Emperor himself marched towards Jajunagar,¹ to chastise Tughral. At the time, when the Emperor reached the confines of Sunargaon, Bhūj Rāj,² who was the Zamindar of that place, enrolled himself in the ranks of the Imperial adherents, and promised that in case Tughral attempted to escape across the river,³ he would prevent his doing so. But when the Emperor swiftly passing from that place marched several stages, the trace of Tughral was lost, and no one could give a clue to his whereabouts. The Emperor ordered Malik Bārbak Baras⁴ that he should march ahead ten or twelve *Karoh* with seven thousand chosen cavalry. Although these tried every means of pursuit and search, they could obtain no trace of Tughral. One day, Malik Muhammad Tirandāz,⁵ the ruler of Koel,⁶ and his brother, Malik Maqaddar, separating themselves from the vanguard force, with thirty or forty troopers marched ahead. Suddenly, on a field they came across some grocers. Arresting these, they made enquiries, and in order to frighten them, they commenced slaughter by breaking the neck of one; then the others cried out:—"If your object is to obtain goods and provisions, whatever we have, you may take; but spare our lives." Malik Muhammad Tirandāz said: "We have no concern with your goods and stores: our object is to ascertain the whereabouts of Tughral. If you show the way, your lives and things would be spared; otherwise whatever will befall you, will be the consequence of your misconduct." The grocers said: "We carried food-grains to the camp of Tughral,⁷ and now

¹ From the manner of description given here, the Jajunagar here referred to would seem not to be in Orissa, but some place in East Bengal (probably Tipperah). For an exhaustive and interesting discussion on "Jajunagar," see Blochmann's "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal."

² In *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, "Danz Rāj," (p. 87).

³ Probably the river Brahmaputra or Megna is meant. Sunargaon is situated on the banks of the Brahmaputra, 12 miles S.-E. of Dacca. For a contemporary and graphic description of Emperor Ghias-ud-din Balban's expedition to Bengal, see *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (pp. 85-94 Pers. text.)

⁴ In *Fecāhita*, "Barlaq Barbas," in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* "Barik Begtamas."

⁵ In *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. ("Malik Muhammad Shermūdāz," p. 88).

⁶ Koel is a tehsil in Aligarh District.

⁷ From the description given, Tughral alias Sultan Muḥammad-bin would appear to have pitched his tent at the time on the western banks of the Brahmaputra not very far from Sunargaon. Or, one might imagine him at this point of time having shifted his tent farther eastward to the western bank of the Megna, opposite perhaps to the old ferry of Manicknagar

we are returning from there. Between you and Tughral, there is a distance of half a *farsakh*. To-day he is encamping there; to-morrow he will march to Jājūnagar." Malik Muhammad Tirandāz sent the grocers with two troopers to Malik Bārbak Baras, and sent word that after ascertaining the truth from the grocers, he should march up swiftly, so that Tughral might not march to the Vilāyet of Jājūnagar which is in the kingdom of Bengal, and leagu- ing with the people of that part, might not hide himself in a jungle. And he himself with troopers went forward, and saw the tent of Tughral, and his army resting in false security, and his elephants and horses grazing about. Availing himself of the opportunity, he rushed with his cavalry towards the camp of Tughral. No one opposed their progress, fancying that they were officers attached to the army of Tughral. When they arrived in front of Tughral's tent, all of a sudden drawing their swords, they killed every one they found in the Audience-Hall, and shouted out that the kingdom of Bengal pertained to the Empire of Balban. Tughral fancied that the Emperor had him- self arrived. Becoming totally confounded, he slipped out in great perplexity by the bath-room door, and mounting an un- saddled horse, and not mustering his own adherents, owing to great confusion of mind, he intended to plunge into the river near the soldiers' quarters, and then to swim across to Jājūnagar. As misfortune would have it, owing to the disappearance of Tughral, all his officers, soldiers and followers turned towards different directions. And Malik Muqaddar, at whose hands the slaughter of Tughral had been destined, marched in pursuit of Tughral, and encountered him on the river-bank. Then Malik Muqaddar shot a shooting arrow at Tughral's shoulder, dismounted the latter from his horse, and himself dismounting from his own horse, severed Tughral's head from the body. Seeing that the followers of Tughral were searching for their master, Malik Muqaddar hid Tughral's head in the mud by the river-side, and flung his body into the river, and pulling off his own garments, he set himself to washing them. At this moment, Tughral's soldiers arrived,

across the river, or somewhere close to the modern Bhoyrab Bazar ferry, seriously planning to cross over on boats from the Banca side to the Tipperah tract (which has been identified here with Jājūnagar), with the old and powerful Emperor of Delhi (Ghiyas-d-din Balban) shadowing him. This Jājūnagar, therefore, in Bengal, is different from Jājūnagar in Orissa.

shouting out "Lord of the world! Lord of the world!" and searched for Tughral. Not finding him, they took to their heels.

They shot an arrow at his heart,¹

Dismounted him from his horse, and cut off his head.

When Tughral at that place was killed owing to his in-alertness,

One shout arose from every side.

The adherents of Tughral were completely routed,

From the absence of their leader, they were all cowed down.

At this time Malik Bārbak Baras² arrived, and Muqaddar running forward announced the joyful tidings of the victory. Malik Bārbak applauding him sent a despatch to the Emperor, announcing the victory, together with the head of Tughral. On the following day, together with the booty and prisoners of Tughral's army, he proceeded himself to the Emperor, and narrated the story of the victory. And Malik Muhammad Tīrandāz³ was promoted to the first rank, and his brother Malik Muqaddar⁴ received the title of Tughral-kush ("Tughral-slayer"), and was raised to the peerage. Sultān Ghiāṣ-d-dīn Balban after this marched back to Lakhnauti, and set himself to the work of chastisement. Along both sides of the road passing through the market-place of the City, putting up scaffolds, the Emperor hanged such adherents of Tughral as had been taken prisoners, and capturing their women and children, wherever found, he had them slaughtered at Lakhnauti, after putting them to indescribable tortures. Till that time, none of the Emperors of Dohli had slaughtered the children and women of miscreants.⁵ After this, the Emperor bestowed the kingdom of

¹ These verses, with slight variations, have been borrowed very probably from Amir Khusrāu, the poet-laureate of Emperor Ghiāṣ-d-dīn Balban.

² In *Tarikh Firus Shāhi* (p. 88.) Malik Bārbak Bektara.

³ In *Tarikh Firus Shāhi* (p. 88) Malik Muhammad Shirandaz.

⁴ From *Tarikh Firus Shāhi* (pp. 88, 90 and 91) Malik Muqaddar and Tughral-kush would seem to be two different individuals.

⁵ The author of *Tarikh Firus Shāhi* remarks that on both sides of the principal bazars of Lakhnauti that was more than one larok long, scaffolds were set up, and men, women and children were hanged. Such cruelty, sorrowfully remarks Ziaud-dīn Barni, had never before been perpetrated by Mussalman sovereigns of Dohli. (See pp. 91-92 *Tarikh Firus Shāhi*).

Lakhnauti on his own son, Bughhrā Khān,¹ giving him at the same time the treasures, etc., and other valuables of Tughral that

¹ Bughra Khān, younger son of Emperor Balban, assumed the royal title of Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-dīn at his elevation to the throne of Bengal. He was the first of a succession of Bahmani Kings who ruled over Bengal, from 1282 A.C. to 1331 A.C. (or 681 A.H. to 731 A.H.) and had mostly their court at Sonargaon near Dacca. Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Bughra Khān, son of Emperor Balban, reigned over Bengal from 681 H. to 691 (1282 A.C. to 1292 A.C.) and was succeeded by his son Bakim-u-d-dīn who assumed the title of Sultān Kai-Kaus. From inscriptions found at Gangarampur and Khagol, near Lakhmuraī, he appears to have been alive in 697 H. (A.C. 1297). Mr. Thomas has published coins of this King bearing the dates 691, 693, 694, 695 A.H. He appears to have been succeeded by his brother who reigned under the name of Shams-u-d-dīn Firuz Shāh. Firuz Shāh had several sons, namely, Bughra Khān, Nāṣir-u-d-dīn, Ghāṣan-u-d-dīn or Bahadur Khān, Quila Khān, and Hatim Khān. The third son, Ghāṣan-u-d-dīn, made conquests in Eastern Bengal, established himself at Sonargaon near Dacca, and struck coins from 1311 A.C. under the name of Bahadur Shāh. The fifth son Hatim Khān was in 1309 and 1315 A.C. Governor of Oudh. Firuz Shāh died in 718 H. (1318 A.C.) Quarrels then broke out between the several sons of Firuz Shāh, who was succeeded by his eldest son who took the title of Shahab-u-d-dīn Bughra Shāh who ruled at Lakhnauti in 1315-19. Soon after his accession, Bughra Shāh was defeated by his brother Bahadur Shāh who reigned at Sonargaon. Bughra Shāh and his brother Nāṣir-u-d-dīn took refuge with Emperor Tughlak Shāh who in 1320 had mounted the throne of Delhi. Quila Khān, another brother, was killed by Bahadur Shāh who was now supreme King over Bengal and Behar, and held a magnificent Court at Sonargaon.

At the instigation of Bughra Shāh and Nāṣir-u-d-dīn, the fugitives (says Ibn Batutab), Emperor Tughlak Shāh invaded Bengal. When the Imperial army left Delhi, Bahadur Shāh retired to Sonargaon, whilst Nāṣir-u-d-dīn joining the Emperor at Tichat came with the latter to Lakhnauti, when the Emperor confirmed Nāṣir-u-d-dīn as Governor of Lakhnauti. The Emperor sent his adopted son Tatar Khān, Governor of Zafarabad (near Jaunpur) with an army to operate against Sultān Bahadur Shāh, who was captured and sent to Delhi with a chain round his neck. At this time, also, two additional distinct Provinces in Bengal were constituted, *viz.*, Sonargaon and Satgaon, each being placed under a Military Governor; whilst Behar was separated from Bengal. Sonargaon was placed under Tatar Khān.

With the accidental death of Emperor Tughlak Shāh and the accession of his successor Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, other changes took place in the administration of Bengal. The new Emperor released Bahadur Shāh, allowed him to return to Sonargaon, on condition that the Bengal coinage was to bear the joint names of Bahadur Shāh and the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak, and also that in the Khaṭabā the names of both were to

had been captured, except the elephants; and conferring on him the title of *Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-dīn*, he placed on the son's head the royal umbrella, and allowed also the *Khutbah* to be recited and the coin to be minted in his name. And at the time of departure, the Emperor giving his son some parting advice,¹ said: "It is not discreet for the king of Lakhnauti, be he a relation or a stranger, to quarrel with or rebel against the Emperor of Delhi. And if the Emperor of Delhi marches to Lakhnauti, the ruler of Lakhnauti should retreating take refuge in some distant corner, and when the Emperor of Delhi withdraws, he should return to Lakhnauti, and resume his work. And in the levy of revenue from subjects, he should observe the middle course, that is, he should not levy such a low amount, that they should become refractory and disloyal, nor such an excessive amount, that they should be ground down and oppressed. And he should pay such an amount of salary to his officers, that it may suffice for them from year to year, and that they may not be pinched in regard to their necessary expenses. In matters of administration, he should take counsel with wise people who are sincere and loyal; and in the enforcement of orders, he should abstain from self-indulgence, and

he ruled. Tatar *Khān* who was hitherto Military Governor of Sonargoon, received the title of Bahram *Khān*, and was stationed at Sonargoon at the Court of Bahadur *Shāh*, as a sort of Imperial Resident. Nāṣir-u-d-dīn was continued as Subordinate Governor of Lakhnauti.

In 726 A.H. (1329 A.C.), Nāṣir-u-d-dīn died, and Muhammad *Shāh* appointed Malik Bidar *Khilji* as Governor of Lakhnauti with the title of Qadr *Khān*. Bahadur *Shāh*, the king, at Sonargoon, attempted soon after to throw off all outward signs of allegiance to the Emperor, who sent an army to Bahram's assistance. Bahadur *Shāh*, the last Bengal Bahmani sovereign, and the last royal representative of the house of Emperor Ghiyās-u-d-dīn Balban, was defeated and put to death about 731 A.H. or 1331 A.C. Bengal remained Imperialist till the death of Bahram *Khān* in 1338 A.C., when Fakhr-u-d-dīn successfully revolted, killed Qadr *Khān* and established the independence of Bengal. (See Blochmann's contribution to *History of Bengal*, Thomas' Initial coinage, Ibn-i-Batutah, *Tarikh Firuz Shāhi*, pp. 92, 181, 254, 450, 451, 461, 480).

¹ The pieces of solemn advice given by Emperor Balban to his son Bughra *Khān*, at the time of former's departure from Bengal, are set forth in detail in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* (pp. 63 to 104), and will repay perusal. They contain golden rules for the conduct of sovereigns, and indicate that this Muslim Emperor cherished a noble and exalted ideal of kingly duties and responsibilities.

should not act unjustly from selfishness. In the care for the condition of the army, he should not be negligent, and he should consider it incumbent upon himself to show them considerateness and to win their hearts, and he should not allow negligence and indolence to intervene. And whoever tempts you away from this course, you should look upon him as your enemy, and you should not listen to his talk. You should seek protection with persons who relinquishing this world, have dedicated themselves to God's service.

Help from the old home of saints,
Is stronger than the strength of a hundred walls of
Alexander."

After this, bidding adieu to his son, the Emperor returned to Delhi, by forced marches, after three months.¹ The period of the rule of Tughral in Bengal was twenty-five years and some months.

—o—

RULE OF BUGHRA KHAN, STYLED SULTAN NASIRU-D-DIN, SON OF EMPEROR QHIASU-D-DIN BALBAN.

When Sultan Nasiru-d-din became ruler of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, after some time, his elder brother who was named Sultan Muhammad and was known as Khan-i-Shahid² was killed at Multan, fighting against the Monghals. And Sultan Qhiasu-d-din Balban who was much attached to him, became dejected by his death, and summoned Sultan Nasiru-d-din from Lakhnauti. When the latter reached Delhi, after observing the necessary mourning ceremonies for his elder brother, he attempted to console the heart of his father. The Emperor said: "The death of your brother has made me sick and feeble, and soon the time of

¹ In *Tarikh Firuz Shahi* (p. 107), "after three years."

² Sultan Muhammad, eldest son of Emperor Qhiasu-d-din Balban, was Imperial Viceroy of Multan Province or Viliyat at this time. This Prince was brave, gallant and accomplished, and he fell gallantly fighting between Lahore and Dibalpur against the Moghal hordes under Tamar from Central Asia who were harrying at this time the North-Western frontier of India. Hence the Prince is styled "*Khan-i-Shahid*" or "Martyred Prince or Chief." His death was a great shock to the aged Emperor. (See *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 109-10). The Prince was a patron of learning, and to his court at Multan were attached the celebrated poets, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan, for whose biographical sketch, see *Badauni*, Vol. I, pp. 200-201.

my departure from the world shall approach. At this time, your separation from me is not proper, because besides yourself, I have no other heir. Your son, Kaiqubād, and your nephew, Kai Khurasān, are young, and have no experience of life. Should the Empire fall into their hands, they would be incapable of defending it, and you would have to pay homage to either who might ascend the throne of Delhi. Therefore, it is meet that you should remain with me." Nāṣir-u-d-dīn, according to his father's request, remained with his father. But on seeing his father regain some health, he quickly under pretext of hunting went out of the city, and without taking leave of the Emperor returned to Lakhnauti. The Emperor, being affected at this, again fell ill, and in the year 685 A.H., passed from this transitory world. And when Sultān Muḥammad-u-d-dīn Kaiqubād, after the death of his grand-father, at the age of eighteen years, mounted the throne of Delhi, in consequence of youth, indulging in frivolities and dissipations, he became unmindful of the affairs of the Empire, excepting women and wine.¹ And Malik Nizām-u-d-dīn setting himself to the destruction of the Balhāni family, induced Muḥammad-u-d-dīn to call his cousin Kai Khurasān from Multān, and to kill him on the way, and to dismiss many of the loyal Umārā. Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Bughrā Khān at Lakhnauti, on receiving news of the negligence of his son, and of the overbearing influence of Malik Nizām-u-d-dīn, wrote to his son letters containing instructions, and by insinuations and hints, advised

¹ Ziauddin Barni, author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* (p. 121) states that shortly before his death in 686 A.H. (1287 A.C.), the aged and venerable Emperor Shihāb-u-d-dīn Balhān summoned to his presence in his palace in Delhi, Malik-ul-Umārā Fakhr-u-d-dīn Kotwal (or police commissioner) of Delhi, Khwajah Ḥusain Durrī, the Vizier or Prime Minister, and some others, and instructed them to place Kai Khurasān, son of Shāhān Muḥammad, on the throne. After the Emperor's death, however, the Kotwal and his party placed Kaiqubād, son of Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Bughrā Khān (King of Bengal, and second son of the Emperor) on the throne. The personnel of Shāhān Muḥammad-u-d-dīn Kaiqubād's administration consisted of (1) Malik-ul-Umārā Kotwal of Delhi, (2) Nizām-u-d-dīn, nephew of Malik-ul-Umārā, who became Dādlig or Chief Justice, and subsequently Wazir or Prime Minister, (3) Malik Qasim-u-d-dīn who became Wakildar or Administrator-General. Emperor Kaiqubād, who was a boy of seventeen years, was addicted to pleasures, and spent most of his time in the charming pleasure-villa of Kibkharī, in the suburbs of Delhi. Nizām-u-d-dīn the Wazir who now assumed the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk, set about devising means to destroy the house of Balhān (see *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, p. 132)

him to beware of the wily enemy in the person of Nizamu-d-din. It was of no use. In despair, two years after the death of Emperor Balhan, in the year 687 A.H., with the object of conquering the province of Delhi, and chastising his son, Nāṣiru-d-din Bughrā Khān marched with his army. On reaching Behar, Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din passing from Behar to the banks of the river Sarā, encamped.¹

The standards of the Emperor of the world were pitched
On the banks of the Ghagar, in the environs of the town,
The Ghagar was on one side, and the Sarā on the other,
From excessive heat, the soldiers foamed from their mouths,
The sword-casting East from yonder side of the river
Became bright as if the sun had risen;
On the banks of the river, the marshalling of the forces
Flashed like two Suns from two sides.

At length, after peering each other, Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din, abandoning the idea of the conquest of Delhi, made overtures for peace. And Sultān Muḥam-mad-d-din, owing to the instigation of Malik Nizām-d-din, refused to make peace, and prepared to fight. After negotiations had proceeded for three days between the contending parties, on the fourth day, Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din with his own hand wrote :—

"Son! I have a great longing to meet you. I have no further strength of self-restraint in your separation. If you show a way by which I who am consumed by the fire of misfortune, may behold

¹ The text here is rather confused. In Farihta, the rendering is as follows: "When Sultān Muḥam-mad-d-din Kalqabād heard of the intention of his father (Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din Bughrā Khān, King of Bengali) and of the latter's arrival in Behar, he (Emperor Kalqabād), too, arrayed his forces, and in the hottest part of the year reached the banks of the Ghagar river, and halted. And Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din, on hearing of the news, advanced from Behar, reached the banks of the river Sarā, and halted." The meeting between Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din Bughrā Khān and his son the Emperor Kalqabād is immortalized in the pages of "Qirāun-u-Sadāin" by Amīr Khusrū, the celebrated poet of Delhi. The camp of the father was on the bank of the river Sarā or Sarā or Sarju, the old river boundary-line between the Muhammadan Kingdom of Bengal (which included Behar in those days) and the Empire of Delhi, and the camp of the son was on the opposite bank of the Sarā. *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shāhi*, p. 141. The Qirāun-u-Sadāin fixes the meeting-place at Ajudhya on the banks of the Ghagar.

you, and, Jacob-like, if once more my eye which has become blind, becomes bright by the sight of Joseph, no harm shall betide to your sovereignty and enjoyment." The Sultān wound up this message with the following verse:—

"Although paradise is a happy region,
Nothing is better than the joy of union."

Sultān Muiz-d-din being touched by the perusal of his father's letter desired to proceed unattended, to meet his father. Nizāmu-d-din used dissuasion, and arranged that the Emperor, with all Imperial pomp and paraphernalia, should for the purpose of meeting his father march from the bank of the river Ghagar towards a plain, and then encamp on the bank of the Sarū. And it was also arranged that out of regard for the rank of the Emperor of Delhi, Nāsiru-d-din crossing the Sarū should come to visit Kalqubād, who should remain seated on the throne. Then Bughrā Khān embarking on a boat crossed the river, and proceeded to the tent of Muiz-d-din Kalqubād. Kalqubād being overpowered by feelings dismounted from the throne, prostrated himself on his father's feet, and both the father and the son embracing each other, and giving each other kisses on the head and the face shed tears. After this, the father catching the hand of the son, placed the latter on the throne, and desired to stand in front of it. The son descending from the throne placed the father on it, and himself respectfully sat before him; and ceremonies of rejoicings were performed. After a while, Sultān Nāsiru-d-din left, and crossing the river returned to his tent. From both sides gifts were exchanged. Several days successively, Sultān Nāsiru-d-din went to meet his son, and both were in each other's company. And on the day of departure, after speaking some words of advice,¹ and taking his son in the lap, he departed, and weeping and crying returned to his own camp. That day he ate no food, and told his confidants: "To-day I have bid the last farewell to my son."

¹ It is stated that on the day of departure, Sultān Nāsiru-d-din Bughrā Khān exhorted his son, Emperor Kalqubād, to attend to prayer and to observe the fast of Ramzan, taught him certain regulations and fixed rules of sovereignty, warned him against excesses in wine and neglect of State matters, rebuked him for killing Kai Khosrau and other noted Amirs and Maluks of Ghazan-d-din Balkan, and advised him to diamies Nizamu-d-din alias Nizamul Mulk, the Wazir. (See *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi*, pp. 144 to 156).

Then marching back from that place, he returned to his kingdom. And when Sultān Muiz-u-d-din Kaiyubād at the end of 689 A.H. was slain,¹ and the Empire was transferred from the Ghorian dynasty to the Khilji family, and Sultān Jalāl-u-d-din Khilji² mounted the throne of Delhi, Sultān Nāsir-u-d-din seeing no alternative except profession of loyalty and submission put aside the royal umbrella and the *Khatibah*, conducted himself like other nobles, and remained contented with the *Sif* of Lakhanauti. Till the reigns of Sultān Alāu-d-din and Sultān Qutbu-d-din,³ Sultān Nāsir-u-d-din Baghra Khān conducted himself in this wise. The period of the rule of Sultān Nāsir-u-d-din in Bengal was six years.

RULE OF BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

In the reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-din, Bahādur Khān who was one of the connexions⁴ of Sultān Nāsir-u-d-din, and was one of the leading nobles of Sultān 'Alāu-d-din, was entrusted with the Viceroyalty of Bengal. For many years he occupied the Viceregal throne, and enforced the recital of the *Khatibah* and the minting

¹ See *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 173. According to other accounts Emperor Kaiyubād was poisoned at the instigation of the Amir-ul-Umara, who was in league with Jalāl-u-d-din Khilji. With him (Kaiyubād) ended the Balbani dynasty in Delhi, but, as will be observed in these pages, it lingered for a longer period in the Bengal Kingdom in the persons of the Balbani Kings of Bengal.

² Sultān Jalāl-u-d-din Khilji is said to have been descended from Qalaḥ Khān, son-in-law of Ghangar Khān. He was Governor of Samanah and held the office of State Secretary (*Arzi-Mamalik*) in the Cabinet of Emperor Kaiyubād. Jalāl-u-d-din ascended the Delhi throne in 1290 A.C. or 689 A.H., and with him commenced the Khilji dynasty which continued to reign over India till 1320 A.C. During his reign, Muhammadan conquests were extended into Southern India through the prowess of his nephew, Alāu-d-din Khilji. See *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* pp. 170-174, *Badaoni*, p. 167, vol. I. Badaoni states that "Qalji" and "Khilji" were different, and that "Khilji" was one of the children of Yafuz, son of Noah.

³ Sultān Qutbu-d-din Khilji was son of Sultān Alāu-d-din Khilji. See *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* p. 408 and 381.

⁴ In respect of the weak rule in Bengal of Sultān Nāsir-u-d-din Baghra Shāh (son of Emperor Balban), Zia-u-d-din Barani (p. 189) relates that Emperor Jalāl-u-d-din's favourite mode of disposing of dacoits captured in the Delhi territory, was to send them in shiploads to Bengal, where they were let loose.

of coins after the names of the Emperors of Delhi. During the reign, however, of Sultān Qutbu-d-din Khilji, he usurped the sovereignty of Bengal, and proclaiming himself Bahādur Shāh, introduced the *Khaṭṭak* and the coin in the kingdom of Bengal after his own name, and commenced oppressions. For some time, he passed in this wise. But when the Empire of Delhi passed to Ghiasu-d-din Tughlak Shāh,¹ in the year 724 A.H. petitions from Lakhnauti describing the oppressions of the rulers of that country were received. Sultān Tughlak Shāh with an efficient army marched towards Bengal. When he reached Tirhut, Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din² whose fief had not been confiscated during Alau-d-din's reign owing to his good conduct and who resided in a corner of Lakhnauti, not finding strength in himself to contend against Tughlak Shāh, submitted to his fate, marched from Lakhnauti to Tirhut, and presenting himself before the Emperor offered

¹ On the defeat of Khusrū Khān, (Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi, pp. 420 and 421) the nobles placed Ghiasu-d-din on the throne of Delhi. Ghiasu-d-din then assumed the title of Ghiasu-d-din Tughlak Shāh. His father was a Turkish slave, named Malik, of Sultan Ghiasu-d-din Balban, and his mother was of a Punjab family. Brave, noble, and magnanimous, he was the founder of the Tughlak dynasty which reigned for ninety-four years at Delhi (1320-1414 A.C.). He founded the city of Tughlakabad, about 4 miles east of Delhi. He reigned from 1320 to 1324 A.C. In order to put down the assumption of entire independence by Bahadur Shāh at Sonargaon in Bengal, Ghiasu-d-din Tughlak marched to Sonargaon, fought a decisive engagement, took Bahadur Shāh a prisoner, and marched back with the latter towards Delhi, storming the fort of Tirhut, and leaving Nāṣiru-d-din as Governor of Vilayat-i-Lakhnauti. Ghiasu-d-din divided Bengal into three provinces, namely (1) Vilayat-i-Lakhnauti, (2) Vilayat-i-Satgion. (3) Vilayat-i-Sonargaon, placing each under a distinct Governor, and placing a Viceroy (stationed at Sonargaon) over all the Governors. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi p. 451.

² This Nāṣiru-d-din was a grandson of Sultan Nāṣiru-d-din Baghra Shāh, son of Emperor Balban. He was Governor of Lakhnauti, but had been ousted by his brother Bahadur Shāh, king of Bengal, who held his court at Sonargaon. This Nāṣiru-d-din and another brother Baghra Khān had taken refuge at the time with the Emperor of Delhi (Tughlak Shāh) who at their instigation invaded Bengal to chastise their brother, Bahadur Shāh (king of Bengal). The text, however, is misleading, and would incorrectly indicate that the Nāṣiru-d-din here referred to is Sultan Nāṣiru-d-din Baghra Shāh, king of Bengal (son of Emperor Balban). See, however, Blochmann's "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal" and Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi, pp. 450-451.

numerous presents. Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh treated him honourably, bestowed on him the Royal Umbrella and the Royal Staff, and ratified according to the old custom the continuance of Sultān Nāsiru-d-dīn's fief. And bringing to his presence Bahādur Shāh who had proved hostile, the Emperor enrolled him in the ranks of nobles. He, too, submitting to the Emperor, behaved like one of the nobles. Emperor Ghiāsu-d-dīn, appointing his adopted son, Tatār Khān, Governor of Sunārgāon, and entrusting to Nāsiru-d-dīn the over-lordship of Sunārgāon, Gaur and Bengal, returned to Delhi.¹ But soon after, Sultān Nāsiru-d-dīn died. The period of the rule of Bahādur Shāh in Bengal was thirty-eight years.



RULE OF QADR KHAN.

When Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh returned from Bengal, before he could reach Delhi, on the way, in the month of Rabi-ul-āwwal in the year 725 A.H., he perished under the roof of a newly built pavilion. His son, Ulagh Khān², ascended the throne of Delhi and proclaiming himself Muhammad Shāh bestowed on all the nobles offices and *Jagirs*, and bestowing the title of Qadr

¹ This text is not quite accurate on all points. See note ante, regarding the fortunes of the Ballahi dynasty in Bengal.

² Ulagh Khān or Alagh Khān alias Fakhr-u-d-dīn Juna, nephew and son-in-law of Emperor Ghiāsu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh, on the death of the latter by the accidental fall of the roof of a newly erected pavilion, ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Sultān Mōhammad Shāh Tughlak in 725 A.H. An accomplished scholar, a general of the first order, a man of consummate ability, his eccentricity and visionary schemes marred his success as a sovereign. His great ambition was to extend his empire over the world, and to be a second Alexander. He fruitlessly threw away the pick of his splendid army for the invasion of Persia and the conquest of China. Though the fertility of his genius evolved and organised a revenue system, his financial eccentricity in establishing a fixed currency of copper coins completely disorganised it. He received an embassy from the Khalifa of Egypt, who sent out to him the investiture of Royalty. In his reign a severe famine broke out in Delhi, and in consequence there was a general exodus of its population to Bengal. He restored Bahādur Shāh to the kingdom of Sunārgāon on certain conditions, but subsequently dethroned him. In his reign, Bengal became independent under Fakhr-u-d-dīn. (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi, pp. 429, 452, 457 to 461, 473, 475, 478, 50, 402.)

Khān on Malik Badār Khilji, who was one of his leading nobles, he assigned to him the country of Lakhsauti, which had fallen vacant by the death of Sultān Nāsiru-d-din. And giving the title of Bahrām Khān to Tatār Khān, whom Tughlak Shāh had appointed Governor of Sunārgāon, and who was an adopted brother of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, and bestowing on him in one day one hundred elephants and one thousand horses and one *karor* gold coins, and conferring on him the royal umbrella and the staff, and making him Viceroy of Bengal and Sunārgāon, he sent him to Bengal with all honours. And after fourteen years' administration of that country, Qadr Khān was killed at the hands of his servant, Fakhru-d-din, as will be related hereafter.

CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INDEPENDENT MUSALMAN
KINGS WHO IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL MOUNT-
ED THE THRONE, AND RECITED THE KHUTBAH
AFTER THEIR OWN NAMES.

It ought to be known that from the reign of Sultan Qutb-
d-din Aibak to the reign of Sultan Qhāsu-d-din Md. Tughlak
Shāh, seventeen Emperors ruled at Delhi for a period of one
hundred and fifty years, and that in the kingdom of Bengal its
rulers exercised authority as Viceroys of the Emperors of Delhi,
and that the *Khutbah* and the coins of the Emperors of Delhi
were current in Bengal. If any of the Viceroys rebelling intro-
duced the *Khutbah* and the coins after their own names, the Emper-
ors of Delhi considering their chastisement necessary, swiftly
punished them. In the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Qadr Khān,
being appointed Governor of Lakhnauti, for fourteen years admin-
istered the affairs of that State. Then Malik Fakhr-d-din,
who was Qadr Khān's Armour-Superintendent, meddling in
administrative matters, obtained much influence, and, resolving in
mind to usurp the Viceroyalty, watched for an opportunity.
Finding Qadr Khān off his guard, Fakhr-d-din revolted, killed
his own master, and became Viceroy of the kingdom of Bengal.
When the Empire of Muhammad Shāh, the Emperor of Delhi,
fell into complete decay, aiming in his mind amongst other things
at the Emperor's capture, Fakhr-d-din withdrew his hand from
submission to the Emperor of Delhi, and proclaimed himself
king.¹ The Emperor of Delhi, owing to confusion in his own

¹ The period of the Independent Musalman Kings of Bengal lasted from 1398
to 1538 A.C., and began with Fakhr-d-din Abul Muzaffar Mubarak Shāh, who
was *Bilakhar* or armour-bearer to Balban Khān, the Governor of Sonar-
gion. On his master's death in 730 H. or 1338 A.C., Fakhr killed Qadr Khān,
Governor of Lakhnauti, and subdued provinces of Lakhnauti, Satgaon and
Sunargaon, and assumed independence under the title of Fakhr-uddin (Tarikh-

Empire, could not direct his attention towards the kingdom of Bengal. From that time, the kingdom of Bengal became independent and distinct from the Delhi Empire. Fakhru-d-din was the first king who had the *Khutbah* of sovereignty recited after his own name in the Kingdom of Bengal.¹



AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SULTAN FAKHRU-D-DIN.

When Sultān Fakhru-d-din ascended the throne of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, he sent out his officer Mukhaliṣ Khān with an efficient army for the subjugation of the outlying provinces of Bengal. Malik 'Alī Mahārik, the generalissimo of Qadr Khān, encountered him with a large army, and after much fighting killed Mukhaliṣ Khān, and routed the latter's entire force. Sultān Fakhru-d-din who had just become king, and was not confident of the loyalty of his officers, did not venture to attack

(Firaz Shāhi, p. 480). His coins minted at Sanārgāon, (published in Thomas's "Initial Coinage", would indicate that he reigned for ten years and some months. Ibn-i-Batutah mentions that he was an eminent man, and very generous. His capital appears to have been at Sanārgāon. His son-in-law, Zafar Khān fled from Sanārgāon to Firaz Shāh in Delhi, who at his request (Tarikh-i-Firaz Shāhi by Shams-i-Siraj, pp. 105-114) invaded Bengal a second time during Sekandur Shāh's reign. Bengal attained great prosperity during the rule of these independent Mussalman Kings. Ports and public buildings were erected, Mosques, Colleges, Students' Hostels and Travellers' Guest-houses and Khanqahs were established in all parts of the Kingdom, tanks excavated, and roads laid down. Two great Royal Houses—one of Hājī Ilyas and another of Abu-d-din Husain Shāh (with a brief break of about forty years, during which Bajah Kaus and his successors usurped the Bengal Kingdom) reigned during this period. The Kingdom of Bengal received territorial expansion during this period. Western Assam (or Kamrup), portions of Koch-Bihar, and portions of Jajnagar (or Orissa), the whole of South Bihar, (Tarikh-i-Firaz Shāhi, p. 486) and eastern portions of South Bihar up to generally the town of Bihar, were subject to the Bengal Kingdom. Mussalman arms were carried far to the east across the Megna, which had hitherto proved a great barrier to Mussalman extension, right up to Silhet and the western portions of Tiperah and Nookhalī districts, including Chittagong. Great theistic movements having for their object the reconciliation of the two religions, sprang up. Kabir and Chaitanya, the great spiritual leaders who preached catholic doctrines, flourished in this period.

¹ This was in 1338 A.C.

'Ali Mubārīk. And Malik 'Ali Mubārīk collecting a large army proclaimed himself Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn, marched with his forces against Sultān Fakhru-d-dīn, and, in the year 741 A.H., after fighting captured him, and slaying him,¹ avenged the murder of Qadr Khān.

Ye murdered, whom hast thou murdered, that to-day they
have murdered thee?

To-morrow they will kill him who has to-day killed thee'

After this, Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn, after leaving an efficient force to garrison Lakhnauti, himself proceeded to subjugate the outlying provinces of Bengal. The rule of Sultān Fakhru-d-dīn lasted two years and five months.



THE ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF 'ALĪ MUBĀRĪK STYLED SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN.²

It is said that in the beginning Malik 'Ali Mubārīk was one of the trusty servants of Malik Firuz Rajah. And Malik Firuz was

¹ The account in *Badaoni* (vol. I, p. 230 Pers. text) gives a different version. *Badaoni* states as follows:—On the death of Bahram Khān, Governor of Sonargaon, in 739 A. H., Malik Fakhruddin who was his *Shahdar* or Quarter-master General, revolted, assumed the title of Fakhruddin, and fought against Qadr Khān, Governor of Lakhnauti, and was defeated. A second time, Fakhruddin fought against Qadr Khān, and defeated the latter (Qadr Khān's own soldiers killing Qadr Khān), re-established his rule over Sonargaon Province, and detached his officer Mukhadis to operate against Lakhnauti. Ali Mubarik, Adjutant General (*Aris-i-Lashkar*) of the Army of Qadr Khān killed Mukhadis, established his own independence (in Lakhnauti), and sent out letters to the Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, who sent out Malik Yusuf, who died on his way to Bengal. After this, the Emperor being engaged with other affairs, did not send out any others to Bengal. For State reasons (observing the hostility of Fakhruddin of Sonargaon) Ali Mubarik in Lakhnauti assumed regal honours and the title of Sultān Alau-d-din. Malik Ilyas Haji, who was a tribal chief and a military commander, after some days, in collusion with certain Omars and Maliks of Lakhnauti, killed Alau-d-din, and himself assumed the title of Shamsu-d-din. In 741 A. H., the Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak marched to Sonargaon, captured Fakhruddin, brought him to Lakhnauti, and killed him, and then retired to Delhi. Thenceforth Shamsuddin Ilyas Haji ruled independently over Bengal.

² His name appears from his coins (published in Thomas's "Tribes of Goidagos"), to be Alau-d-din Abul Muzaffar 'Ali Shāh. His capital appears to have

a nephew of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh, and a cousin of Sultān Muhammad Shāh. When Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne of Delhi, in the first year of his reign, he appointed Malik Firuz to be his Secretary. At that time, some misdemeanour came to pass on the part of Hājī Ilyās, foster-brother of 'Alī Mubārīk, and owing to that he (Hājī Ilyās) escaped from Delhi. When Malik Firuz demanded him from 'Alī Mubārīk, the latter searched for him. When no trace of his whereabouts was obtained, 'Alī Mubārīk informed Malik Firuz of his escape. Malik Firuz remonstrating with him, banished him also from his presence. 'Alī Mubārīk started for Bengal. On the way he saw in a dream Hazrat Shāh Maḥdūm Jalāl-d-dīn Tabrizī¹ (may God sanctify his sepulchre!) and showing subsmissiveness and humility pleased the saint, who said: "We have bestowed on you the Sūbah of Bengal, but you should build for us a shrine." 'Alī Mubārīk agreeing to this, enquired in what place the shrine was required to be built. The saint replied: "In the town of Panduah, at a place where thou shalt find three bricks, one over the other, and one fresh hundred-leaved rose beneath these bricks; at that place the shrine should be built." When he reached Bengal, entering the service of Qadr Khān he stayed there, until gradually he became generalissimo of Qadr Khān's army. And when Malik Fakhr-d-dīn revolting against Qadr Khān, and killing his benefactor, assumed the reins of sovereignty, 'Alī Mubārīk proclaiming himself Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn and drawing his forces against Fakhr-d-dīn, as has been mentioned before, avenged the murder of his benefactor, by slaying Fakhr-d-dīn. With great promptitude, posting a garrison at Lakhnauti, Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn turned his attention to the conquest of other provinces of Bengal. When he introduced the Khutbah and the

here at Panduah, from the circumstance that his coins appear all to have been minted at Firuzabad (*Le*, Panduah). Indeed, Panduah is known as 'Alī Shāh's capital."

¹ Shaiḫ Jalāluddīn Tabrizī was a disciple of Shaiḫ Saīd Tabrizī. After travelling for some time, he joined Shaiḫ Shāhabuddīn and became the latter's Khalīfah or chief disciple. He was a great friend of Khvajah Qutbuddīn and Shaiḫ Bahāuddīn. Shaiḫ Najmuddīn the Junior who was at the time Shaiḫ-ul-Islām of Delhi, bore ill-feeling towards him, and made false accusations against his piety and character, and so Jalāluddīn retired to Bengal. He is buried at the port of Deemahal (Maldives). See *Seir*, Vol. I, p. 231 and *Ain*.

coin of the kingdom of Bengal after his own name, becoming intoxicated with luxury and success, he forgot the injunction of the saint, so that one night he saw in a dream the saint, who said: " 'Alāu-d-dīn, you have obtained the kingdom of Bengal, but forgotten my bidding." 'Alāu-d-dīn on the following day searching for the bricks, and finding them agreeably to the directions of the saint, erected there a shrine, the trace whereof exists up to this time. At that time Hāji Ilyās also came to Pandūāb. Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn for some time kept him a prisoner, but by the intercession of Ilyās's mother, who was the nurse of Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn, he released him, and giving him an important position admitted him to his presence. Hāji Ilyās in a short time gaining over the army to his side, one day with the help of eunuchs slew Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn, and proclaiming himself Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangrah usurped the provinces of Lakhnauti and Bengal. The reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn lasted one year and five months.



REIGN OF HĀJĪ ILYAS STYLED SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN.

When Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn was killed, and the sovereignty of Bengal passed to Hāji Ilyās 'Alāi, proclaiming himself Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn he mounted the throne in the holy city of Pandūāb.¹ As he took much *blang*, he was called Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangrah. In conciliating the people, and winning the heart of the army, he put forth noble efforts. After a while, mustering an army, he went to Jājnagar, and from there obtaining many valuables and presents and large elephants, returned to his capital. And owing to the decay which had set in in the Empire of Delhi from the

¹ Pandūāb is situate 12 miles north of English Bazar in Maldah district. From the beginning of the reign of Shamsuddīn Ilyās to the end of the reign of Rājā Kaus, six kings ruled there for a period of 62 years, from 743 to 795 A.H. But perhaps 'Alī Mabārīk should also be included amongst the kings who ruled at Pandūāb. His reign appears to have commenced in 741 A.H. (1340 A.C.) Professor Blochmann calls Pandūāb 'Alī Shāh's capital (J.A.S.B., XLII, 354) and Professor Blochmann's statement seems to be supported by the narrative of our author, viz., the statement about 'Alī Mabārīk building a shrine of the saint Jalīluddin at Pandūāb, and also about Shamsuddīn Ilyās's arrival at Pandūāb. In 795 A.H. (1392), king Jalīluddin (son of Rājā Kaus) who became a Muhammadan, removed the capital back again to Gaur or Lakhnauti.

time of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, for thirteen years the Emperors of Delhi did not turn their attention to Bengal. Sultān Shamsu-d-din¹ with absolute independence devoted himself to the administrative affairs of Bengal, subjugated gradually all the tracts up to the limits of Banārās, and enhanced more than before his pomp and power, until the throne of Delhi passed to Firūz Shāh,² son

¹ Haji Ilyās first appears to have in 746 A.H. made himself master of Western Bengal, whilst at that time Ikhlasu-d-din Abul Muzaffar Ghazi Shāh (son of Mubarak Shāh) still reigned at Sonargaon in Eastern Bengal. Haji Ilyās shortly after (753 A.H.) subdued Eastern Bengal also, and established himself at Sonargaon, and founded a dynasty which continued (with a brief break) to reign over Bengal till 890 A.H. or nearly a century and a half. He extended his western boundaries as far as Benares, founded Hajipur, and though Firūz Shāh Tughlak the Emperor led an expedition into Bengal to punish him, he had to return unsuccessful. For Ilyās Shāh's coinage, see Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S., 1867, pp. 57, 58.

The nearest contemporary account of this King will be found in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi p. 580 by Ziauddin Barani and Siraj Aini p. 77.

² Sultān Firuz Shāh Tughlak alias Malik Firuz Bīchak was a son of an uncle of Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, and a nephew of Ghiyasu-d-din Tughlak Shāh. His father was Rajah Siller who abandoning all worldly affairs, became a saint. When fifty years old, in 755 A.H., he was crowned as Emperor of Hindustan. He was a wise, noble and enlightened sovereign. He paid special attention to improvement of agriculture and of the economical condition of the country. He reformed the administration of justice, put down oppressions and corruption, lightly assessed land-revenue, and regulated its assessment according to the produce of the lands assessed and also according to the capacity of the tenantry to bear the assessment, and abolished octroi duties. He established thirty colleges, founded five hospitals and dispensaries, erected forty cathedral mosques and two hundred caravanserais, twenty monasteries, one hundred palaces and villas, and one hundred and fifty-two baths, and numerous gardens, and bridges. In the environs of Hansi, he erected a fort called Hisar-i-Firuz, and joined it by means of a canal with the river Jumna. His greatest work was the old Jumna canal; this canal drew its water from the Jumna, near a point where it leaves the mountains, and connected that river with the Ghaggar and the Satlej by means of irrigation channels, spreading fertility all around. He caused the translation of several Sanskrit works into Persian, and encouraged learning and the learned. He was the recipient of a Royal investiture from Abū Fatah Khalif of Egypt. He reigned from 1351 to 88 A.C. The Tughlak dynasty ended in 1414 A.C., the Empire being shattered by the invasion of Timur in 1398 A.C., during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Tughlak, the last real Tughlak king. (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi pp. 548, 570 by Ziauddin Barani, and by Shams-i-Serafi).

of Rajah, who attempted to re-conquer Bengal. It is said that at that time Sultān Shamsu-d-din built a bath, similar to the Shamal bath of Delhi. Sultān Firuz Shāh who was furious with anger against Shamsu-d-din, in the year 754 A.H., set out for Lakhnauti, and after forced marches reached close to the city of Panduāh, which was then the metropolis of Bengal. The Emperor encamped at a place which is still called Firūzpurābād,¹ and riding from that place besieged the Fort of Panduāh. Sultān Shamsu-d-din leaving his son with an army in the fort of Panduāh, entrenched himself in the fort of Ekdalah which was very impregnable. Firuz Shāh, not oppressing the people of Panduāh, captured in battle the son of Sultān Shamsu-d-din, and marched towards the fort of Ekdalah.²

(EAB OF FASC. I.)

(FASC. II.)

On the first day, a bloody engagement took place. After that, for twenty-two days, he besieged the Fort.³ Not succeeding, Firuz Shāh resolved to transfer his camp to the bank

¹ Firuzabadpur is a mistake here for Firuzabad, close to Panduāh.

² Mr. Westmacott places Ekdalah near Dinajpur, whilst Mr. Beveridge places it near Dacca. For a discussion on the site of the fort of Ekdalah, also see Blochmann's Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal, J.A.S., 1873, p. 213 and also Mr. Beveridge's Analysis of "Khurshid Jahān Nama."

In *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Zia 'Barni, Ekdalah is described as follows (Pers. text, p. 585): "Ekdalah is the name of a mouza close to Panduāh; on one side of it is a river, and on another a jungle." Zia 'Barni is a contemporary historian for the period; therefore, this description given by him fixes the site of the Fort of Ekdalah near Panduāh, and sets at rest all the speculations to the contrary raised by Mr. Beveridge (in his Analysis of *Khurshid Jahān Nama*) who fixes it near the Bhowal jungle in Dacca district, and also by Mr. Westmacott who would place it towards Dinajpur. Professor Blochmann is inclined to treat 'Ekdalah' as a generic name, referring to several places. See J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 212-213. Rennel gives another Ekdalah north of Dacca "map of Hindustan." Shams-i-Siraj in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* (Pers. text, p. 79) calls it the "isles of Ekdalah."

³ The first expedition of Emperor Firuz Shāh Tughlak into Bengal (in 754 A.H. = 1353 A.C.) is fully and humorously described by Zia 'Barni, a contemporary historian, in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* (Pers. text, p. 556), who

of the Ganges. Then, alone, he searched for a proper camping ground. Salṭān Shamsu-d-dīn thinking that Firuz Shāh

closes his history with a narrative of this expedition and of the events up to the sixth year of Firuz Shāh's reign. The object of the expedition was to punish Shahān Shamsu-d-dīn Haji Ilyas who had invaded and ravaged Tirhut and harried the frontier (then the Sro river) between the Bengal Kingdom and the Delhi Empire. The Emperor set out from Delhi on 10th Shawāl 754 A.H., reached Qudh, crossed the Sro river, when Ilyas Shāh withdrew to Tirhut. The Emperor crossing the Sro, marched through Aras-i-Kharosh (not identified) and Gorakpur, the Rajahs whereof paid him homage and enlisted themselves on his side. Ilyas Shāh then returned from Tirhut to Panduah, the Emperor following him towards Lakhnauti and Panduah, after traversing Jagat or Jakna (not identified) and Tirhut (the Rajahs whereof also paid homage to the Emperor). Ilyas Shāh, on approach of the Emperor to Panduah, retired to Fort Ekdalah, where he entrenched himself. The Emperor did not plunder Panduah, but left its population unmolested, crossed the river in front of the fort Ekdalah, and laid siege to it for several days. He had scruples about destroying prominently the garrison of the Fort, so he made a feint retreating movement back across the river, which resulted in drawing out Ilyas Shāh from the Fort. A battle was fought, the Bengal army in which elephants formed a prominent feature was defeated, and the Imperialists captured forty-four Bengal elephants, &c., &c. On finding that the rainy season was approaching, the Emperor by forced marches (after appointing Collectors in Tirhut district) returned to Delhi, which was reached on 12th Shaban 755 A.H. or 1354 A.C.

This first expedition is also narrated by Shams Sira Afī, another nearly contemporary historian, who continued Barni's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi. (See Pers. MSS., text p. 76). From this account, the following additional interesting facts are gleaned:—

1. That Firuz Shāh sailed to Bengal in one thousand flotilla of war-vessels, and his route lay across the Sro, the Ganges and the Kosi rivers, that his expeditionary force consisted of 70,000 Khanas and Maliks, two lakhs infantry, 60,000 cavalry, besides an elephant-corps.

2. That when Firuz Shāh crossed the Kosi river, Ilyas Shāh, king of Bengal, retired from Panduah to Ekdalah, which is called here the "Isle of Ekdalah."

3. That Firuz Shāh laid siege to the fort of Ekdalah for several days, and nothing decisive occurring, made a feint retreating movement westward seven bars or Kos from Ekdalah, when Ilyas Shāh thinking Firuz Shāh was retreating, came out of the fort Ekdalah, advanced, and attacked the Imperialists, who defeated and killed one lak of the Bengal army, and captured 50 Bengal elephants.

4. That then Ilyas Shāh escaped again to the Fort of Ekdalah, which was about to be stormed by the Imperialists, when the females of the garrison uncovering their heads, exhibited themselves, and raised loud lamentations,

had marched to retire, came out of the fort, and mustered his forces.

Owing to the sword and the arrow and the spear and the gun,

The market of fighting became warm on both sides.

The bodies of heroes were emptied of their souls;

Like roses, on their faces, budded forth wounds.

After much slaughter on both sides, a large number of people were killed and destroyed. At length, the broom of victory wafted on the standard of Firuz Shāh, and Shāmsu-d-din being overpowered fled, and sought refuge in the Fort. Forty-four elephants which he had brought from Jajunagar, together with the Royal Umbrella and the standard and other regal chattels and paraphernalia, fell into the hands of the soldiers of Firuz Shāh. It is said that at that time the Saint Shāikh Rāja Biyābāni¹ in whom Sultān Shāmsu-d-din had great faith, died. Sultān Shāmsu-d-din coming out of the Fort, in the guise of a mendicant, joined the Shāikh's funeral. After finishing the obsequies, he rode alone to see Firuz Shāh, and without the latter recognizing him, returned to the Fort. When the Sultān came to know about it, he expressed regret. In short, when the period of siege was protracted, and the rainy season set in, in that in the rains, the country of Bengal becomes one sheet of water, and cause for anxiety arises, Sultān Firuz Shāh made overtures for peace. Sultān Shāmsu-d-din, who was hard-pressed by the siege, partially made his submission, and also sought for peace. Firuz Shāh, releasing the son of Sultān Shāmsu-d-din together with other prisoners of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, raised the standard of return. And in the year 755 A.H., Sultān Shāmsu-d-din sent many presents and numerous rareties, in charge of wise envoys, to Sultān Firuz Shāh. The latter also showing attentions to the envoys, sent them back. And since Sultān Shāmsu-d-din had

which softened the heart of Firuz Shāh, who abandoned the work of destruction.

5. That before marching back towards Delhi, Firuz Shāh halted for some days at Panduah, named is "Firuzshah," introduced there the *Amzab* after his own name, and also named "Ekdalah" ² "Azidpor."

6. That Firuz Shāh's expedition lasted eleven months.

¹ He died in 1353 A.C. 1754 A.H.) when Emperor Firuz Shāh besieged Sultān Shāmsu-d-din Hājī Ilyās in Ekdalah Fort.

great anxiety from Firuz Shāh, consequently in 757 A.H. the former sent to Delhi wise and sagacious envoys, and sought for peace. Firuz Shāh agreeing, returned the envoys loaded with honours. From that time, the boundaries between the Kingdoms of Delhi and Bengal were delimited; and the Emperors of Delhi adhering to the terms of the treaty, never meddled with the Kings of Bengal, and by mutual exchange of presents on both sides, they maintained friendly relations between the two kingdoms. And in the year 758 A.H., Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn again sent from Bengal Malik Tāju-d-dīn with some nobles, in the form of an embassy, with many presents and gifts to Delhi. Sultān Firuz Shāh bestowing attentions on the envoys more than before, after some days, sent in return to Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn Arab and Turkish horses, together with other valuable presents, in charge of Malik Saifu-d-dīn Shāhsaifī. In the meantime, Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn¹ had died in Bengal. Malik Tāju-d-dīn and Malik Saifu-d-dīn had approached Behar, when they heard the news of the death of Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn. Malik Saifu-d-dīn communicated this intelligence to Delhi, and agreeably to the order of the Emperor, he gave away the horses and the presents in lieu of the pay due to the Imperial soldiers stationed in Behar. Malik Tāju-d-dīn returned to Bengal. The reign of Shāmsu-d-dīn lasted 16 years and some months.



THE REIGN OF SIKANDAR SHĀH, SON OF SHAMSU-D-DĪN.

When Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn Bhangra passed away from this fleeting world, on the third day, with the consent of the nobles

¹ Regarding coinage of Ilyās Shāh, see Thomas's *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, J.A.S., 1867, pp. 57-58.

"Having in 746 become master of Western Bengal, Ilyās Shāh in 753 A.H. established himself at Sonargaon, near Dacca, and thus founded a dynasty which with an exception of about forty years in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 896 A.H." (Blochmann's *Contribution*, J.A.S., 1873, p. 254).

His coins (see p. 58, J.A.S. for 1867), disclose the interesting fact that several of them were minted at Sonargaon (which is termed on the coins *Hazrat Jallal Sonargoon* or the *Illustrious Royal Residence of Sonargoon*), bearing dates A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758. His name on the coins is "Shāmsu-d-dīn Abū Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh."

and the generals, his eldest son, Sikandar Shāh, ascended the throne of Bengal, and spreading the hem of justice and generosity on the heads of the people, proclaimed joyful tidings of peace and security. And deeming it expedient to conciliate Sulṭān Firuz Shāh, he sent, in the shape of presents, fifty elephants with sundry rarities. In the meantime, Firuz Shāh, Emperor of Delhi, in the year 760 A.H. marched¹ to subjugate the kingdom of Bengal.

[The object of this second expedition of Emperor Firuz Shāh into Bengal in 760 A.H. (1359 A.C.) was to reinstate Zafar Khān (son-in-law of Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn Muḥarrak Shāh, king of Sonargaon) on the throne of Sonargaon. See details in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī* by Shams Sirāj Afif (Pers. MS. text, p. 97). From it, it appears that the Musahann throne of Sonargaon was more ancient than the Mamluk throne of Panduah, thus on Firuz Shāh's return from Bengal after his first expedition (this would necessitate a slight modification of Professor Blochmann's date in his *Life* p. 103) Shamsuddin Ilyas Shāh sailed and reached Sonargaon in a few days. At that time (755 A.H. or 1354 A.C.) Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn was reigning in security at Sonargaon. Shamsuddin took him by surprise, captured and slew him, and usurped the Sonargaon Kingdom, in addition to his Kingdom of Lakhnauti and Panduah. At that time Zafar Khān, son-in-law of Fakhruddin who was touring out in the interior of Sonargaon, to collect revenues and to locally enquire into the conduct of collectors of revenue, heard the above news, sailed on a ship from Sonargaon by the ocean-route to Thatah and thence proceeded to Delhi, and sought help from Firuz Shāh. Peace was concluded with Sikandar Shāh, on the latter agreeing to reinstate Zafar Khān in the kingdom of Sonargaon—which however did not come to pass, as Zafar Khān preferred to go back to Delhi. Like Ilyas Shāh, Sikandar took refuge in the Fort of Ekdalah. From Bengal, Firuz Shāh invaded Jajnagar (Orissa), defeated the Rajah who made his submission, carried off the idol of Jagannath to Delhi (p. 119) and captured many elephants. The Emperor's stay in Bengal and Jajnagar during this expedition covered 2 years and 7 months (p. 121). In this connection, an interesting description of Jajnagar is given by Shams Sirāj Afif (*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Pers. MS. text, p. 115, and in *Muntakhib al-Tawarikh* (Pers. text, p. 247, Vol. I, Fasc. III,). Bearing in mind what Zia 'Barūī states regarding Jajnagar in connection with Emperor Bahān's expedition to Sonargaon, I am inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann that there were two Jajngars: one in Orissa, and another towards Tipperah. The account in *Muntakhib al-Tawarikh* referred to above, is slightly different from that in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī* by Shams Sirāj Afif. Badāunī in *Muntakhib* states that Firuz Shāh after completing his second expedition into Bengal (760 A.H.) returned from Panduah by forced marches to Jaunpur (p. 247, *Muntakhib Pers. text*, Vol. I, Fasc. III), where he spent the rainy season, and that at the end of this year, by way of Behar, he marched into Jajnagar (Orissa), passing through Sāthighra, Barānsi, and crossing the Mahanadi river (the Rajah of Barānsi

When he reached Zafarābād,¹ the rains setting in, the Emperor encamped there, and sent envoys to Sikandar Shāh. Sikandar Shāh was in anxiety about the aim of the Emperor of Delhi, when Firuz Shāh's envoys arrived. Sikandar Shāh immediately sent his aid-de-camp together with five elephants and other presents, and opened negotiations for peace; but these resulted in nothing. After the rainy season was over, Sultān Firuz Shāh marched to Lakhnauti. When the Sultān encamped in the environs of Panduah, Sikandar Shāh feeling that he was no match for the Sultān followed his father's tactics, and entrenched himself in the Fort of Ekdālāh. Firuz Shāh pressed the siege hard. When the garrison was reduced to straits, Sikandar Shāh sending forty elephants together with other goods and presents and numerous rarities, and agreeing to pay an annual tribute, sought for peace. Firuz Shāh accepting these returned to Delhi. After this for some years, Sikandar Shāh with absolute independence gave full rein to enjoyments. And in the year 766 A.H., he built the Adina mosque;² but before he could finish it, death overtook him, and the mosque remained half finished. Some trace of the mosque still exists in the jungles of Panduah, at a distance of one *kuroh* from the town. The Author of this history has seen it. In

fleeing to Telinga and the Rājā of Bathghira fleeing into a distant corner) marched into the territory of Rājā Prīhan Deo, who sent to the Emperor as tribute 32 elephants, besides other valuable presents, and thence the Emperor marched on hunting expeditions into the forests of Padmāvatī and Pīromtola which contained powerful and big elephants, bagged three live elephants, and killed two elephants, and in 762 A.H. returned to Delhi victorious.

The account in *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj is more reliable, as Sirāj's father was with Firuz Shāh during the expedition (p. 115)—Sirāj correctly mentions 'Banares' (which means evidently 'Kataak Banarow', therefore, *Banarnis* 'Barnanai' appears to be an error), also names 'Adalah' as Rāj of Jajmagar, also "Raj Sharnid," also 'Raj Thul.' The Rājā of Jajmagar owned ships, elephants, and lofty palaces constructed of stone, and laid out with gardens, (p. 116).

¹ Zafarabad lies on the right bank of the Ganges, a little below Jaunpur, which lies on the left bank. The maps give instead "Jaffarabad," which is a corruption of "Zaffarabad." Zaffarabad is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as a pergunah in Sarkar Jaunpur under the Subah of Allahabad (Allahabad)—Jarrett's Tr., *Ain*, Vol. II. p. 164.

² This beautiful mosque is at Panduah. Its inscription has been published in J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 257. The inscription was written in 770 A.H. (1369 A.C.)

truth, it is a beautiful mosque, and an enormous sum must have been expended on its erection. One ought to be thankful for his efforts. It is said that Sikandar Shāh had seventeen sons by his first wife, and by his second wife he had one son, named Ghiāsu-d-din, who, in polish of manners and other qualities, was superior to his other brothers, and was proficient in the art of government. Consequently, the first wife kindling the fire of envy and jealousy and wishing the destruction of Ghiāsu-d-din, sought for an opportunity to injure him. One day, finding an opportunity, she respectfully placed the hand on her chest, in the presence of the king, and desired to state her object. The king guessing from the manner of the wife said: "Speak out what thou hast to say." The wife said: "I would submit my prayer, if the king would take an oath to fulfil it and try his best to fulfil it." The king swore to fulfil it, and indulging in a bit of hyperbole said: "Unbosom the desire that thou hast, and make thy lip the mirror of the dust of thy heart." The shrewd queen said: "I am in great anxiety, in consequence of the conduct of Ghiāsu-d-din. He is scheming to mount the throne, by killing the king and destroying my sons. Although he is in the position of a son to me, and I do not wish that he should be killed, yet as the safeguarding of the life of the king is incumbent, you should not let slip from the hand the rein of alertness, but provide provisionally against any mishap. The best course would be that you should imprison him, or blind his eyes." The king on hearing this became perturbed, and said, "What is this aim of thine which thou hast mingled with the liquid of my welfare?, and what is this fire of envy that thou hast mixed with solicitude for me? Thou feelest no shame that thou hast seventeen sons, whilst the other frail lady has only this one son. What you do not like for yourself, do not desire unto others." The queen again anxiously said: "Envy and jealousy have nothing to do with my suggestion. The duty that I thought incumbent upon myself in the interests of thy well-being, I have discharged; after this, my sovereign is at liberty to do what he pleases." The king putting the padlock of silence on the portal of the tongue, kept quiet, and said within himself, "As Ghiāsu-d-din is a dutiful son and possesses capacity for ruling, even if he seeks to take my life, let it be so! Happy it is, if the son is dutiful. But if he is undutiful, may he perish!" After this, he

put the reins of authority entirely into the hands of Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn. But Ghiāsu-d-dīn, who suspected always the wiles and stratagems of the queen, one day on the pretext of hunting escaped towards Samārgāon, and in a short time mobilising a large army, demanded the throne from his father. Shortly after, in order to wrest the kingdom, he marched with a large army from Samārgāon, and encamped at Samārgadhī.¹ From the other side, the father also with a powerful army advanced. On the next day, on the battlefield of Goālpāra,² both sides marshalling their forces prepared to fight.

The son showed malice towards the father :

Blood flowed from the perturbed heart.

The father snapped the ties of kindness and affection :

You might say that love had vanished from the world.

Although Ghiāsu-d-dīn had given strict orders to his soldiers and commanders that to the utmost they should capture the king alive, but as fate willed otherwise, Sikandar Shāh was unknowingly killed at the hands of one of the commanders of Ghiāsu-d-dīn. Whilst still the slayer was standing at his head, one amongst them seeing Sikandar Shāh killed, enquired as to who had killed him. He said: "I have killed him;" the other man said, "You felt no pity for Sultān Sikandar." Then both in fright went to Ghiāsu-d-dīn and said: "In case we fear that by restraining our hands, we may be killed, can we kill him?" Ghiāsu-d-dīn said: "Certainly you may kill him," and after some reflection he said: "Apparently, thou hast killed the king." The slayer said: "Yes, unknowingly I inflicted a cut with the spear on the heart of the king. Still he has some remnants of life." Ghiāsu-d-dīn proceeded swiftly, dismounted from the horse, and placed the head of the father on his lap, and tears trickled down his cheek, and he said: "Father, open thy eyes, and express thy dying

¹ Not identified, but it must have been close to Samārgāon.

² Identified by Professor Blochmann to be a village quite close to Pandua, S.-W. of it (*J.A.S.*, 1873, p. 256). But Dr. Wise in his interesting "Notes on Samārgām" (*J. A. S.* for 1874, p. 55) correctly places it near Jafargauje in Dhaka district, and nearly opposite to the junction of the Ganges and the Jabuna. "Eight years ago," says Dr. Wise, "Sikandar Shāh's tomb was pointed out in the above neighbourhood."

wish, that I may fulfil it." The king opened his eyes, and said :
 " My life's work is over ; the kingdom is welcome to thee.

May you prosper in your sovereignty,
 As I have quitted the world."

After he said this, the bird of his soul flew away. Ghiāṣu-d-dīn seeing no good in tarrying farther, left behind some nobles to attend to the obsequies of his father, and himself rode forward towards Panduah, and ascended the throne. The reign of Sikandar Shāh¹ lasted nine years and some months. He was a contemporary of the saint² Alauḥ Haq.³



THE REIGN OF GHIĀṢU-D-DĪN,¹ SON OF SIKANDAR SHĀH.

When Sikandar Shāh was laid in the grave, the throne of Bengal received eclat from the accession of Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn. First blinding the eyes of his step-brothers, he sent them to their mother, and freed himself from anxiety as to the wiles of his brothers. After this, he commenced dispensing justice, and throughout his life lived at rest and ease. It is related that once Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn falling seriously ill despaired of life, and selected three maids from his harem, one named Sarr, the

¹ For his coinage see Thomas's Initial Coinage (J.A.S., 1867, pt. II). His name from coins (see pp. 65-67 J.A.S., 1867), appears to be "Abul Majahid Sikandar Shāh." Some of his coins are of Sunargaon mint.

² Shaikh 'Alauddīn Alauḥ Haq died on the 1st Rajab, 800 A.H. or 20th March, 1399, and his tomb is at Panduah. A short biographical sketch of this saint is given by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B., p. 302 for 1873. His son and successor was Shaikh Nuruddin Nūr Qutb Alam who died in 851 A.H. or 1447 A.D., and lies buried at Panduah. Nūr Qutb Alam was succeeded by his son Rafiuddin and Shaikh Anwar.

³ On the coins, he is called "Ghiāṣuddin Abul Musaffar Azam Shāh." (See Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S. for 1867, pp. 68-69). His early coins were minted at Muzammasbad in Eastern Bengal, and he held court at Sunargaon, during the lifetime of his father, Sikandar Shāh, against whom he rebelled. His court was an asylum for the learned and the cultured, and he was himself a just and righteous sovereign, and a man of light and sweetness. He invited the illustrious Persian poet Hafiz to his court. His tomb is at Sunargaon (See pt. 8 in J.A.S. 1874, p. 65.)

second named *Gal*, and the third named *Lalah*, to perform the last bathing ceremony. When God granted him recovery, considering them auspicious he bestowed attentions on them more than before. The other maids from envy used to taunt them about the bathing, so that one day whilst the king was in a jolly mood, they related to him this affair. The king recited the following line—

ساقی - حدیث سروگل و لاله میرود

"Cap-bearer, this is the story of *Sare* (the cypress) *Gal* (the Rose) and *Lalah* (the Tulip)".

The second line of the verse could not be supplied, and none of the poets attached to court could supply it. Then the king writing this line, sent it with an envoy to *Shamsu-d-din Hāfiz* to *Shiraz*. Hāfiz¹ quickly supplied the next line:—

این بحث با قلاده غاله میرود

("This story relates to the three bathers"). This 2nd line is not devoid of ingenious excellencies, and he sent also another *ghazal* in his name. The king in return bestowed on him valuable presents. These two lines are from that *ghazal*:—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند
زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود
حافظ و شوق مجلس سلطان غیاث دین
خامش شکر که کار تو از ناله میرود²

(Translation). The parrots of Hindustan shall all be sugar-shedding

From this Persian sugar-candy that goes forth to Bengal.

Hāfiz, from the yearning for the company of Sultan *Ghiyāsu-d-din*,

Rest not; for thy (this) lyric is the outcome of lamentation.

¹ Hāfiz the renowned Persian poet of Shiraz died in 791 A.H.

² Translation of these two lines by Jarret (See Ain p. 148 Vol. 2.)

"And now shall India's parrots on sugar revel all.

In this sweet Persian lyric that is borne to far Bengal."

In short, Sultān Ghīyāṣ-d-dīn was a good ruler, and adhered strictly to the injunctions of the sacred law. For instance, it is related that one day whilst at arrow-shooting, the king's arrow accidentally hit a widow's son. The widow sought for redress from Qāzi Sirāju-d-dīn. The Qāzi was in anxiety; for if he showed partiality towards the king, he would be held culpable before the tribunal of God, and if he did not do so, the summoning of the king would be a difficult affair. After much deliberation, he sent a peon to summon the king, and himself sat on the tribunal of justice, placing a whip underneath the *mansab*. When the Qāzi's peon reached the palace, finding access to the king impossible, he commenced shouting out the call to prayer (*Azan*). The king, hearing this untimely call to prayer, ordered the Muazzin (caller to prayer) to be brought to his presence. When the Royal servants carried the latter to the royal presence, the king enquired as to this untimely call to prayer. He (peon) said: "Qāzi Sirāju-d-dīn has deputed me, in order that I may take the king to the tribunal of justice. Since access to the king was difficult, I adopted this device to obtain access. Now get up, and come to the tribunal. The widow's son whom you wounded with an arrow, is the complainant." The king immediately got up, and concealing a small sword under his arm-pit, set out. When he appeared before the Qāzi, the latter not at all paying attention to the king, said: "Consolate the heart of this old woman." The king consoled her in a way that he could, and said: "Qāzi, now the old woman is satisfied." Then the Qāzi turning to the old woman enquired, "Have you received redress and been satisfied?" The woman said: "Yes, I am satisfied."¹ Then the Qāzi got up in great delight, and showing respect to the king, seated him on the *mansab*. The king drawing out the sword from his arm-pit said: "Qāzi, in obedience to the injunctions of the sacred Law, I have appeared at your tribunal. If to-day I found you deviating by one hair-breadth from adherence to the injunctions of the Law, with this very sword I should have severed your head. God be thanked, that everything has been all-right." The Qāzi also drew his whip from underneath the *mansab*, and said: "Sire, if to-day I found thee in the least transgressing the injunctions of the sacred

¹ Commutation or compounding of certain offences is permitted by the Muhammadan Law, as is also permitted (though to a more limited extent) by the present English Criminal Procedure Law of India.

Law, by God, with this very whip I should have turned your back red and black"¹ and added—

رسیده بود بالای ولی بخیر گذشت

"A calamity had come but has ended well." The king, being pleased, bestowing gifts and presents on the Qāzi, returned. The king from the beginning had great faith in the Saint Nur Qutabul 'Alam, and was his contemporary and fellow-student; for both took their lessons from Shaiikh Hamīd-d-dīn² Kunjnasahīn Nagorī. At length, in the year 775 A.H., by the stratagems of Rajah Kāna who was a zemindar in that part, the king was treacherously killed. The reign of Ghiāsu-d-dīn lasted seven years and some months, and according to another account, it lasted sixteen years, five months and three days.³

—o—

REIGN OF SAIFU-D-DĪN STYLED SULTĀNU-S-SALĀTĪN.⁴

When Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn passed from the narrow human frame into the wide space of the soul, the nobles and the generals

¹ This story speaks volumes in favour of the parity of the administration of justice that must have prevailed in the latter part of the fourteenth century under the Muslim *régime* in Bengal. History fails to furnish an instance that can surpass this, in exemplifying the honesty and sense of duty of a humble poem, the judicial fearlessness and integrity of a judge, and the law-abiding nature of a king.

² Shaiikh Hamīd of Nagor belonged to Nagor in Jodhpūr.

³ For Coinage of this King, see Thomas's *Initial Coinage*, J.A.S.B., 1867, pp. 68-70.

From the circumstance that his early coins were struck at the mint-town of Munzamabad (territory whereof has been identified to have extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansingh and the right bank of the Surma), it would appear that he first acquired power in Eastern Bengal, and reigned first at Sunargaon, from which place according to the Rīṣaḥ he marched out to fight against his father, Sikandar Shāh, who reigned at Pandosh. Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn must have invited Haḥīz to his court at Sunargaon, (as Haḥīz died in 791 A.H.) when, according to Sikandar Shāh's coins noticed by Mr. Thomas, Sikandar Shāh yet ruled at Pandosh. (See also J.A.S. for 1873, p. 258).

⁴ On the coins he is called Saifu-d-dīn Abul Majahid Hamzah Shāh, son of Azam Shāh (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 259). Ferishta says: "The Rajahs of the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience, and did not

Sikandar mentions him: 40. h. 978

of the army placed his son, Saifu-d-din, on the paternal throne styling him Sultān-u-s-Salāṭin.

One goes out, and another comes in in his place :
The world is never left without a master.

He was sober in character, and generous and brave. He reigned over Bengal for ten years, and in the year 785 A.H. he died, and according to another account, he reigned three years and seven months and five days. God knows the truth.



REIGN OF SHAMSU-D-DIN,¹ SON OF SULTĀNU-S-SALĀṬIN.

After the death of Sultān-u-s-Salāṭin, his son, Shamsu-d-din, with the consent of the councillors and members of Government, ascended the throne, and according to ancient usage he observed the ceremonies attendant on assumption of sovereignty, and for a period was at ease and comfort. In the year 788 A.H. either by some natural disease, or by the stratagem of Rajah Kāns, who at that time had become very powerful, he died. Some have written that this Shamsu-d-din was not an actual but adopted son of Sultān-u-s-Salāṭin, and that his name was Shāhābu-d-din. Either way, he reigned for three years, four months, and six days. And the true account is, that Rajah Kāns who was zamindār of Bathuriah² attacking him, slew him, and usurped the throne.

neglect or delay in paying revenue to him." According to the Tabaqat, he reigned 10 years. The coins discovered of him, were struck at Firmanabad (or Pandush).

¹ Ferishta says, that as the king was young and weak in intellect, an infidel named Rajah Kāns, who was attached to the court, usurped the executive and collection of taxes. The Tabaqat says that the king died after a quiet and peaceful reign of three years and a few months.

Professor Blochmann identifies this king (whose coins have not been discovered) with king Shāhābu-d-din Abū Muzaffar Bayazid Shāh, whose coins are noticed by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S., p. 263, for 1873. Bayazid Shāh, according to Professor Blochmann's theory, was "a puppet king—a banani transaction," whilst Rajah Kāns ruled over Bengal.

² Professor Blochmann says (J.A.S.B., p. 263 for 1873) —

"The name of Bathuriah does not occur in the Ain, nor have I seen it before the time of Rennel's Atlas (1778) in which the name of Bathuriah is

USURPATION OF RAJAH KĀNS' ZAMINDAR.

When Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn died, Rajah Kāns a Hindū Zamindar, subjugating the whole kingdom of Bengal, seated himself on the throne, and commenced oppressions, and seeking to destroy the Musalmans, slew many of their learned and holy men. His aim was to extirpate Islām from his dominions. It is said one day Shaikh Badrul Islām, father of Shaikh Muin-u-d-dīn 'Abbas, sat down before that wretch, without saluting him. Thereupon he said: "Shaikh, why did you not salute me?" The Shaikh said: "It is not becoming for the learned to salute infidels, especially a cruel and blood-shedding infidel, like thee, who has shed the blood of Musalmans." On hearing this, that unholy infidel kept silent, and, coiling like the serpent, aimed at killing him. One day he sat in a house which had a low and narrow entrance, and summoned in the Shaikh. When the Shaikh arrived, he guessed the Rajah's object, so he first put out his legs inside, and afterwards not bending the head, entered. That

given to a large district east of Maldah, bounded in the west by the Mahamuda river and the Parnabhaha, its tributary, in the south by the left bank of the Ganges, in the east by the Karataya, and in the north by Dinajpur and Ghoraghat. Bhathuriāh therefore is the district to both sides of the Atrai river." Professor Blochmann (*J.A.S.B.* for 1875, p. 287), identifies "Bhatariāh" as part of old Barendra, in Rajshahi proper, between Amrīl and Bagura, and signifying Northern Rajshahi Proper including Tahirpur. Professor Blochmann also considers that the name "Rajshahi" is connected with Rajah Kāns, who was a Rajah-Shāh, that is, a Hindu Rajah who succeeded a Musalman throne.

¹ The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* merely notices Kāns' usurpation. Ferishta says that though not a Musalman, Kāns was a friend (*Shu.*) of Musalmans. The *Biyas* gives the best account, based perhaps on local traditions. Mr. Westmacott inaccurately identifies "Rajah Kāns" of Bhathuriāh with Rajah Ganesha of Dinajpur." Professor Blochmann (I think correctly) identifies "Rajah Kāns" with "Rajah Kāns Narayan" of Tahirpur which latter is included in Bhathuriāh. (See *J.A.S.B.*, p. 287 for 1875).

Rajah Kāns does not appear to have issued coins in his own name, but during his régime, posthumous coins of Azam Shāh (noticed by Hon'ble Sir E. C. Bayley in *J.A.S.*, 1874, p. 294n.) and coins in the name of Shahabudin Raynāid Shāh, a puppet king or a beami king (noticed by Professor Blochmann in *J.A.S.B.* for 1875, p. 263), were issued.

Rajah Kāns from the testimony of coins appears to have reigned from 810 A.H. to 817 A.H. or 1407 to 1414 A.C. but he appears to have actually usurped the government earlier in 808 A.H.

infidel flew into rage, and ordered that the Shaikh should be placed in a line with his brothers. Immediately, the Shaikh was killed, and the rest of the learned that very day were placed on a boat and drowned in the river. The Saint Nūr Qutub-i-'Alam becoming impatient by reason of the oppressions of that infidel and his slaughter of the Mussalmans, wrote as follows to Sultān Ibrahim Sharqī¹ who ruled at that time up to the limits of Behār: "The ruler of this country, named Kāns, is an infidel. He is committing oppressions, and shedding blood. He has killed many of the learned and holy men, and destroyed them. At present, he is aiming to kill the remainder of the Mussalmans, and to extirpate Islām from this country. Since to help and protect Mussalmans, is a duty incumbent on Mussalman sovereigns, accordingly I intrude on your valuable time with these few lines. I pray for your auspicious arrival here, for the sake of the residents of this country, and also in order to oblige me, so that Mussalmans may be rescued from the oppressive load of this tyrant. Peace

¹ Shams-ud-din Ibrahim Shāh Sharqī, king of Jaunpur, reigned from 804 to 845 A.H. (1401-1441 A.C.) The Sharqī Kingdom was created in 795 A.H. by Sultan Mahmūd, son of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shāh, son of Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Firoz Shāh Tughlak, owing to the increasing feebleness of the Delhi Empire. The Sharqī Kingdom, extended from Quanj to Behar. Mahmūd first bestowed the title of Sultān-us-Sharqī on Malik Sarwar, a eunuch who already held the title of Khajah-Jahan. The following table will be useful:—

	A.H.	A.C.
Khajah Jahan ...	800	1397
Mubark Shāh ...	803	1400
Shams-ud-din Ibrahim Shāh	804	1401
Mahmūd Shāh ...	845	1441
Mahammad Shāh ...	855	1451
Husain ...	856	1451

The last took refuge in the court of Alau-ud-din Husain Shāh, king of Bengal about 900 A.H. or 1497 B.C. Jaunpur continued to be governed by the Lodi dynasty till the defeat and death of Ibrahim, grandson of Bahadur at Panipat by Babar in 1526 A.C. A local kingdom was for a short time established under Bahadur Khān, governor of Behar; it was recovered by Humayun, passed again into the hands of Sher Shāh and his son Salim Shāh. Jaunpur continued under the Afghans until Akbar in the 4th year of his reign took possession of it through Ali Quli Khan. In 1575, the Viceroyal court was removed to Allahabad, and Jaunpur was thenceforth governed by a Native—See Jarrett's Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, pp. 169-179, and also Badacsi, Vol. I, pp. 264, 272, 273, 316, 307, Pers. text.

be on you." When this letter reached Sultān Ibrahim, the latter opened it with great respect, and read it. Qāzi Shahāb-u-d-din¹ Jaunpurī who was one of the scholars of the time, and the chief of the body of the learned men, and who was highly respected by Sultān Ibrahim who used to seat him on a silver chair on auspicious occasions, also used his great persuasions and said: "You ought to set out quickly; for in this invasion both worldly and religious benefits are to be obtained, namely the country of Bengal will be subjugated, and you would also meet the Saint Shaikh Nūr Qutbu-l-'Alam, who is the fountain-head of both worldly and eternal boons, and you would also be doing a pious deed by avenging the oppression of Muhammadans." Sultān Ibrahim pitching out his tents struck the kettle-drum of march, and making forced marches, in a short time, with a powerful army reached Bengal, and encamped at Firuspur.² Rajah Kāna, on hearing this news, was confounded, and hastened to wait on the Saint Qutbu-l-'Alam. Showing submissiveness and humility, and weeping, the Rajah said: "Pray, draw the pen of forgiveness across the page of the offences of this sinner, and dissuade Sultān Ibrahim from subjugating this country." The Saint replied: "In order to intercede on behalf of an oppressive infidel, I cannot stand in the way of a Musalman sovereign, especially of one who has come out at my desire and request." In despair, Kāna prostrated his head on the feet of the Saint, and added, "Whatever the Saint may bid, I am willing to submit thereto." The Saint said: "So long as thou dost not embrace the Musalman religion, I cannot intercede for thee." Kāna assented to this condition, but his wife casting that misguided man into the well of misguidance, prevented his conversion to Islām. At length, Kāna brought to the presence of the Saint his son named Jadū who was twelve years old, and said: "I have become old, and desire to retire from the world. You may convert to Islām this

¹ "Qāzi Shahāb-u-d-din, a sage of Hindustan, flourished in the time (of Ibrahim Shāh). He was born at Delhi and in that city acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the inductive sciences and traditional lore, and at the time of the arrival of Timur, he set out for Jaunpur in the company of his master Maulana Khwājigi who was the successor of Nāsr-u-d-din Gherigh of Delhi, and then continued his progress and became the envy of his time."—Asi-i-Akbari (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, pp. 169-170).

² *i.e.*, Panduah.

son of mine, and then bestow on him the kingdom of Bengal." The saint Qutbu-l-'Alam taking out from his own mouth some chewed betel, put it into Jadu's mouth, and making him pronounce the creed of the Musalman faith, converted him to Islām, and naming him Jalālu-d-din, had the fact proclaimed in the city, and caused the *Khūba* of the kingdom to be recited after his name. The ordinances of the sacred Muhammadan law from that day were again put in force. After this, the saint Qutbu-l-'Alam went to meet Sultān Ibrāhīm, and after making apologies, prayed that the latter might withdraw. The Sultān was annoyed at this request, and turned his face towards Qāzi Shāhabu-d-din. The Qāzi said: "Saint, the king has come here at your requisition; and now you yourself siding with Kāns, appear as his agent; what is your aim?" The Saint said: "At that time (when I made the requisition) an oppressive ruler was tyrannising over the Musalmans; now owing to the auspicious arrival of the Sultān, he has embraced the Muhammadan faith. The Jihād (or holy war) is enjoined against infidels, not against Musalmans." The Qāzi, finding no answer, kept quiet. But as the Sultān's temper was irritated, in order to soothe the Sultān, the Qāzi commenced testing the learning and miracles of the saint, and was discomfited. After much questions and answers, the Saint said: "To view with contempt saints and to try to test them, ends in nothing but discomfiture. Before long, then shalt die in a wretched plight." And the saint at the same time cast an angry glance towards the Sultān. In short, the Sultān, annoyed and vexed, returned to Jampur. It is said that shortly after Sultān Ibrāhīm and Qāzi Shāhabu-d-din Jampurī died.

* Whoever quarrels with saints, suffers.*

Rajah Kāns hearing that Sultān Ibrāhīm had died, displaced Sultān Jalālu-d-din, and himself re-ascended the throne. According to the injunctions of his false creed, the Rajah prepared several gold-figures of cows, shoved in Jalālu-d-din through their mouths, and pulled him out from their buttock-sides, and then distributed the gold of those cow-figures among the Brahmans, and thus re-perverted his son to his own creed. As Jalālu-d-din, however, had been converted by the Saint Qutbu-l-'Alam, he did not abandon his faith in Islām, and the persuasions of the infidels had no effect

on his heart. And Rajah Kāns again unfurling the standard of misbehaviour, attempted to destroy and extirpate Muhammadans. When his cruelties passed all bounds, one day Shaikh Anwār, son of the Saint Qutbu-l-'Alam, complained to his father of the oppressions of that tyrant, and said: "It is a matter of regret that in spite of such a holy saint of the time as yourself, Musalmāns should be oppressed and ground down by the hand of this infidel." The saint at that time was absorbed in prayer and devotion. On hearing this utterance of his son, the saint was enraged, and replied: "This tyranny shall cease only, when thy blood shall be shed on the earth." Shaikh Anwār knew full well that whatever fell from the lips of his holy father, was sure to come to pass, and so after a moment, said: "What you have said about me, is meet and proper; but in respect of my nephew, Shaikh Zāhid, what is your will?" The saint said: "The drum of the virtues of Zāhid shall resound till resurrection-day." In short, Rajah Kāns extending more than before his oppressions and cruelties, gradually oppressed the servants and dependants of the saint himself, plundered their effects and chattels, imprisoned Shaikh Anwār and Shaikh Zāhid. As he had heard the Saints' prophecy about Shaikh Zāhid, not daring to kill him, he banished both to Sunārgaon, and sent orders to his agents there, that after ascertaining from them the whereabouts of the hidden treasures of their fathers and grandfathers, they should slay both. And on the Shaikh's arrival at Sunārgaon, they perpetrated many cruelties, yet not finding any clue to the hidden treasures which did not exist, first they murdered Shaikh Anwār, and when they attempted to take the life of Shaikh Zāhid, the latter stated that in a certain village a large cauldron was hidden. When they dug it up, they found a large chatty, but did not find more than one gold coin in it. They enquired, "What has become of the rest?" Zāhid said: "Apparently some one has stolen it." And this affair was the outcome of a miracle. It is said that on the very day and at the very moment when Anwār was murdered at Sunārgaon, and his sacred blood shed on the earth, Rajah Kāns passed away from his sovereignty to hell. According to some accounts, his son, Julālu-d-din, who was in prison leagued with his father's servants, and slew him. The rule and tyranny of that heathen lasted seven years.

*Kāns was imprisoned by Shah
a slave of Shah. Kāns was
Sulṭān who defeated
Sulṭān Kāns*

THE REIGN OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN,¹ SON OF RAJAH KĀNS.

After this, Jalālu-d-din mounted the throne with full independence. He converted, contrary to his father, many infidels to the Moslem faith, and compelled the Hindūs who had tasted of the gold-made figures of cows, to eat beef. And calling back the saint Shāikh Zāhid from Sunārgaon, he paid him every respect and honour, and rendering him services, was very often in attendance on him. He managed the affairs of Government in an efficient manner. In his reign, people passed their lives in ease and comfort. It is said that in his time the town of Panduah became so populous that it cannot be described. At Gaur, he erected a mosque, a reservoir, the Jalāl tank and a caravanseraī. The city of Gaur commenced being re-populated in his time. He reigned for seventeen years. In the year 812 A.H.² he removed the capital back again to Gaur. To this day, a large tower exists over his mausoleum at Panduah. The graves of his wife and his son lie by the sides of his mausoleum.



REIGN OF AHMAD SHĀH,³ SON OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN.

When Sultān Jalālu-d-din was laid in the grave, his son Ahmad Shāh, with the consent of the nobles and the generals of the army, ascended the throne, in succession to his father. As he was very peevish, oppressive and blood-thirsty, he shed blood for

¹ He is described in coins (see J.A.S.B., p. 267, for 1873), as Jalālu-d-din Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh. His reign probably lasted from 817 to 834 A.H. (1413 to 1430 A.C.) Some of his coins were struck at the mint-town of Sunārgaon. He resided at Panduah, but in 823 A.H. built a Palace at Gaur, and shifted his residence to the latter place. Panduah also became very populous in his time.

² The date is a mistake for 822 A.H.

³ His name as appearing on his coins is Khāman-d-din Abul Mujaḥid Ahmad Shāh. He reigned for 16 years from 834 to 850 A.H. (that is 1430-1445 A.C.)

The *Tabaqat* states that he reigned for sixteen years, and died in 850 A.H. Stewart says he reigned for eighteen years. Ferishta says he was a good and generous king, whilst Riyaz states he was a tyrant. With Ahmad Shāh ended the dynasty of Rajah Kāns, and commenced the restoration of the Ilās Shāhī dynasty. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 265).

nothing, and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant woman. When his oppressions reached the utmost limits, and the low and the high were exasperated to desperation by his tyranny, Shādi Khān and Nāsir Khān who were his two slaves and held the rank of nobles intrigued, and killed Ahmad Shāh; and this event occurred in 830 A.H. His reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years.



REIGN OF NĀSIR KHĀN, THE SLAVE

When the throne became vacant by the murder of Ahmad Shāh, Shādi Khān desired to put Nāsir Khān out of the way and to become himself the Administrator-General of the kingdom. Nāsir Khān, guessing his design, forestalled him, and slew Shādi Khān, and boldly placing himself on the throne, commenced to enforce orders. The nobles and the Malūk of Ahmad Shāh not submitting to him, slew him. His reign lasted seven days, and according to another account, half a day.



REIGN OF NĀSIR SHĀH.¹

When Nāsir Khān the slave in retribution for his misdeeds was killed, the nobles and the generals leaguings together, raised to the throne one of the grand-sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Bhangra who had capacity for this onerous charge, styling him

¹ His name, as appearing on his coins, is Nāsiru-d-din Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh. With him commenced the restoration of the Ilyās Shāhi dynasty in Bengal. He reigned for thirty-two years in peace (this peace being probably due to the wars that then prevailed between Jamnāpur and Delhi), and according to another account for 'not more than twenty-seven years,' and died in A.H. 862. In the histories, he is simply called Nāsir Shāh. Dates of his reign, as ascertained from coins and inscriptions, are 846; 861; 863; whilst the earliest dates ascertained for the reign of Sarbak Shāh, Mahmūd Shāh's successor, is 865. Mahmūd Shāh therefore must have reigned till the beginning of 864 A.H. If his reign lasted twenty-seven years, this would put back the commencement of his reign to 836 (the year in which Marsden's Ahmad Shāhi's coin was struck), and render Mahmūd Shāh an opposition king during 14 years of Ahmad Shāh's reign which is doubtful. Inscriptions of this king from Batgaon, Dacca, and Gaur have been published. (See *J.A.S.* for 1873, pp. 269, 271 and for 1872, p. 108).

Nāsir Shāh. Nāsir Shāh conducted himself with justice and liberality, so that the people, both young and old, were contented, and the wounds of oppression inflicted by Ahmad Shāh were healed. The buildings of Gaur and the Fort there, were erected by this high-ranked king. Reigning thirty-two years over Bengal, he passed away like others before him from the world, and according to another account, his reign did not exceed twenty-seven years.



REIGN OF BARBAK SHĀH,¹ SON OF NĀSIRU-D-DIN.

When Nāsir Shāh died, his son Barbak Shāh mounted the throne. He was a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign. In his time, the soldiers were happy and contented, and he also spent his life in comfort and ease. He died in 879 A.H. His reign lasted seventeen or sixteen years.



REIGN OF YŪSUF SHĀH.

After the death of Barbak Shāh, his son Yūṣuf Shāh with the consent of the nobles and the élité of the kingdom ascended the throne. He was a sovereign of gentle temperament, solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, and virtuous and learned and pious. He reigned seven years and six months, and died in 887 A.H.²

¹ The coins do not give his full name, which however appears from inscriptions (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 273), to have been Ruknu-d-din Abul Mujahid Barbak Shāh. His reign commenced in 864 A.H., and as appears from the Tribeni inscriptions (published by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B. for 1870, p. 250), before that, he ruled as Governor of South-Western Bengal in 860 A.H. The Dinajpur inscription (published by Mr. Westmacott in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 272), proves that Barbak Shāh undoubtedly reigned as king in Bengal in 865 A.H. (1460 A.C.)

² His name from inscriptions (published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 275) appears to be Shāhmuḍ-d-din Abul Muẓaffar Yūṣuf Shāh. He appears to have reigned from 878 to 886 A.H., when he died. From his inscriptions found at Panduah, Hazrat Panduah, and Gaur, the following dates of his reign have been ascertained, namely, A.H. 882, 884, 885 (that is 1477, 1479, 1480 A.C.)

Farishta says he was a scholar who charged the Ulama to see the law of the Prophet duly observed. "No one dared to drink wine" (Blochmann's Contr. J.A.S. for 1873, p. 275).

REIGN OF FATH SHĀH, SON OF YUSUF SHĀH.

After the death of Yūsuf Shāh, his son Sikandar Shāh,¹ ascended the throne. He had a little touch of lunacy. As he had no capacity for this important function, the nobles and the leaders deliberating that very day superseded him, and raised to the throne another son of Yūsuf Shāh, named Fath Shāh. The latter was wise and sagacious. Observing with wisdom the usages of the rulers and sovereigns of the past, and bestowing on the nobles dignities according to their individual ranks, he pursued a liberal policy towards his subjects. In his reign, the gates of happiness and comfort were thrown open to the people of Bengal. It was then the established custom in Bengal for five thousand *paiks* to turn out every night with music, and for the king to go out for a while in the morning to receive their salute, and then to give them leave to depart, a new corps of *paiks* relieving them. One day, the eunuch of Fath Shāh, bearing the name of Barbag, leagued with the *paiks*, and slew Fath Shāh.² This event took place in the year 896 A.H. Fath Shāh's reign lasted seven years and five months.



REIGN OF BARBAG, THE EUNUCH, STYLED SULTĀN SHĀHZADĀ.

Barbag the eunuch, the faithless miscreant, after slaying his own master, placed himself on the throne, according to the saying—

When a forest is untenanted, jackals give themselves the airs of lions.

¹ Stewart calls him a "youth of the royal family"; other histories say nothing about his relationship. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives him half a day; the *Tahqiq* gives him two and a half days; *Farishtā* gives no period, and Stewart gives him two months (*J.A.S.* for 1873, p. 291).

² His name from coins and inscriptions (*J.A.S.* for 1873, p. 291), appears to be Jalāl-ud-dīn Abul Muzaffar Fath Shāh. He appears from histories to have reigned from 887 to 896 A.H.; but inscriptions and coins shew that he reigned in 886 A.H. Some of his coins were struck at Pethabad (Faridpur town) in 886 and 892 A.H. These together with the inscriptions on Hām Salih's mosque at Bandar, near Dacca (dated 895 A.H. or 1482 A.C.), of Bikrampur (Dacca District) on Adam Shahid's mosque (dated 888 A.H. or 1483), of Sumatgaon on Muqarrab-ud-daulah-din's mosque (dated 869 or 1464 A.C.) are published in *J.A.S.B.* for 1873, pp. 282-285, and fix the dates of his reign. Pethabad (or Faridpur town) is named after him.

He styled himself *Sultān Shāhzādā*. He collected together eunuchs from all places; and bestowing largesses on low people, won them over to his side, and attempted to enhance his rank and power. Finding that only his own peers would come within his clutches, he tried to destroy the high and influential nobles. Out of these, the premier-nobleman, Malik Andil, the Abyssinian, who was on the frontiers, becoming apprised of the eunuch's designs, planned to set his own capable son on the throne, and to finish off the eunuch's life-work. At that time, the doomed eunuch thought of summoning Malik Andil, in order to imprison him by means of a trap; then he issued orders summoning him. Malik Andil guessing the real significance of the summons, with a large number proceeded to meet the eunuch. Since the Malik observed great precaution in his ingress to and egress from the *dardār*, the eunuch despaired of destroying him. In consequence, one day, the eunuch arranging an entertainment, showed great intimacy towards Malik Andil, and placing a *Qorān*, said: "Place your hand on the Holy Book, and vow that you will not injure me." Malik Andil vowed, "So long as you are on the throne, I shall do you no injury." Inasmuch as all the people were designing to destroy that miscreant eunuch, Malik Andil also schemed to avenge the murder of his benefactor, and leaguings with the porters sought for an opportunity. One night, whilst that miscreant was intoxicated by excessive indulgence in liquor, and lay asleep on the throne, Malik Andil, being led in by the porters, entered the *harem*, to kill the eunuch. When he found the latter asleep on the throne, he hesitated, on recollecting his vow. Suddenly, that miscreant over whom a fatality was hanging, by the will of Providence which flings one from the throne of pride down to the dust of degradation, and places on another's head the crown of sovereignty, owing to his intoxication from liquor, slipped down from the throne. Malik Andil was delighted at this incident, and drew his sword on him, but did not succeed in despatching him. *Sultān Shāhzādā*, awaking, and seeing himself in front of an unsheathed sword, seized Malik Andil, and being strong, in the wrestling, threw down the latter, and sat on his chest. Malik Andil who held tightly the hair of the eunuch's head, did not let it go, but shouted out to *Yugrauh Khān* who was standing outside the room, to come up quickly. *Yugrauh Khān*, the Turk, with a number of Abyssinians, instantly

came in, and finding Malik Andil underneath the eunuch, hesitated in attacking with the sword. In the interval of search, the lights had fallen under the hands and feet of the two wrestlers and had got extinguished, and all was dark. Malik Andil shouted out to Yagrus̄h Khān, "I am holding the hair of the eunuch's head, and he is so broad and robust, that his body has become in a way my shield; do not hesitate to strike with your sword, since it will not penetrate through, and even if it does, it does not matter; for I and a hundred thousand like me can die in avenging the death of our late master." Yagrus̄h Khān gently inflicted some strokes with his sword on the back and shoulder of Sultān Shāhzādā, who feigned being dead. Malik Andil then got up, and along with Yagrus̄h Khān and the Abyssinians, went out, and Tawachi Bashi, entering the bed-room of Sultān Shāhzādā, lighted up the lamp. Sultān Shāhzādā, fancying him to be Malik Andil, before the lamp was lit, from fear not mounting the throne, had escaped into a cellar. Tawachi Bashi proceeding towards the cellar, entered it; then again Sultān Shāhzādā feigned being dead. The Bashi cried out: "It is a pity that rebels have killed my master, and ruined the kingdom." Sultān Shāhzādā, fancying him to be one of his own loyal adherents, cried out: "Look here, hold your peace, for I am alive," and enquired where Malik Andil was. Tawachi said: "Thinking that he has killed the king, he has returned home with peace of mind." Sultān Shāhzādā told him, "go out, call together the nobles and set them to fetch Malik Andil's head, after killing him, and place watchmen in charge of the gates, warning them to be armed and on the alert." Tawachi the Abyssinian replied: "Very well, now I go to effect a radical cure." Coming out, he quickly told the whole affair to Malik Andil, who again went in, and inflicting cuts with the dagger, finished off the eunuch's life, and leaving his corpse in that cellar, locked it, and coming out sent a person to summon Khān Jahān, the Vizier. And after the arrival of the Vizier, he held a council for the election of a king. And since the son of Fath Shāh was only two years old, the nobles were diffident as to how he could be placed on the throne, so that, in the morning, all the nobles being of one mind went to the house of the widow-queen of Fath Shāh, related to her the story of the night, and said: "As the prince is a child, you should appoint one to manage the affairs of Government, until

the prince comes of age." The queen, on learning their anxiety, knew what to say. She said: "I have made a vow to God that I would bestow the kingdom on the person who kills the murderer of Fath Shāh."¹ Malik Andil, at first, declined to accept the burden of kingdom, but afterwards, when all the nobles collecting in that assembly unanimously besought him, he mounted the throne. The period of Sultan Shāhzāda's reign according to one account was eight months, and, according to another account, two and a half months. After this incident in connection with Sultan Shāhzāda, for some years, it became the ruling practice in Bengal that whoever slew the ruling king, and got an opportunity to seat himself on the throne, became recipient of homage and submission of the people, who did not protest against his installation.² In one pamphlet, the period of the rule of Sultan Shāhzāda is stated to be six months. God knows the truth.



REIGN OF MALIK ANDIL, THE ABYSSINIAN, STYLED FIRUZ SHĀH.³

When Malik Andil the Abyssinian, by his good fortune, took in lap the bride of the sovereignty of Bengal, he styled himself

¹ This affords another instance to illustrate the great influence exercised by Mussulman ladies in the past, and the chivalrous deference paid to their wishes by Mussulmans.

² "The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Barbak Shāh had introduced into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the kingdom, and eunuchs were the actual rulers of the country. . . . What royalty at that time was in Bengal is well described by Abul Fazi, who says that after the murder of Fath Shāh, low hirelings Bourisdah; and Ferishta sarcastically remarks that the people would obey him who had killed a king and usurped the throne." Blochmann's Contr. (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 286).

With Sultan Shāhzāda begins a succession of Habshi or Abyssinian kings, which terminated only with the rise of the Humayni dynasty of Bengal.

³ His name, as appearing on his coins (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 288), is Saifu-d-din Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shāh. He was an Abyssinian or Habshi, and reigned from 893 to 895 A.H. (according to the testimony of coins); whilst histories give (incorrectly) the year of his death to be 896. He was (according to Rias) the premier nobleman and a generalissimo under Fath Shāh. He proved a wise king.

Firuz Shāh, and proceeding to the metropolis of Gaur established himself there. In the directions of justice and liberality, he put forth noble efforts, and secured for his subjects peace and comfort. In that, during the time he was a noble, Malik Andil had done great and heroic deeds, both his soldiers and subjects dreaded him, and did not lean towards disaffection. In liberality and generosity, he was matchless. In a short time, he bestowed on the poor the treasures and largesses of past sovereigns, who had hoarded the same with considerable exertions and pains. It is said that on one occasion in one day he bestowed on the poor one lak of rupoes. The members of Government did not like this lavishness, and used to say to one another: "This Abyssinian does not appreciate the value of the money which has fallen into his hands, without toil and labour. We ought to set about discovering a means by which he might be taught the value of money, and to withhold his hand from useless extravagance and lavishness." Then they collected that treasure on the floor, that the king might behold it with his own eyes, and appreciating its value, might attach value to it. When the king saw the treasure, he enquired: "Why is this treasure left in this place?" The members of Government said: "This is the same treasure that you allotted to the poor." The king said: "How can this amount suffice? Add another lak to it." The members of Government, getting confounded, distributed the treasure amongst the beggars. Malik Andil, after reigning for three years, in 899 A.H. fell ill, and the light of his life was extinguished by the breeze of death. But the more reliable account is, that Firuz Shāh also was slain at the hands of the *Paiks*.¹ A mosque, a tower and a reservoir in the city of Gaur, were erected by him.

¹ For a humorous description of the cowardice of the Bengal *Paiks* (an Infantry corps of Bengal) in the time of Sultan Ilyās Shāh (1353 A.C.), see *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Zia' Barni (Pers. text, Fasc. 7, p. 593), from which the following is translated: "And the well-known Bengal *Paiks* who for years dubbed themselves 'Abu Bangal,' and gave themselves martial airs, and proclaimed their readiness to sacrifice their lives for Ilyās Shāh the Bhang-eater, and used to attend that maniac of a monarch, in the company of the dusky-looking Bengali *Rajahs*—at the time of actual warfare, put from fear their fingers into their mouths, ceased to be on the alert, threw down their swords and arrows, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and were all put to the sword (by the army of Emperor Firuz Shāh Tughlak)."

THE REIGN OF SULTAN MAHMÜD, SON OF FIRUZ SHÄH.

When Firuz Shäh passed to the secret-house of non-existence, the nobles and the ministers placed on the throne his eldest son, named Mahmüd. And an Abyssinian slave, named Habash Khän, became the Administrator-General of financial and administrative affairs, and his influence so completely pervaded all affairs of government, that, except a bare title, nothing of sovereignty was left to Mahmüd Shäh, and the latter was compelled to live in this way, until another Abyssinian, who was called Sidi Badr Diwāna, despairing of his ways, killed Habash Khän, and himself became the Administrator of the affairs of government. After some time, leaguings with the commandant of the *Paiks*, at night-time, he killed Mahmüd Shäh, and next morning with the concurrence of the nobles of the palace, who were in league with him, he ascended the throne, assuming the title of Muzaffar Shäh. The reign of Mahmüd Shäh lasted one year. And in the history of Haji Muhammad Qandahari, it is related that Sultän Mahmüd Shäh¹ was a son of Fath Shäh. Jashu Khän,² a slave of Barbag Shäh, under order of Sultän Firüz Shäh, trained him up; and after the death of Sultän Firüz Shäh, Sultän Mahmüd was placed on the throne. After six months had passed, Habash Khän, harboured notions of sovereignty in his head. Malik Badr Diwāna killing Habash Khän, as has been related before, himself mounted the throne.



THE REIGN OF SIDI BADR, STYLED MUZAFFAR SHÄH.

When Muzaffar Shäh mounted the throne in the city of Gauz, being very blood-thirsty and audacious, he slew many of the

¹ His name from coins and inscriptions (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 289), appears to be Nasiru-d-din Abul-Majid Mahmüd Shäh. Though the historians generally call him a son of Firuz Shäh, the account of Haji Muhammad Qandahari referred to in the text, namely, that Mahmüd Shäh was a son of Fath Shäh, appears to be more reliable. Mahmüd Shäh reigned in 898 A.H.

² "Jashu Khän" in the text is evidently a copyist's mistake for "Habash Khän," an omuch-slave of Barbag Shäh, who according to Haji Muhammad Qandahari, was entrusted by Firüz Shäh with the bringing up of Mahmüd Shäh, who was only two years old, when his father Fath Shäh died, and Malik Andil Firüz Shäh ascended the throne, with the consent of Fath Shäh's queen.

learned and the pious and the nobility of the city, and also killed the infidel Rajahs who were opposed to the sovereigns of Bengal. He bestowed on Syed Husain Sharif Muhi the office of Vizier, and made him Administrator of the affairs of Government. And he became assiduous in hoarding treasure, and by the counsel of Syed Husain, he cut down pay of soldiers, and set about building a treasury, and he committed oppressions in the collection of revenue. Consequently the people, receiving injuries at the hands of Muzaffar Shāh, became disgusted with him. Gradually, Syed Husain's mind was also changed, so that matters came to this pass, that in the year 903 A.H., most of the principal noblemen, seceding from the king, went out of the city, whilst Sultān Muzaffar Shāh with five thousand Abyssinians and three thousand Afghāns and Bengalis entrenched himself in the fort of Gaur. For a period of four months, between the people inside, and outside, the city, fightings raged, and daily a large number of people were killed.¹ It is said that, during the period Sultān Muzaffar was entrenched in the fort, whenever any one was captured and brought before him, he used to kill him with the sword with his own hand, with a ferocity characteristic of the Abyssinians, so that the number of people killed by him amounted to four thousand. At length, Muzaffar Shāh,² sallying out with his force from the city, gave battle to the nobles, whose leader was Syed Husain Sharif; and from both sides, twenty thousand men fell, either by the sword or the arrow.

¹ This sanguinary civil war in Bengal, about the end of the fifteenth century, between the Royalists on one side and the people on the other, headed by the nobles, reminds one of a similar war between king John and his barons in England, and illustrates that the people in Bengal were not "dumb, driven cattle," but that they had sufficient political life and strength and powers of organization to control the monarchy, when its acts exceeded all constitutional bounds, as set by the Shari' or Muhammadan law. Indeed, Moslem monarchies wherever established, (barring individual aberrations) have been constitutional in the strict sense of the word, from the time, when, in the seventh century, the first Khalifate was established in Arabia (see Sir W. Muir's "Annals of the Early Caliphate").

² His name on inscriptions and coins (published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 289-290), appears to be Shamsu-d-din Abu-Nasr Muzaffar Shāh. His inscriptions and coins show that he reigned from 896 to 899 A.H. (that is, from 1491 A.C. to 1494 A.C.) Histories allot to his reign three years and five months. He was an Abyssinian, and his original name was Sultān Badr.

The field was heaped up with the slaughtered:
You might say another rampart had been raised!

At length, the zephyr of victory wafted on the standard of the nobles. Muzaffar Shāh, with a number of his associates and adherents, was killed on the field. And according to the statement of Hajī Muhammad Qandahari, during that time, from the beginning to the end of the war, one *lakh* and twenty thousand people, of both Musalman and Hinda persuasions, passed to the regions of destruction. And Syed Husain Sharif Maki, gaining the throne, raised the standard of sovereignty. And in the history of Nizām-d-dīn Ahmad,¹ it is related that when the people got disgusted with the misconduct of Muzaffar Shāh, Syed Sharif Maki becoming aware of this state of national diagnet, won over to his side the Commandant of the Household troops and, one night, with thirteen men entering the inner chambers, slew Muzaffar Shāh, and next morning mounted the throne, and proclaimed himself Sultān 'Alān-d-dīn. The reign of Muzaffar Shāh lasted three years and five months. A mosque, amongst his other buildings, exists at Gaur.



THE REIGN OF 'ALAU-D-DIN SYED HUSAIN SHARIF MAKI.

Syed Husain Sharif Maki, during the period of his *Vizirat*, used to treat the people with affability. He used to tell them:

¹ Nizām-d-dīn Ahmad was Bakhshi under Akbar, and was a patron of the historian Badami. Nizām-d-dīn completed his history called *Tabaqat-i Akbari* in 1590 A.C.; he is the first writer who gives a concise connected account of the Independent Musalman kings of Bengal from 1338 A.C. to 1538 A.C.

* His name on coins and inscriptions (vide J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 292-293), is "Alau-d-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh, son of Syed Ashraf-al-Husaini." Nowhere on coins and inscriptions is he called "Sharif Maki," as is the text. The *Tabaqat-i Akbari* simply calls him "Alauddīn"; Ferishta erroneously calls him "Syed Sharif Maki"; whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him "Sharif Meera." He reigned from 899 to 927 A.H. (according to coins and inscriptions). The *Riwayat* states that Alauddīn, after arriving as an adventurer in Bengal, settled at a place called Chandpur in Radha district (Western Bengal), but Professor Blochmann (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 226n.) is inclined to identify the Chandpur in question near 'Alaipur or 'Alau-d-dīn's town,' on the Bhariab, east of Khulna, in Jessore district, as the place where the Husaini dynasty of Bengal

* **Muzaffar Shāh** is very stingy, and rude in behaviour. Although I advise him to attend to the happiness of the army and the

independent kings had his adopted home, because **Husain Shāh** first obtained power in the adjacent district of Faridpur or Fathābād (which latter at the time was included in, or rather included portions of, Jessore), where his first coins were struck in 890 A.H. (Marsden's pl. XXXVIII, No. DCCXXXIX), and also because **Husain Shāh's** son, **Nasrat Shāh**, erected a mint at the neighbouring place of Khalifābād (or Bagerhat, formerly in Jessore district) and minted there coins in the lifetime of his father in 922 A.H. (see p. 207, J.A.S.B. for 1873 and pl. IX, No. 10). Another circumstance which also supports the above theory of Professor Blochmann about the locale of **Alauddin Husain Shāh's** adopted home, appears to be this, that the names of **Husain Shāh**, his brother **Yusuf Shāh**, and his sons **Nasrat Shāh**, and **Mahmūd Shāh**, are found in connection with several parganas of Jessore (Jassar) district (as formerly constituted, before its being split up into Pabna, Khulna and Faridpur districts), such as parganas **Nasratshahi** and **Mahmūdshahi** and **Yusuf-Shahi**, and **Mahmūdabad** (a whole Sirkar including Northern Jessore or Jassar and Romiah). In regard to **Alauddin Husain Shāh**, Professor Blochmann observes (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 291) that "of the reign of no king of Bengal—perhaps of all Upper India before the middle of the 16th century—we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal kings scarcely ever occur in legends, and remain even unrecognised in the geographical names of the country, the name of '**Husain Shāh the Good**' is still remembered from the frontiers of Orissa to the Brahmaputra." This great and good king extended his empire into Orissa, into Assam, into Chittagong, and reigned over all north Behar, and all south Behar up to the western limits of Sarkar Monghyr, where his son **Daryal** erected a tank over the shrine of **Poor Nafa**. (See *Taliquat-i-Akhari* and also *Badamt*, Vol. I, p. 371). A cathedral mosque amongst his other edifices was erected by this king, in 907 A.H. at Machalin, opposite to Faridpur in Dhakā; the inscription of this mosque appears in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 233. The **Husain Shāhi** dynasty consisted of four sovereigns: (1) **Alauddin Husain Shāh** who reigned from 889 to 929 A.H. (2) **Alauddin's** son, **Nasiru-d-din Abul Mansur Nasrat Shāh** (929 to 939). (3) **Alauddin Firuz Shāh** (939), a son of No. 2, and (4) **Shirazu-d-din Mahmūd Shāh**, (940-945 A.H.) the last independent king of Bengal, who was defeated by **Sher Shāh's** army at Gaur under **Jalal Khan** and **Khwaja Khan** in 914 A.H. or 1508 A.D. That is, for forty-four years, this **Husaini** dynasty consisting of four kings, reigned over Bengal. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 332). The *Taliquat-i-Akhari's* notice of "Bengal" closes with an account of the reign of **Nasrat Shāh**, the second king of the **Husaini** dynasty. The fourth king of the **Husaini** dynasty, it is to remark, is the "**El Hay** **Mahmūd de Bengala**" of the Portuguese, who is described Gaer, the capital at the time, as being "three leagues in long, all-fortified and with wide and straight roads, along which rows of trees were planted to shade the people." This **Mahmūd Shāh** died in 945 A.H. at Gulgong (Kālahgong), where he lies buried.

nobility, and dissuade him from evil pursuits, it is all in vain; for he is simply bent on hoarding wealth." In consequence, the nobles looked upon Husain as their friend, patron and sympathiser. As his virtues and Muzaffar Shāh's vices were known to the public and to the *élite*, on the day that Muzaffar Shāh was slain, all the nobles held a council for the purpose of electing a king, and favoured the installation of Syed Sharif Maki, and said, "If we elect you king, in what way will you conduct yourself towards us?" Sharif Maki said: "I will meet all your wishes, and immediately I will allot to you whatever may be found over-ground in the city, whilst all that is under-ground I will appropriate to myself." The patricians as well as the plebeians fell in with this tempting offer, and hurried out to pillage the city of Gaur, which at this time eclipsed Cairo (in point of wealth).

In this way, a city was pillaged:

You might say, it was swept by the broom of plunder.

Syed Sharif Maki by this easy contrivance, seized the umbrella of sovereignty, and introduced the *Khutba* and the coin in his own name. Historians write that his name was Syed Sharif Maki,¹ and that when he ascended the throne, he styled himself 'Alau-d-din. But I note that throughout the kingdom of Bengal and in the neighbourhood of Gaur, his name as Husain Shāh is on the lips of the *élite* and the mass. Since I did not find the name of Husain Shāh in history, I was in doubt. After much research, by deciphering workings of inscriptions which exist up to this day, and are engraved on the ruins of the City of Gaur, on the stone of the large gate-way of the Qadam Rasūl building,² and on the Golden Mosque, and also on some other shrines, which are amongst the edifices erected by Salṭān Husain Shāh and his sons Naṣrat Shāh and

¹ The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Badshahi* (p. 317 vol. 1) simply call him Alauddin (which however was obviously the *Jalā* name), Ferishta, erroneously calls him "Sayid Shurif Maki," whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him "Shirif Mocco," erroneously. 1527 A.H. (see doubt by the remark of the 'Riyaz' whose author thinks after arrival of Mocco. The *Alamgirnama* (p. 130) calls him Husain Shāh.

² The inscription dated 697 A.H. on the Qadam Rasūl building at Gaur is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338; in it Naṣrat Shāh is described as son of Husain Shāh, son of Syed Ashrafal Husaini.

Mahmūd Shāh, it appears that Syed 'Alān-d-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh is the son of Syed Ashrafal-Husaini. In regard to the months and years of Syed Sharif Maki's period, all these inscriptions tally, and thus all doubts are set at rest. It appears that apparently his venerable father—Syed Ashrafal Husaini—was Sharif of Makka; hence the son also was known as Sharif-i-Maki; or else, his name was Syed Husain. In a pamphlet, I have noticed that Husain Shāh and his brother Yūsuf, together with their father, Sayyid Ashrafal Husaini, were residents of the town of Tarmūz.¹ By chance, they came to Bengal, and stayed in the mouzā of Chandpur in the gillā of Raḍha,² and both the brothers took their lessons from the Qāzi of that place. On knowing their noble pedigree, the Qāzi married his daughter to Husain Shāh. After this, he entered the service of Muzaffar Shāh, and reached the office of Vizier, as has been related before. When he ascended the throne in the city of Gaūr, after some days, he forbade the people from the pillage of the city, and when they did not cease, he slaughtered twelve thousand plunderers; then these stayed their hands from the work of pillage. And making search, he found much of the hidden treasures including thirteen hundred plates of gold. From ancient times, the custom in the country of Lakhnauti and East Bengal was that rich people preparing plates of gold, used to take their food thereon, and on days of carnivals and festivities, whoever displayed a large number of golden plates, became the object of pre-eminence. And this custom up to this time prevails amongst the rich and high-ranked people. Sultān 'Alān-d-dīn Husain Shāh, since he was a wise and sagacious sovereign, shewed consideration towards the influential nobles, and raised his select officers to high positions and trusty offices. And he prohibited the *Paiks*—whose faithlessness and regicides had become characteristic—from guarding the Palace, and totally disbanded them, so that no harm might befall him. And in place of the *Paiks*, in the Guard-room and on the Baud-stand, he appointed other body-guards. And he also expelled totally the Abyssinians from his entire dominions.

¹ A town in Turkestan.

² That is, the Western Bengal tract. See however, note 13 to p. 45, where Professor Blochmann identifies Chandpur, near Alaipter on the Bhairab, in Jessore district.

Since these Abyssinians were notorious for their wickedness, rascaldom and infamous conduct, obtaining no footing in Jaunpur and Hindustan, they went to Gujrat and the Dakhin. Sultān 'Alau-d-din Husain Shāh, girding up the waist of justice, unlike other kings of Bengal, removed his seat of government to Ekdālā, which adjoins the city of Gaur. And excepting Husain Shāh, no one amongst the kings of Bengal made his seat of government anywhere, except at Paudna and the city of Gaur. As he was himself of noble descent, according to the saying, "Every thing turns back to its origin" he took the Syeds, Mughals and Afghāns by the hand, and sent efficient District Officers to different places, so that peace in the country being secured, anarchy and revolutions which had occurred during the period of the Abyssinian kings, etc., vanished, and all disloyal elements were reduced to order. And subjugating the Rajas of the environs and conquering up to Orissa, he levied tribute. After this, he planned to conquer Assam, which is north-east of Bengal. With an overwhelming army consisting of infantry and a numerous fleet, he marched towards that kingdom, and conquered it. And conquering the whole of that country up to Kāmrup, Kāmtah and other districts which were subject to powerful Rajas, like Rūp Narain, and Mal Kunwar, and Gana Lakhan and Lachmi Narain and others; he collected much wealth from the conquered tracts; and the Afghāns demolishing those Rajas' buildings, erected new buildings. The Raja of Assam not being able to oppose him, relinquishing his country, fled to the mountains. The king, leaving his son¹ with a large army to

¹ This was Prince Danyal (incorrectly known as Dula Ghaz). This invasion of Assam took place in 1498 A.C. See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 355. Particulars of this invasion of Assam in 1498 A.C. or 1034 A.H. are given in the *Alamgirnamah* pp. 730 and 731 and the *Assam Buzarji* (J.A.S., for 1874, p. 261). Husain Shāh's conquest of Kāmrup and Kāmta (western Assam) is also chronicled in a contemporaneous inscription of 907 A.H. (1501 A.C.) in a Madrasah or College founded by Husain Shāh at Gaur. This inscription is also published in J.A.S., for 1874, p. 303. Husain Shāh's first Governor of Western Assam or Kāmrup was his son, Prince Danyal,—the same prince who erected the vault over the shrine of Pir Nafa in Monghyr fort in 903 A.C., whilst returning from a mission on behalf of his father to meet Sultān Sikandar Lodī in Behar, and immediately before setting out on this Assam expedition (*Badeoni*, p. 317 Vol. 1). He was followed as Governor of Assam by Musundur Ghazi, who was succeeded by Sultān Ghiyas-d-din who introduced a colony of Muhammadans into Assam.

complete the settlement of the conquered country, returned triumphant and victorious to Bengal. After the withdrawal of the king, his son devoted himself to the pacification and defence of the conquered country. But when the rainy season set in, owing to floods, the roads and tracks became closed; and the Rajah with his adherents issued from the hills, surrounded the Royal army, engaged in warfare, cut off supplies of provisions, and in a short time put all to the sword. And the king, erecting a fort on the bank of the river Bhatah,¹ bestowed great efforts on the improvement and advancement of the Kingdom of Bengal. And erecting and establishing Mosques and Rest-houses at different places in every district, he conferred numerous gifts on saints and recluses.² And for the maintenance of the Rest-house in connection with the eminent saint, Nur Qutba-l-'Alam, he endowed several villages, and every year, from Ekdālā, which was the seat of his government, he used to come to Pandua, for pilgrimage to the bright shrine of that holy saint.³ And because of his need-worthy courteousness and affable deportment, and owing to the exuberance of his good sense and wisdom, he ruled for a long period with complete independence. In the year 900 A.H., Sultān Husain Sharqi, ruler of the Jaunpūr kingdom, on being defeated and pursued by Sultān Sikandar, proceeded to Colgong (Kahlgang),⁴ and took shelter with Sultān 'Alau-d-din Husain Shāh. The latter, paying regard to the refugee's rank, provided him with means of comfort, so that relinquishing anxieties and cares of sovereignty, Sultān Husain Sharqi passed the rest of his life at the above place. Towards the end of 'Alau-d-din's reign, Muḥammad Babar the Emperor invaded Hindustan. Sultān Husain Shāh, in the year 927 A.H., died a natural death. His reign lasted 27 years, and according to some, 24 years.

¹ Stewart has 'Batenh,' and says it is the name of a stream, which also bears the name of Gandak. I do not know how far Stewart is correct.

² He also founded Madrasahs or Colleges for the advancement of learning, as is evidenced by the testimony of the contemporaneous inscription of 907 A.H. published in J.A.S.B., for 1874, p. 388. This inscription opens with the remarkable saying of the Prophet, "Search after knowledge even as far as China."

"الجهل العلم ولو بالصين"

³ See note p. 48.

⁴ See *Badauni*, p. 316, Vol. I.

and according to others, 29 years and 5 months. Amongst the sovereigns of Bengal, none has been equal to 'Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh. And traces of his beneficence in this country are well-known to all. He had eighteen sons. Naṣrat Shāh, after his father, became king of Bengal.



THE REIGN OF NAṢRAT SHĀH,¹ SON OF 'ALĀU-D-DĪN HUSAIN SHĀH.

When Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh died, the adherents of the kingdom and the members of the government placed on the throne his eldest son, named Naṣrat Shāh, commonly known as Naṣīb Shāh, who was wise and just, and well-behaved, and in affairs of administration was more proficient than his other brothers. The most laudable work that he performed was that, instead of imprisoning his brothers, he doubled the offices which had been conferred on the latter by their father. And capturing the Rajah of Tirkūt, he killed him. And he set two officers, named 'Alāu-d-dīn and Maḥmūd 'Alim, otherwise known as Shāh 'Alim, and who were sons-in-law of Husain Shāh, for the conquest of the limits of Tirkūt and Hajīpur,² and posted them there. And when Emperor Babar, killing Sultān Ibrahim,³ son of Sultān

¹ His name, as appearing on his coins and inscriptions, is Nāṣir-d-dīn Abul Muẓaffar Naṣrat Shāh. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 296 and 297). Historians call him also Naṣīb Shāh, (Badami, p. 348), but perhaps whilst as a prince, he held the name of Naṣīb Khān. He appears to have reconquered Chittagong Tract (see Tarīkh-i-Hamidi and J.A.S. for 1872, p. 326), and to have subdued Tirkūt and Hajīpur tracts in North Behar—and to have also held temporary sway over Azimgarh in the N.W. Provinces (see Sikandarpur Azimgarh inscription published in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 295). Khairid mentioned in this inscription is on the right bank of the Ghagra river.

Naṣrat Shāh reigned from 929 to 939 A.H. (J.A.S. for 1872, p. 333).

² Hajīpur was long the head-quarters of the Bengal Governors of Behar from the time of Haji Ilyās, and was founded by Haji Ilyās alias Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās, king of Bengal. It sank in importance with the transfer of the head-quarters to Patna, on the establishment of Maghal rule under Emperor Akbar.

³ Ibrahim Lodi, son of Sikandar Lodi and grandson of Bahlol Lodi, was defeated and killed by Babar at the decisive battle of Panipat in 1526 A.C. or 932 A.H. See the graphic description of this decisive battle in Badami (Pers. text, Vol. I, pp. 334-336.) By this great battle, the sovereignty of

Sikandar Lodi, conquered the great empire of Hindustan, many of the *Afghān* Omra escaping, sought refuge with Naṣrat Shāh. And at length, Sultān Mahmūd,¹ brother of Sultān Ibrāhīm, being expelled from his kingdom, came to Bengal. Naṣrat Shāh showing kindness to every one, bestowed on all pargannahs and villages, in accordance with their respective rank and condition, and consistently with the resources of his kingdom. And he married Sultān Ibrāhīm's daughter, who had also come to Bengal. And planning the subjugation of the *Mughal* forces, he despatched Qutb Khān with a large force towards the environs of Bharuich.² And the latter fought several battles with the *Mughals*, and for a period the contending forces were bivouacked there, fighting. But Khān Zamān,³ son-in-law of Emperor Babar, had conquered up to Jaunpur, and when in the year 930 A.H., Emperor Babar came to Jaunpur, and brought to his subjugation all its limits and environs, and planned to march to Bengal and to bring it also under his domination, Naṣrat Shāh, foreseeing the result, sent valuable presents and gifts in charge of wise envoys, and offered submission. Emperor Babar, in view of the exigencies of the times, made peace with Naṣrat Shāh, and retired. When Emperor Babar died on the 5th of the month of Jamādin-i-Awal

India was transferred from *Afghan* hands to those of the *Mughals*. Strange enough to add, this revolution was effected by the intrigues of *Afghan* officers and Omra of Ibrāhīm who had joined Babar, and invited the latter to India. (*Badaoni*, Pers. text, p. 331, Vol. I). No doubt, it was a penalty paid by Sultān Ibrāhīm for his ill-treatment of his brothers, officers and noblemen, whom he constantly distrusted and disgraced.

¹ Sultān Mahmūd was a son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi. He was set up as a King by Haman Khān Mewati and Rana Sanka, and induced to fight with Babar who defeated him. After defeat, he lived at Chitor, whence he was brought by *Afghans* to Behar, and proclaimed its King. Sher Khān joined him, but subsequently deserted him in favour of *Mughals*, who defeated him. From Patna, he fled to Orissa, where he died in 949 A.H. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 361 and 338, Vol. I).

² Sarkar Bharuich is included in the Subah of Orissa, and is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 93).

This was the furthest western incursion made by the *Musliman* kings of Bengal (barring of course Sher Shāh, who from king of Bengal rose to be Emperor of all India).

³ See p. 139 Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I. From *Badaoni's* account (p. 338, Vol. I), the conquest of Jaunpur appears to have been made by Humayan, during Babar's lifetime, in *Badaoni* (p. 344, Vol. I), Md. Zaman Mirza.

937 A.H., and Emperor Humāyūn ascended the throne of Delhi, it was rumoured that the Emperor of Delhi was planning the conquest of Bengal. Consequently, Nāsrat Shāh in the year 939 A.H., in view of demonstrating his sincerity and friendship, sent rare presents in charge of Malik Marjān, the eunuch, to Sultān Bahādur Gujrātī.¹ Malik Marjān met Sultān Bahādur in the fort of Mandu, and became the recipient of a special *Khil'fat*. In the meantime, Nāsrat Shāh, in spite of his being a Syed, indulged in dissipations and audacious oppressions, to detail which would be to harrow the feelings of all. And a world was grinding under his tyranny. In that interval, Nāsrat Shāh rode to Akmakah, in the city of Gaur, in order to visit the tomb of his father. As will would have it, there he punished an eunuch for some fault. From fear of life, this eunuch leagued with other eunuchs, and murdered Nāsrat Shāh on his return to the palace, in the year 943 A.H. His reign lasted 10 years, and according to some, 13 years, and according to others, less than 13 years. The foundations of the building of Qadam Rasūl² in the year 939,³ and the Golden mosque commonly called the Sona Masjid⁴ in the year 932 A.H., were laid by him, and these with their shattered doors and walls exist to this day, amongst the buildings of Nāsrat Shāh, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh, amidst the ruins of Gaur. And the foundation of the luminous shrine of the saint Makhdūm Akhi Sirāja-d-dīn⁵ at Sādu-l-lāhpur is also amongst the noble relics of that monarch.

¹ He resigned in Gujarat from 1526 A.D. to 1536 A.D.—see *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 261, and *Badaoni*, pp. 344 to 347, Vol. I.

He foolishly engaged in a war with Humayun and was defeated, (Vol. II, p. 269, and *Badaoni*, p. 346, Vol. I).

² This building was in fair order when I visited Gaur in 1887. It is a square one-domed building in the enclosure of the Fort. Its length from east to west is 24 cubits, and its breadth is the same. The Bhagirathi flows to the west of it, about a distance of 30 rods. This building was erected by Nāsrat Shāh in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.). Inside the mosque under the dome, there is a foot-print of the Arabian prophet on a piece of stone, which is said to have been formerly at Pamiyah in the Challaḡḡana of the Saint Jallāl-d-dīn Tabrizi, who is supposed to have brought it from Arabia.

The inscription on the building is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338.

³ The date on the inscription is however, 937 A.H. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338).

⁴ See Ravenshaw's and Creighton's "Ruins of Gaur."

⁵ He was a Saint of Gaur. He came as a boy to Nizām-d-dīn Auliā of

[*Note by the author, Salter:* In all the inscriptions that engraved on stones exist to this time, the king's name is mentioned as Nasrat Shāh, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh. In histories, his name is mentioned as Naṣīb Shāh. Apparently, this is a corruption or a mistake, in that there is no room for mistake in the inscriptions engraved on stones.]

REIGN OF FIRUZ SHĀH,¹ SON OF NAṢRAT SHĀH.

When Nasrat Shāh drank the disagreeable syrup of death, his son, Firuz Shāh, by the counsels of the grandees, ascended the throne. He had reigned for three² years, when Sultān Maḥmūd Bengālī, who was one of the eighteen sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh, and whom Nasrat Shāh had installed to the rank of a nobleman, and who in the life-time of Nasrat, conducted himself like an *amerr*, finding an opportunity, slew Firuz Shāh, and ascended the throne by right of inheritance from his father.

Delhi and in course of time acquired great learning. He was then sent to Bengal, where he died in 758 A.H. or 1357 A.C. After Nizam-d-dīn's death (according to the *Haft I qīss*), he went to Luckhnauti—(See J.A.S. for 1873 p. 290).

Nasrat Shāh could not have laid the foundation of the Saint's shrine; he could have only repaired and improved it, for the inscription on the shrine (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 294), shows that its door was built by Nasrat Shāh's father, Sultān 'Alau-d-dīn Husain Shāh, in 916 A.H. (A.C. 1510).

Akhi's pupil was the Saint Alau-d-Huq, father of the Saint Nūr Quṭb 'Alam of history.

Akhi was a contemporary of Shamsu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh, King of Bengal.

¹ His name appears to be 'Alau-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shāh, both on his coins and his inscriptions (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 297). He reigned for only one year (939 A.H.) when he was slain by his uncle Maḥmūd Shāh the next King. This would also put back the date of Nasrat Shāh's murder to end of 938 or beginning of 939 A.H.; but *Bulacani's* account (p. 348, Vol. I), renders it doubtful.

² "Three years," is evidently a copyist's mistake, for Stewart who bases his history on the *Riyaz*, mentions "three months" which he must have found in his copy of the M.S. of the *Riyaz*, and which appears otherwise more consistent, chronologically.

REIGN OF SULTÂN MAHMŪD,¹ SON OF 'ALĀU-D-DĪN.

When Maḥmūd Shāh ascended the throne, Maḥdūm 'Alam, his brother-in-law, who was Governor of Hājipur, raised the standard of rebellion, and intrigued and allied himself with Sher Khān, who was in the tract of Behar.² Maḥmūd Shāh deputed Qutb Khān, Commandant of Monghyr, to conquer the Province of Behar, and to chastise Maḥdūm 'Alam. Sher Khān made efforts to conclude peace, but they were of no avail; and at length, by the concurrence of the Afghāns, resolving to die, he determined to fight. When the two forces closed together, a great battle ensued. Qutb Khān was killed in the battle, and Sher Khān, obtaining his elephants and baggage, became powerful. After this, Maḥdūm 'Alam, in order to avenge himself, or to usurp the throne, raised the standard of rebellion; and fighting with Maḥmūd Shāh, was killed. And Sher Khān Afghān instantly, who had usurped the throne of Delhi,³ drew his force towards Bengal. The nobles of Bengal, guarding the passes of Telingadhī

¹ The name of this King as appearing on his coins and inscriptions is Ghīyā-d-dīn Abul Musaffar Maḥmūd Shāh (See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 339, and for 1873 p. 298). He was the last Independent King of Bengal, and reigned from 940 to 944 A.H. He is the "El Rey Mamul de Bengala," with whom the Portuguese Alfonso de Meilo made a treaty. At this time, Sher Khān and his brother Adil Khān had deserted the Mughal cause, and gone over to the side of the King of Bengal. But subsequently Sher Khān on the pretext of avenging the murder of Firuz Shāh, made war on Maḥmūd Shāh, besieged him at Guir, and Maḥmūd Shāh fled to Colgong (Kabalgaon), where he died in 945 A.H. (1538 A.C.) of injuries received on the battle-field. (See Badaoni, p. 345, Vol. I).

² The town of Behar is meant. It appears that at this time both Sarkar Monghyr in South Behar and the whole of North Behar were subject to the Bengal kings, and Hājipur was the head-quarters from a long time of the Bengal Governor of North Behar. West of Sarkar Monghyr in South Behar, which was subject to the Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur, on the decay of the latter kingdom, fell into the hands of semi-independent Afghan chiefs, including Darā Khān, his son Bahadar Khān (who proclaimed himself Sultān Maḥammad), Sultān Maḥmūd, and Sher Khān. At this time, as the text shows, Maḥdūm 'Alam, Maḥmūd Shāh's brother-in-law, who was his Governor of North Behar, and had his head-quarters at Hājipur, also rebelled against his sovereign, and intrigued with Sher Khān (afterwards Sher Shāh). (See Badaoni, pp. 300, 348, 361, Vol. I).

³ How Sher Shāh acquired the Delhi Empire, is related in *Tarikh-i Sher Shāhi*, and also in Badaoni and the Akbarnamah.

and Sakrigali¹ for one month continued fighting. At length, the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali were captured, and Sher Khān entered Bengal, and Mahmūd Shāh, drawing his force, encountered the former, when a great battle ensued. Sultan Mahmūd, being vanquished in the field, entrenched himself in the citadel, and sent a message to Emperor Humāyun in Delhi, seeking for help. Humāyun Shāh in the year 944 A.H. turned towards the conquest of the province of Jaunpur. Since at that time, Sher Khān was in Bengal, Emperor Humāyun, going to the foot of the fort of Chunar,² laid siege to it. Ghazi Khān Sūr, who was in the fort on behalf of Sher Khān, raised the standard of opposition, and for six months the siege was protracted.³ By the efforts of Rumi Khān,⁴ ladders being mounted, the fort was scaled and captured by Humāyun. Sher Khān also put forth grand efforts for capturing the fort of Gaūr, and the garrison were hardpressed. But as in the meantime one of the zamindars of Behar, becoming refractory, raised disturbances, Sher Khān, finding it inexpedient to halt at Gaūr, left his son, Jallāl Khān, and Khawās Khān, one of his trusty nobles, to besiege the fort of Gaūr, whilst he himself marched back to Behar. And Jallāl Khān, son of Sher Khān, skirmished with Mahmūd Shāh, so that the garrison were reduced to straits, and food-grains became scarce in the city. On Sunday, the 13th of the month of Farwardī, corresponding to the 6th of Zil-Qadh, 944 A.H.,⁵ Jallāl

¹ These passes are close to Colgong, and are now traversed by the E.I. Railway line. They were in those days considered the 'key' to Bengal. They were fortified under Sher Khān's order by Quth Khān, son of Sher Khān and Khawās Khān, slave of Sher Khān. (See *Badaoni*, p. 349, Vol. I).

² In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, under the Sūbah of Allahabad, Chunar is described "as a stone-fort in the summit of a hill, scarcely equalled for its loftiness and strength." The river Ganges flows at its foot—*Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. 2, p. 159).

³ It is stated that its siege by Emperor Humāyun commenced on 8th January, 1538 A.C. As its siege lasted six months, and as it was stormed before Gaūr fell (on 6th April, 1538 A.C.) into the hands of Sher Shāh's general, Khawās Khān, the siege of Chunar must have commenced in October 1537 A.C. (See *Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhi*), or it may be that the fall of Gaūr took place in July 1538 A.C. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I).

⁴ See p. 441 Bleichmann's *Textus* of *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 441, and *Badaoni*, p. 349, Vol. I. Chunar was captured by Humāyun in 943 A.H.

⁵ This corresponds to 6th April, 1538 A.C.

Khān with other grandees, such as Khawās Khān, etc., struck up the kettle-drum of battle. Sultān Maḥmūd, who was hard-pressed by the siege, sallying out of the fort, advanced to fight. Since the period of his fortune had turned to declension, and the luck of Sher Khān assisted the latter, Sultān Maḥmūd, unable to cope in battle, escaping by the way of Bhata,¹ fled, and Maḥmūd Shāh's sons were taken prisoners; and the fort of Gaūr, together with other booty, fell into the hands of Jallāl Khān, son of Sher Khān. Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān, entering the fort, engaged in slaughter and capture and plunder of the garrison. And Sher Khān also, being set free from the disturbance in Behar, pursued Sultān Maḥmūd. When they closed each other, Sultān Maḥmūd was obliged to fight, and receiving a serious wound, fled from the battle-field. Sher Khān, victorious and triumphant, spurred on to Gaūr, and became master of Bengal. The Cathedral Mosque at S'adn-i-Jāhpur,² amongst the buildings of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān 'Alau-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, exists to this day. From the inscriptions engraved on it, it appears that he was a son of Sultān 'Alau-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. The period of his reign appears to have lasted five years.³



ACCESSION OF NĀSIRU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD HUMĀYUN PĀDSHĀH TO THE THRONE OF GAUR.

Sultān Maḥmūd, fleeing wounded from the battle with Sher Khān, turned to meet Sultān Muḥammad Humāyun, the Emperor. At the time when Sultān Humāyun the Emperor captured the fort of Chunar, Sultān Maḥmūd arriving at Darvāhpur,⁴ and meeting the Emperor, and using much cajolery and persuasion, requested the Emperor to invade Bengal. The Emperor, taking pity on Maḥmūd, left Mirzā Dost Beg⁵ in charge of the fort of

¹ See note ante.

² This was a quarter of Gaūr. The inscription on this mosque is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 389.

³ The fate of Maḥmūd Shāh is fully described in the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shāh*, of which the Hon'ble Sir Edward Oliver Bayley has published a translation in Dawson's edition of Elliot's History of India, IV, pp. 380-384.

⁴ I have not identified this place; but it must have been close to Chunar.

⁵ In *Balaoui* (p. 248, Vol. I), it is stated that when the King of Bengal

Chunar, and in the beginning of 945 A.H.¹ raised the standard of march towards the conquest of Bengal. Sher Khān,² learning about this, despatched Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān to defend the pass of Teliagadhi, which leads to Bengal. And this Teliagadhi and Sakrigali is a place between the provinces of Behar and Bengal, it is very impregnable; it is flanked on one side by a lofty hill and a dense forest which are quite impassable, and on another side by the river Ganges, to ford which is very difficult. Emperor Humāyūn detached Jahāngir Beg³ Mughal to capture Teliagadhi and Sakrigali. On the day that Jahāngir Beg reached that place, just after he had dismounted, Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān, marching up quickly with an efficient force, attacked him. The Mughal forces, unable to cope, were vanquished, and Jahāngir Beg, getting wounded, in a hapless condition, retreated to the Emperor's camp.⁴ But when Emperor Humāyūn himself marched up to Teliagadhi and Sakrigali, Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān, seeing their inability to stand the Emperor's onslaught, fled towards the hills, and from thence, to Sher Khān at Gaur. The Imperial army, forcing its way easily through that narrow defile, marched up, stage by stage. And when the Imperial camp halted at Kohal Gāon (Colgong), Maḥmūd Shāh, who was in the company of the Emperor, heard that his two sons who had been taken prisoners by Jallāl Khān, had been slain. From this grief and affliction, he pined away

(named erroneously Nash Shāh, which should be Maḥmūd Shāh) getting wounded in the war against Sher Shāh, came and met the Emperor (Humāyūn), and invoked his help, the latter left Mir Hindu Beg Qeshin in charge of Jaunpur province, and marched (from Chunar) towards Bengal, forcing the pass of Teliagadhi, which was fortified and held by Qutb Khān and Khawās Khān (son and servant respectively of Sher Shāh).

¹ I.e., 1538 A.C.

² Sher Khān or Sher Shāh was at this time at Gaur and had made himself master of it. (See *Badshahi*, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I). Mughal historians, to please the Mughal Emperors, invariably belittle Sher Shāh by calling him "Sher Khān." Sher Shāh finally defeated Humāyūn (Jarratt's Tr., *ibid.*, p. 421, and *Badshahi*, pp. 354 and 356, Vol. I) near Kannauj in A.H. 947 (A.C. 1540), when Humāyūn fled to Sind.

³ He is mentioned as Governor of Bengal under Humāyūn (*vide* Blochmann's Tr., *Āin-i-Akbari*, and also the text, *Para. 1*, p. 331, and also *Badshahi*, p. 352, Vol. I.)

⁴ This must have been near Colgong (Kahlgaon), at the time.

day by day, and in a short time died.¹ And since Sher Khān, on hearing about the approach of the Imperial forces, became anxious, he removed the treasures of the kings of Gaur and Bengal, fled towards Rājghā,² and from thence towards the hills of Jhārkand.³ Emperor Humāyūn captured without opposition, the city of Gaur,⁴ which was the capital of Bengal, and owing to the ominous nature of its name, he changed it to Jinnatabād, and introduced the Imperial Khutba and coin. The ports of Sunār-gāon and Chāt-gāon (Chittagong), etc., came into the possession of the Emperor. For some time, the Emperor lived in ease and comfort, and did not pursue Sher Khān, and made light of the enemy. Three months had not yet passed, since his stay in that city, when owing to the badness of the climate of that place, many horses and camels died, and many soldiers fell ill. Suddenly, the news was received that the Afghāns, marching by way of Jhārkand, had captured the fort of Rohitā,⁵ and that leaving a force for the defence of the fort, Sher Khān himself had marched to Monghyr, and had put to the sword the Emperor's grandees, who were there. And the news of the successful rebellion of Mirā Hindal which had come to pass at Delhi,⁶ was also received. The Emperor becoming anxious on the receipt of the

¹ Mahmūd Shāh, the last Independent Muslim king of Bengal, died at Colgong in 1538 A.C.

² This was the name which Western Bengal bore under Hindu Rajas.

³ Chita Nagpur tract was so called during Muslim rule in India.

⁴ Humāyūn captured Gaur, about July 1538. Humāyūn stayed at Gaur for three months, that is, till September 1538 A.C., and named the place Jinnatabād. (See *Baldawi*, p. 349, Vol. I.).

⁵ This important fort in South Behar was captured by Sher Shāh in 945 A.H. or about September 1538 A.C. by an ingenious stratagem. (See *Baldawi*, p. 348, Vol. I.). Sher Khān induced the Rajah of Rohitā to give shelter to his family in the Fort, and then sent in there two thousand armed Afghāns in *achaks* or palanquins; these latter killed the Rajah and his soldiers, and easily captured the Fort for Sher Shāh.

⁶ In *Firāgha* occurs the following: "At this time news was received that Mirā Hindal had raised the standard of rebellion in Agra and Mevat, had named the Khutba to be recited after his own name, and had killed Shāikh Bahād" (Vol. I, p. 423, Pers. text). Delhi mentioned here therefore appears to be a mistake for Agra, as appears also from the text which follows. (See *Baldawi*, p. 350, Vol. I.).

news from Delhi, appointed Jahangir Qali Beg¹ Governor of Bengal, and leaving Ibrāhīm Beg, who was one of the principal Qimra, with five thousand select cavalry in the former's company, himself swiftly marched back towards Agra. This happened in 946 A.H.

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THE ACCESSION OF SHER SHĀH² TO THE THRONE, IN THE CITY OF GAUR.

When Emperor Humāyūn in the year 946 A.H. withdrew towards Agra, Sher Khān, apprised of the unpreparedness of the Imperial army and of the rebellion of Mirzā Hindal, set out from the fort of Rohtas with a large army. And at the time, when the Imperial camp arrived at Chausa, capturing the high way, for three months Sher Khān bivouacked facing it,² and caused as much harassment as he could. At length, by way of treachery and stratagem, sending to the Emperor Shaikh Khalil, the well-known saint who was his spiritual guide, Sher Khān sought

1. In *Badaoni* (p. 350, Vol. II. "Jahangir Beg Maghal."

2. His regal style was Farīd-ud-dīn Abul Muzaffar Sher Shāh. He reigned from 944 to 952 A.H. or 1538 to 1545 A.D. He lies buried at Sahasrām (Sasseram) in Behar. His first Governor of Bengal, Khizer Khān, who married a daughter of Mahmūd Shāh III, King of Bengal, was replaced by Qazi Fazlul of Agra. Those who care to know the life and career of this remarkable Sovereign, will find a full account in *Badaoni* (Vol. I, pp. 356 to 374). A man of learning and wonderful resources, a dashing soldier, a general of high order (always ready to avail himself of all stratagems and tactics in war), a politician of keen diplomacy, when he mounted the throne, he exhibited the highest qualities of a statesman and a beneficent sovereign. (Moderate and scientific in his revenue-assessments, liberal in his gifts, *Jagars* and benefactions, generous in supporting learning and the learned) wise in his army-reforms (copied subsequently by Akbar) manifest in laying down trunk roads, planting trees, sinking wells, establishing caravanserais, building Mosques, Madrasahs and Khanqahs, and erecting bridges, few Indo-Muslim Kings come up to his level. He administered justice so vigorously that he impressed his personality on all, and established thorough peace, so that, says *Badaoni* (p. 363, Vol. I), no dacoit or robber would dare to touch a gold plate, though it might be left on the road by an old woman, during her sleep.

3. Sher Khān had encamped on the right bank of the river between Chausa and Bahar. The river here is called Thorī Nadi. The battle of Chausa was fought on 9th Safar 946 A.H. or 20th June, 1539 A.D. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 361 and 362, Vol. I).

for peace. The Emperor, owing to the exigencies of the times, accepted his overtures,¹ and it was agreed that Bengal and the fort of Rohtas would continue in the possession of Sher Khān, and that the latter would put forth no further pretensions, but that the Imperial coin and Khaṭṭa would be in force in those provinces. Sher Khān, taking his oath on the holy Qorān, accepted these terms; and the Imperial army were re-assured by this oath. But Sher Khān, on the following day, with an efficient and well-equipped Afghān force, taking the Imperial army by surprise, did not allow it time to rally into ranks, and after fighting became victorious, and closed the ferries where boats were moored. Owing to this cause, the king as well as the beggar, the high as well as the low, became dispirited and straitened, and being hardpressed by the Afghāns, plunged pell-mell into the river Ganges, so that besides the Hindustānis, nearly twenty thousand Mughals got drowned. The Emperor also, plunging into the river, with the help of a water-carrier, with great difficulty crossed over to the bank of safety, and with a small number of followers, the cup of whose lives was not yet full to the brim, set out for Agra. Sher Khān, after gaining this strange victory, returned to Bengal, fought repeatedly with Jahāngir Qulī Beg, and at length by way of deception and treachery, invited him to his presence, and slew him and his retinue. And putting to the sword the remainder of the Imperial army who were at other places, he introduced the Khaṭṭa and the coin after his own name, and brought the provinces of Bengal and Behār absolutely under his domination. And from that time he assumed the title of Sher Shāh,² and that year devoting himself to the

¹ Rather the overtures for peace were made by Humāyūn, who sent Mulla Mahamūd Aḥī for the purpose to Sher Khān, who was then at Chausa. At the time, Sher Khān with his sleeves stuck up and with a spade in hand, in grilling weather, was digging a trench, and fortifying the place. On seeing the Mulla, he sat down on the bare ground, and in reply to the Mulla said: "Tell this one word on my behalf to the Emperor, that he seeks war, and not his soldiers, whilst I do not seek war, but my soldiers do." Sher Shāh then sent to the Emperor his spiritual guide Shaykh Khallī, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd Gūnī Shakar. (See Badaoni, pp. 350 and 351, Vol. I.)

² After defeating Humāyūn at Chausa on 23d June, 1556 A.C. (9th Safar, 965 A.H.) Sher Khān marched to Gauṛ, slew Humāyūn's Governor, Jahāngir Qulī Beg, and assumed the same year at Gauṛ the royal title of Farīd-ud-dīn Abul Muẓaffar Sher Shāh, and struck coins. Sher Shāh stayed

settlement of his kingdom, attained great power and pomp. At the end of the year, leaving Khizr Khān to rule over Bengal, he himself started for Agra. And from that side, Humāyūn's force, despite the fraternal dissensions, consisting of one hundred thousand soldiers, marched forward to encounter him. And in the year 947 A.H.¹ on the tenth day of the month of Muharram, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, on the banks of the river changes, the contending boats faced each other. And whilst the Mughal forces were preparing to encamp at this stage, nearly fifty thousand Afghan cavalry dashed up. The Imperial army, without fighting, was routed, and Sher Shāh chasing it up to the river, marched forward to Agra.



RULE OF KHIZR KHĀN AT GAUR.

When Khizr Khān was appointed Governor of Bengal on behalf of Sher Shāh, he married a daughter of one of the kings of Bengal,² and in his mode of living, and in his paraphernalia of comforts and luxuries, observed the kingly mode. And when Sher Shāh at Agra came to know about this, exercising foresight, he deemed it proper to adopt remedial measures against the disease before it shewed itself, and swiftly marched to Bengal. And when Khizr Khān went forward to receive him, Sher Shāh imprisoning him, divided the province of Bengal amongst several tribal chiefs, and appointed Qazī Fazilat, who was one of the learned scholars of Agra, and who was distinguished for his virtues, honesty and trustworthiness, to be the over-lord, and entrusting to his hands the power of making peace and war in the country, he himself returned to Agra.³

till end of December 1539 A.C., at Gaur, and then leaving Khizr Khān as his Governor of Bengal, he marched towards Agra. (Badāuni, pp. 352 and 354 Vol. I).

¹ Corresponding to the year 1540 A.C. See description of battle of Qanauj in Badāuni, p. 354, Vol. I.

² He married a daughter of Mahmūd Shāh III, the late king of Bengal, and gave himself royal airs, in consequence of which Sher Shāh promptly removed him, and appointed Qazī Fazilat as Governor of Bengal in his place. (See Badāuni, p. 355, Vol. I).

³ In 948 A.H. Khizr Khān was deposed at Gaur by Sher Shāh. Sher Shāh had political insight of a high order. The administrative arrange-

ACCOUNT OF THE OVER-LORDSHIP OF MUHAMMAD KHÂN SUR IN BENGAL.

When in the year 952 A.H., Sher Shâh, in capturing the fort of Kalinjar,¹ by the will of Providence, was accidentally burnt by the explosion of the gunpowder of a mine that had been laid underneath the rampart, and his younger son, named Jallâl Khân, ascended the throne of Delhi and assumed the title of Islâm Shâh,² popularly known as Salim Shâh, Muhammad Khân Sur, who was one of the principal Omra and a connexion of Salim Shâh, and who was renowned for his justice and equity and courteous deportment, was appointed Governor of Bengal. And for some years until the end of Salim Shâh's reign he continued so, after which he raised the standard of rebellion, and turned towards the

ments that he introduced at this time in Bengal, viz., of placing different tribal chiefs to rule over different territorial divisions would indicate that he was fully alive to the policy "Divide and rule." His installation of Qazi Faizlat, a scholar of Agra, in a position of over-lordship over these tribal chiefs, further indicates that he set a high value on learning. Sher Shâh died on 12th Rabi I, 952 A.H. (3rd June, 1545); he lies buried at Saharun, in South Behar, See Tarikh-i-Sher Shâh for an interesting account of Sher Shâh's career, and also Badaoni, p. 365. Vol. I, Firishta and Akbar-namah.

Sher Shâh was the first ruler who from a king of Bengal, became the Emperor of all India. His triumph was a triumph for Bengal, whose prosperity and welfare continued to receive his special attention, even after he became Emperor of India. (Mughal historians generally (no doubt from their delicate position) have failed to appraise Sher Shâh's qualities as a statesman and as a soldier at their proper worth. His reign was fruitful of military, fiscal, agricultural, economic, currency and revenue reforms in Bengal, and also of many public works of utility, such as roads, rest-houses, bridges, fortifications, Khanqas, colleges and wells, &c.)

1 "Kalinjar is a stone fortress in Subah Allahabad, upon heaven-reaching hill"—Ain. During its siege in 1545 A.C., a shell rebounded from the walls into the battery where Sher Shâh stood, and set fire to the gunpowder. He was severely burnt, and died next day. (Jarrett's Tr. Ain, Vol. II, p. 1604). Ain simply says "he fell at the powder magazine when the fire opened in the fort." (See Badaoni, p. 372, Vol. I.)

2 Jallâl Khân assumed the royal title of Jallâl-ud-din Abul Muzaffar Islâm Shâh in 1545 A.C. (or 952 A.H.). He reigned from 1545 to 1553 A.C. He appointed his relative Muhammad Khân Sur as his Governor of Bengal, removing Qazi Faizlat. Islâm Shâh lies buried at Saharun. He drew up a comprehensive Procedure Code, and followed the enlightened and statesman-like policy of his illustrious father. See Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 374.

conquest of Channār, Jannpūr¹ and Kalpi.² Muhammad Shāh 'Adil,³ taking in his company Hema⁴ the grocer, who was one of his leading Omra, with a large army, proceeded to encounter Muhammad Khān, and in the village of Chapparghatha, which is fifteen *kos* distant from Kalpi, between the two armies, a sanguinary engagement took place.⁵ Many persons on both sides were killed, and Muhammad Khān, too, was killed. The grandees who escaped from the sword fled, and rallied together at Jhosi,⁶ and installed in power Muhammad Khān's son, named Khizr

¹ "Jaunpur is a large city. Sultan Firuz Tughlak laid its foundation and named it after his cousin Fakhr-d-din Juna."—*Ain*.

² Kalpi is mentioned in the *Ain* under Subah Agra (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 184).

³ Muḥarrir Khān killed Firuz Khān, son of Islam Shāh, and assumed (in 900 A.H. or 1533 A.C.) the title of Muhammad Shāh 'Adil. Owing to this unwarranted assassination, popularly he was known as 'Adil Shāh or simply as "Andhali" which means "the blind" in Hindustani.

In Firsihta and Stewart, it is stated that Muhammad Khān Sur ruled over Bengal and North Behar wisely and beneficently till the close of the reign of Salim Shāh; but when in 920 A.H. Muhammad 'Adil who was addicted to debauchery and pleasures, mounted the throne, after slaying Firuz Khān, Muhammad Khān refused to pay him homage, viewing him as the assassin of his late master's son.

Muhammad Khān Sur was appointed in 952 A.H. (1545 A.C.) Governor of Bengal and North Behar by Islam Shāh, who had deposed Qasim Farhat, the nominee of Sher Shāh. Islam Shāh at the same time confirmed Miyan Sulaiman Karrani to continue as Governor of South Behar.

⁴ Hema the grocer was made a Superintendent of the Markets by Salim Shāh, and raised to the office of Administrator-General of the Empire by Muhammad Shāh 'Adil. He was defeated by Akbar's General, Bairam Khān, in 1556 A.C. at Panipat.

⁵ Muhammad Khān Sur, Islam Shāh's Governor of Bengal, refused to acknowledge Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, and himself assumed the royal title of Shams-d-din Abul Mansur Muhammad Shāh, and invaded Jannpur and Kalpi. The battle of Chapparghatha was fought between the two in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) Chapparghatha is east of Kalpi, on the Jamuna river. He ruled as Islam Shāh's Governor of Bengal from 953 to 960 A.H. and reigned as king of Bengal from 960 A.H. to 963 A.H., that is from 1553 to 1555 A.C. (See Badami, p. 432, Vol. I).

⁶ Jhosi is on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite to Allahabad; there Khizr Khān, son of Muhammad Shāh, who was killed in the battle of Chapparghatha, celebrated his *jalsa*, and assumed the royal title of Bahadur Shāh in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) (See Badami, p. 433, Vol. I).

Khān. Bahādur Shāh (that is, Khizr Khān), to avenge the death of his father, set about collecting his forces, subdued many of the eastern provinces, and invaded Bengal.



RULE OF KHIZR KHAN, STYLED BAHĀDUR SHĀH.¹

When Bahādur Shāh, with an efficient army, invaded Bengal, Shāhbāz Khān, who, on behalf of Muhammad Shāh 'Adil, was at that time Governor of Gaur, advanced to fight. The grandees of Shāhbāz Khān, seeing the overwhelming force of Bahādur Shāh, deserted to the latter. Shāhbāz Khān, with the remnant of the soldiery who held on to him, resolved to fight, and was slain on the battle-field.

The man whom Fortune favours,
Who has power to vanquish ?

Bahādur Shāh, triumphant and victorious, captured the City of Gaur, and introduced the coin and Khutba in his own name. After this, he drew his forces against Muhammad Shāh 'Adil, and a great battle was fought at a point between Surajgarha and Jahāngirah.² Muhammad Shāh, receiving mortal wounds on

¹ Babatuz Shāh or Khizr Khān, son of Muhammad Khān Sur ulias Shams-d-din Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh, was installed in power at Jheel, where Muhammad Shāh's defeated grandees and officers rallied after the battle of Chapparghatia. He reigned over Bengal as king from 962 to 968 A.H. (or 1555 to 1561 A.C.) Badacsi calls him Muhammad Bahadur. The most important event of his reign was his war with 'Adil Shāh, whom he defeated at the decisive battle of Surajgarha in Monghyr district, in 964 A.H. At this battle, Sulaimān Karanāl who held South Behar from Sher Shāh's reign assisted Bahadur Shāh. (See *Tarikh-i-Dauli* and *Bulacni*, pp. 433-434, Vol. I).

Bahadur Shāh was king of Bengal and North Behar from 962 to 968 A.H. (that is 1555 to 1561 A.C.) During this period, South Behar continued under the old Governor, Miran Sulaimān Karanāl.

It may be noted here that Bahadur Shāh was a contemporary of Emperor Akbar who succeeded the Imperial throne in 963 A.H. (or 1556 A.C.)

² Jahangirah village is close to Jamalpur railway station, in Monghyr district. Surajgarha or Sarajgarha is a town close to Maulanagar, on the banks of the river Ganges, in Monghyr district.

the battle-field,¹ was killed. And this Muhammad Shāh *alias* Mubārīz Khān, was a son of Nizām Khān Sur, who was a nephew of Sher Shāh, and a cousin and brother-in-law of Salīm Shāh. After the death of Salīm Shāh, on the third day, slaying the former's son, named Piruz Shāh, who was his nephew, Muhammad Shāh mounted the throne of Delhi, and assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh 'Adil.² As the latter had no capacity for Government, the Afghāns nick-named him 'Adil,' and by a slight change of pronunciation, they called him 'Andli.' And 'Andli,' in the Hindustani language, means "the blind." After this, Bahādur Shāh, reigning over Bengal for six years, died.



REIGN OF JALLĀLU-D-DĪN, SON OF MUHAMMAD KHAN.

After Bahādur Shāh's death, his brother Jallālu-d-dīn³ ascended the throne, and after five years' reign, in the City of Gaur, died.



REIGN OF JALLĀLU-D-DĪN'S SON.

After Jallālu-d-dīn's death, his son, whose name is unknown, ascending the throne, struck up the drum of brief authority, and

¹ At this battle in 964 A.H. (1557 A.C.) Bahādur Shāh was assisted by Salaimān Kāzwarī. According to *Tārīkh-i-Daūdī*, the decisive battle was fought at the "stream of Surajgarh, near Monghyr" (which is the Keol Nadi). Professor Blochmann locates the battle-field at Fatipur village, 4 miles west of Surajgarh and the Keol nadi. *Tārīkh-i-Daūdī* inaccurately places Surajgarh one kos, more or less, from Monghyr.

² See Bahānī, p. 384, Vol. I.

³ His royal title was *Shāh-i-d-dīn* Abul Muzaffar Jallāl Shāh. He reigned over Bengal and North Behar from 968 to 971 A.H. (or 1561 A.C. to 1564 A.C.) During this period, Salaimān Kāzwarī continued as semi-independent Governor of South Behar, whilst Basipur which had risen in importance from the time of Nāsrat Shāh continued to be the head-quarters to the Bengal Governor of North Behar. Pāna became the seat of Behar Governors from the time of Emperor Akbar. Sher Shāh had built the Fort of Pāna (see Bloch. *Contr. I.A.S.* for 1875, p. 302). Jallāl Shāh died at Gaur in 971 A.H. With Jallāl Shāh and his son, ended the Sur dynasty in Bengal. *Bahānī* (p. 430, Vol. I) states "that Muhammad Khān Sur, ruler of Bengal, assumed the title of Shāh-i-Jallāl-d-dīn, and extended the Bengal Kingdom up to Jaunpur."

as yet more than seven months and nine days had not elapsed, when Ghiāsu-d-dīn, slaying him, usurped the reins of the sovereignty of Bengal.



REIGN OF GHIĀSU-D-DĪN.

When Sultan Ghiāsu-d-dīn drew to his lap the bride of the kingdom of Bengal, as yet he had not more than one year and eleven days rested on the bed of ease, when Tāj Khān Krani¹ gathering strength, slew him, and by means of the sharp sword conquered the kingdom.



REIGN OF TĀJ KHĀN KRANI.

Tāj Khān Krani was one of the grandees of Salīm Shāh, and Governor of Sambhal.² At the time of the decline of Muhammad Shāh 'Adlī, escaping from Gwalior, he set out for Bengal. Muhammad Shāh 'Adlī detached a large army in pursuit of him. In the environs of Chaprampūr, which is forty kro distant from Akbarahād and thirty kro distant from Qanauj, the two forces encountering each other, a battle was fought, when Tāj Khān being routed, retired towards Chunar. On the way, winning over certain Revenue Collectors of the Crown-lands of Muhammad Shāh 'Adlī, he levied from them in the shape of cash and goods whatever he could, and taking one *halqāh* of elephants—a *halqāh* consisting of 100 elephants—from the pargannas, united with his brothers, 'Ahmād Khān and Ilyās Khān, who were Governors of certain districts alongside the

¹ Sulaimān Khān Karani, Governor of South Behar in 971 A.H. (1564 A.C.) and his elder brother Tāj Khān Karani, to Gaur, to put down the usurper, Ghiāsu-d-dīn. Tāj Khān killed the usurper, and established himself at Gaur, in 971, and from 971 to 975 A.H. (1564 to 1565 A.C.) ruled as Governor of Bengal, on behalf of his brother Sulaimān Karani (J.A.S. for 1875, p. 295, and *Badaoni*, pp. 409, 420 and 421, Vol. I). *Badaoni* describes Tāj Khān as one of the most learned scholars of his time. He died in 972 A.H.

² Sarkar Sambhal under the Sūbah of Delhi is mentioned in the Ain (*Jarrett's Tr.*, Vol. II, p. 104).

The Ain further states: "In the city of Sambhal is a temple called Hari Mandir (the temple of Vishnu) belonging to a Brahman, from whose descendants the tenth avatar will appear in this spot" (*Jarrett's Tr.*, Vol. II, p. 251).

banks of the Ganges, and of Khwaspur Tandah, and raised the standard of rebellion. When Muhammad Shāh 'Adlī marched from Gwalior with his army against the Karanians, and on the bank of the Ganges, the two armies encountered each other, Hemū the grocer, who was the generalissimo of Muhammad Shāh 'Adlī's army, taking with him one *halqāh* of elephants, and crossing the river, and fighting, became victorious. And when Ibrāhīm Khān Sar,¹ who was 'Adlī's sister's husband, escaping and capturing Delhi raised troubles, Muhammad Shāh 'Adlī was compelled to leave the Karanians, and to march back towards Delhi. And the Karanians thus became independent. And, as has been related, when Tāj Khān reduced to his subjection the City of Gaur, after nearly nine years ruling over it, and conquering the kingdom of Bengal, like others, he died.

REIGN OF SULAIMĀN KARANĪ.²

In the beginning of his career, Sulaimān Karanī was one of the grandees of Sher Shāh. Sher Shāh appointed him Gover-

¹ Though a grocer or *baqāl*, Hemū rose to the office of Vizier and generalissimo under Muhammad Shāh Adlī, and exhibited great personal courage at the battle of Panipat fought in 964 A.H. between him and Akbar. He assumed the title of *Rajāh Bikramnadhī* at Delhi. He ill-treated the Afghans, who at heart despised him, and who, therefore, for the most part threw in their lot with Akbar. (See Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 13 to 16).

² See Badaoni, Vol. I, pp. 422 to 428. During the chaos which arose during the latter part of the feeble reign of Muhammad Shāh Adlī, it was arranged between Ibrāhīm and Sikandar alias Ahmad Khān, that the former would rule over the Eastern Empire from Delhi to the easternmost portions of India, whilst the latter would be master of the Panjab, Multan and other western territories.

³ According to the Akbar-namah, Badaoni and the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, he died in 980 A.H. and reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980 A.H., or 1568 to 1572 A.C. He is sometimes called Kararānī and sometimes Karanī and also Kranī. It is related of him that he held every morning a devotional meeting, in company with 150 *Shāikh*s and 'Ulamas, after which he used to transact business during fixed hours. (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, p. 171, and Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 70, 173, 174 and 200), and that this practice influenced Akbar's conduct. His conquest of Orissa (in 975 A.H. or 1567 A.C.) mainly through the efforts of his distinguished general, Kalapbar, is detailed in a following section in the text, and also in Firishta, Akbar-namah, and Tarikh-i-Dauli.

nor of the *Sûbah* of Behar, which he continued to hold in the reign of Salim Shâh. When Salim Shâh passed to the regions of eternity, in Hindustan, tribal chiefs established themselves, and in every head the ambition of sovereignty, and in every heart the aspiration of suzerainty, arose. Sulaimân Khân, after the death of his brother, Tâj Khân, established himself with full independence as king of Bengal and Behar, and abandoning the City of Gaur, owing to the inclemency of its climate, established himself in the town of Tandah.¹ And in the year 975 A.H., he conquered the country of Orissa, and placing it under a permanent Governor with a large army, he himself set out for the conquest of the country of Koch Behar. He subjugated its environs and outlying parts, and whilst he was besieging its capital, he got news that the insurgents in Orissa had again raised the standard of insurrection. Thus, of necessity, he abandoned the siege of Koch Behar town,² and returned to Tandah, which was his Capital. And for some time, in a similar manner, there was commotion all over Hindustân. And when Emperor Humâyun returned to Hindustân from Persia, Sulaimân Khân, exercising foresight, sent a letter embodying sentiments of loyalty and

His principal nobleman and officer, Khân Jahan Lodi, held a conference with Akbar's general, Munim Khân-i-Khânân, in the neighbourhood of Patna, and it was arranged to recite the *Khotba* and strike coins in Bengal after Akbar's name (see p. 177, Bloch, *Tran.*, *Ain*, and *Bulwara*, p. 174). In 972 A.H., Sulaimân removed his capital from Gaur to Tandah. Akbar sent an embassy to him (Badauni, p. 70, Vol. II).

¹ Tandah was on the west side of the Ganges, nearly opposite to Gaur.

In 972 A.H. (1564 A.D.) Sulaimân Kararani, the Afghan king of Bengal, abandoned Gaur on account of its bad climate, and shifted the capital westward to Tandah, which was also called Khawaspûr Tandah. In 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.) Munim Khân-i-Khânân, Akbar's Spahsavar, re-occupied Gaur, where a pestilence soon broke out, and he as well as many Mughal officers and soldiers died. (See *Bulwara*, pp. 216 and 217, Vol. II). About 1201 A.H. (1815 A.D.) Tandah was destroyed by floods, and disappeared into the river. Now a-day it lies as a heap of dust about a mile from Lakhimpur. (See Beveridge's *Analysis of Khurshid Jahân Numa*, J.A.S., 1895, p. 216)

² Taking advantage of the dissensions between the Afghans under Sher Shâh and the Mughals under Emperor Humâyun, Koch Behar which had previously been subdued by Alan-Gâh Husain Shâh, king of Bengal, and partially re-conquered by Sulaimân Kararani rose into semi-independence in 944 A.H. under Him, and became independent under Raja Nara Narayan (962 A.H.) and Bal Gopal (989 A.H.). Subsequently it was reconquered.

friendship, together with presents. From the other side also, owing to the exigencies of the times which called for the destruction and extirpation of the descendants and adherents of *Shēr Shāh*, the presents and gifts were accepted, and a condescending reply containing expressions of reassurance and good-will was sent, together with a Royal manifesto, ratifying Sulaimān's continuance in his office. After this, though Sulaimān Khān continued the *Khaṭba* and the coin after his own name in the kingdom of Bengal,¹ he styled himself Hazrat 'Alā (the Supreme Chief), and outwardly showing submission to Jallālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, he sent occasionally presents and gifts. Nearly sixteen years² ruling independently over Bengal, in the year 981 A.H. he died. And he was very energetic, industrious, and strict. In the history of Firāšta, the reign of Tāj Khān is not given, and the reign of Sulaimān Khān is described as lasting 25 years. Since the brothers, from the beginning, held conjointly the rule of this country, and Tāj Khān came afterwards, therefore the rule of both has been ascribed to one. God knows the truth!



REIGN OF BAYAZĪD KHĀN,³ SON OF SULAIMĀN KHĀN.

After Sulaimān's death, his son Bayazid Khān, assuming the sovereignty, ascended the throne of Bengal. As yet more than a month had not elapsed, and according to another account, one year and six months he had ruled, when an Afghān named Hauso, who was a cousin and brother-in-law of Bayazid, attacking him,

¹ From note ante, it would appear that he ceased to do so in Akbar's time.

² From note ante, it would appear that he ruled only for ten years over Bengal, whilst he held Behar from the time of *Shēr Shāh*.

³ He reigned in 950 A.H. or 1572 A.C. (See extract from Badaoni and the *Sawanih Akbari* regarding the death of Sulaimān, accession and assassination of his son Bayazid, and the installation of Bayazid's brother Dāūd, chiefly through the efforts of Lodi Khān, the premier nobleman of the Bengal kingdom (J.A.S. for 1875, pp. 304-305).

Badaoni who was a zealous Moslem remarks that 'Sulaimān conquered the town of Katak-Benaras, the mine of unbelief,' and made Jagannāth (Puri) a dar-ul-Islam, and ruled from Kamrup to Orissa. Sulaimān's first Viceroy of Orissa (including Katak) was Lodi Khān alias Khān Jahan Lodi, and his first Governor of Jagannāth or Puri was Qutub Khān (see *Badaoni*, p. 174, Vol. II).

killed him by stratagem in the Audience-hall, and attempted to become Administrator of the affairs of the kingdom.¹ Lodi Khān who was a principal and trusty officer of Sulaimān Khān, demurring, tried to kill him. According to a tradition, after 2½ days, the younger brother, named Dāūd Khān, killed Hamsa, to avenge the death of his brother. Either way, after Bayazid, his brother, Dāūd Khān, succeeded to the throne.



REIGN OF DĀUD KHĀN, SON OF SULAIMĀN KHĀN.

When Dāūd Khān² ascended the throne of Bengal, subduing completely all parts of Bengal, he introduced the *Khaṭṭa* and the coin after his own name. Owing to continual indulgence in wine and association with low and mean people, and because of numerous troops and retinue, and plethora of equipage, and abundance of effects and riches, and greatness of rank and dignity (in that he had 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, and 3,300 elephants, and 140,000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, matchlockmen and rocketeers and archers, and 20,000 pieces of ordnance, most of which were battering guns, and many armed cruisers, and other

¹ It is related in the *Sawānī Akbarī* and *Bada'uni* that Bayazid 'in his youthful folly read the *Khaṭṭa* in his own name, neglected all forms of courtesy, and also ill-treated the chief nobles of his father who consequently hated him. Hamsa, the son of his uncle Imad (brother of Sulaimān), who was also his brother-in-law, then killed him. Lodi Khān then killed Hamsa, installed Dāūd. (See J.A.S. for 1876, pp. 304-305).

² Dāūd Khān became king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 980 A.H. (1572 A.C.) and reigned from 980 A.H. to 984 A.H. (1572 to 1576 A.C.), under the title of Abul Muzaffar Dāūd Shāh. In 982 A.H. Akbar personally wrested Behar from him by storming Patna and Hajipur forts, and Dāūd fled to Orissa, where the battle of Mughalmari or Takarai north of Jalesar, was fought in 1575 A.C. between him and the Imperialists, commanded by Munim Khān-i-Khanāna. Dāūd was defeated, and concluded the Peace of Katik, under which Bengal and Behar were ceded by him to Akbar, the latter recognising Dāūd's sovereignty over Orissa. In 983 A.H. Munim Khān-i-Khanāna died of malarial at Gade, with a large part of his army, and Dāūd Khān, encouraged by this circumstance, invaded Bengal, and on 15th Rabi II 948 A.H. (12th July, 1576 A.C.), was defeated by Akbar's General, Husain Qāfi Khān Jahān, at Akmahal or Rajmahal, captured and beheaded. (See *Tārīkh-i-Dāudi*, *Firishṭa*, *Bada'uni* and *Akbarnamah*). With Dāūd Khān's death (1576 A.C.), the Katik dynasty ended in Bengal.

implements of war, which he had ready and in store) he became haughty, and aiming at conquests caused troubles to the frontiers of the Empire of Emperor Akbar. Although the well-wishers dissuaded him from this policy, and gave him good counsel, he did not listen. And Munim Khān,¹ styled the Khān-i-Khānān, who was Akbar's Governor of Jaunpur, and held a *mansab* of Panj hazāri, under the order of the Emperor, turned towards the destruction and extirpation of Dāūd Khān, and sent in advance of himself a small body of Mughal officers. Dāūd Khān, on hearing of this, appointed Lodi Khān Afghān, who was his premier grandee, to oppose the Mughals. At Patna, both the armies encountered each other, and for some time were engaged in skirmishes. At length, both the factions patched up terms, and both the armies withdrew to their respective Provinces. But Emperor Akbar, declining to ratify the treaty, appointed Rājā Todar Mal² (after

¹ He was appointed to his jagir in Jaunpur in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when he concluded peace with Sulaimān Karrāmi, king of Bengal, who promised to read the *Kāwān* and strike coins in Akbar's name. Munim in 982 A.H. was appointed Governor of Behar (after Akbar captured Hajipur and Patna from Dāūd) and ordered to follow Dāūd into Bengal. Munim moved to Tandah, opposite to Gāūr, on the right side of the Ganges, to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlas. The latter followed Dāūd to Saigaon, whence however, Dāūd withdrew to Orissa, and Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlas from Saigaon invaded the district of Jaser (Jesore), where Sarmadī, a friend of Dāūd, had rebelled, but the Imperialists, here too met with no success, and returned to Saigaon. Muḥammad Qulī soon after died at Midnapur, and Munim Khān with Todar Mal invaded Orissa, defeated Dāūd at the battle of Mughalmari or Tikaroi, when the Peace of Katak was concluded, under which Bengal and Behar were ceded by Dāūd to Akbar. Munim died of malaria at Gāūr in 983 A.H. The great bridge of Jaunpur was built by him. It may also be of interest to note that another general, named Murād Khān, under Munim Khān-i-Khānān, about 982 A.H. invaded Pathabad (or Faridpur), and conquered it as well as Sarkar Bogla. This Murād Khān died at Pathabad (Faridpur) in 988 A.H., and Mukund, the murderer of Pathabad and Bhonsa, invited Murād's sons to a feast and treacherously murdered them. See Bloch. Trans., *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 318 and *Budges*, pp. 178 and 180.

² For a biographical account, see Blochmann's Tr. of *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 32. He was a Khetri by caste, and attained the mansab of Chahar-hazāri and also the office of Akbar's Naib Diwan or Deputy Finance Minister. He was very loyal to his sovereign, and Akbar held a high opinion of him. (The rout-roll associated with his name and prepared under the direction of his sovereign, is well-known, and is given in the *Āin-i-Akbari*. (See *Āin-i-*

raising him to the rank of *Hazāri*) to the office of Administrator of Bengal, and sent him in advance of the *Khān-i-Khānān*, and detached other officers and soldiers under the command of the aforesaid *Khān* for chastising *Dāud Khān*, and repeated his order to the *Khān-i-Khānān* in regard to the conquest of Behar. Since at that time, between *Dāud Khān* and *Lodi Khān*, some estrangement had arisen, *Lodi Khān*, being displeased, opened with the *Khān-i-Khānān* communications of conciliation, and avowed towards Emperor Akbar sentiments of submission and loyalty. Another Afghan officer, named *Qutlu Khān*, who bore a grudge against *Lodi Khān*, shaking the chain of amity, denounced *Lodi Khān* before *Dāud Khān*, stating that *Lodi Khān* had been in collusion with Akbar's grandees, and that covertly he was of one mind with the latter. *Dāud Khān*, on being apprised of this, writing a soothing letter to *Lodi Khān*, and bringing him over to his side, had him in his presence, and charitably slew *Lodi Khān*, who was renowned for his soundness of views, sagacity, bravery and valour. *Dāud Khān* then himself with a large army marched towards the bank of the river *Sone*, to encounter Akbar's army. And at the point of the confluence of the rivers *Sone*, *Seo* and the *Ganges*, a great naval engagement took place.

The young and the old were tired out with the battle,
Owing to incessant shower of spears and arrows.
The hurtle of daggers rose to the skies,
Hearts were pierced, and a torrent of blood set a-flowing in
the river.
The battle-axe became inlaid on the helmets of the heroes,
Like the comb of fighting cocks on the head.

At length, the fortune of Akbar triumphed, and the Afghans being routed, took to flight, and retired to Patna. Some of their war-vessels fell into the hands of the Mughals. The *Khān-i-Khānān* also following up and crossing the river, marched with the greatest expedition to Patna, and investing that fort, where *Dāud Khān* had entrenched himself, prepared to assault it.

Akbari, Vol. II, Jarratt's Tr., p. 53, and also Vol. I, pp. 366 and 348 (Buchmann's Tr.) It would appear that this great sea-roll which has made *Tedar Mal* so famous, was jointly prepared by him and his Chief, *Mumaffar Khān*, Akbar's Chief Finance MINISTER or *Diwan*. (See Hadaqui)

When the signal to assault the fort was given,
 From both sides a hundred guns and muskets roared.
 From the booming of the thundering guns, and their
 smoke,
 Like unto the sable cloud wherein the thundering angel
 dwells,
 From the shower of cannon-balls, like the hail,
 Gushed in amidst those armies a deluge of destruction.

When this news reached Muhammad Jallālu-d-dīn Akbar, he came to realize that without his effort the conquest of the fort of Patna was impossible. Therefore, mustering up Imperial courage, he with all his princes and nobles set out in one thousand flotilla of boats, placing over them covers of variegated colours, in the thick of the rainy season. When the Emperor reached the suburbs of Patna, he got news that 'Aash Khān Nāsī, who was one of the faithful officers of Dāud Khān, sallied out of the fort, had been killed whilst fighting with the Khān-i-Khānān, and that the garrison of the fort were contemplating flight. The Emperor then detached Khān 'Ālīm¹ with a corps of 3,000 cavalry for storming the fort of Hajipur; and the latter arriving there, wrested the fort from Path Khān, and reduced it to his own possession. Dāud Khān, on hearing of the fall of the fort of Hajipur, deputed sagacious envoys to the Emperor Akbar, asking forgiveness for his misconduct. The Emperor replied that on his personal attendance, his crimes would be forgiven; and in the event of his non-attendance, he might choose one out of the following three alternatives: " (1) either he might engage singly in a combat with me, (2) or he might send one of his grandees to fight singly with one of my grandees, (3) or he might send one of his war-elephants to fight singly with one of my elephants; whoever is triumphant in either, the country shall be his." Dāud Khān, on receiving this message, was frightened, and seeing no advantage in tarrying at Patna, at night-fall slipped

¹ His name was Chahmah Beg. He was Humāyūn's *Safarchi* or table-attendant. Humāyūn sent him with Mirza Kamran to Mecca, and on the latter's death, he returned to India, was graciously received by Akbar who conferred on him the title of Khān 'Ālīm. 'When Akbar moved against Dāud Khān in Patna, Khān 'Ālīm commanded a corps, and passing up the river on boats towards the mouth of the Gaudak, effected a landing.' (See Blochmann's *Tr. of Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 375-373).

out through the iron-gate, and getting into a boat, and leaving behind effects and equipage, fled towards Bengal. The forts of Hajipur and Patna were seized by the Imperialists, and the Emperor Akbar pursued the vanquished Afghan army to a distance of 25 kro, and 400 war-elephants of Dāud Khān, together with other equipages, fell into the hands of the Mughal heroes. Whoever (amongst the vanquished) fled, saved his life, the rest were put to the sword. The Emperor, leaving Munim Khān to subjugate the outlying provinces and to extirpate Dāud Khān, retired from Dariapur.¹ When the Khān-i-Khānān reached Sakrigūh, Dāud Khān becoming helpless fled to Orissa. And some of the grandees of Akbar, like Rajah Todar Mal and others, who had taken the route² to Orissa in pursuit of him, were twice vanquished by Junaid Khān, son of Dāud Khān. Munim Khān, hearing of this, himself³ marched to Orissa. Dāud Khān advanced to encounter the latter; when both the forces approached each other, they fell into battle-array.⁴

¹ There is a Dariapur about 2 miles south of Mokamah railway ghāt station. This was probably the point up to which the Emperor Akbar advanced from Patna on boats in pursuit of Dāud Shāh, the king of Bengal. With the fall of the forts of Patna and Hajipur, (See *Badaoni*, pp. 180-181, Vol. II), Behar was practically lost by Dāud Shāh, who under the Peace of Ketak subsequently ceded Bengal also.

² The route appears to have been through Bardwan across Madarua and Midnapur to pargannah Chittua in Orissa, where Todar Mal was subsequently joined by Munim Khān. Dāud Khān at this time advanced to Haripur lying intermediate between Orissa and Bengal (see *Akbarnamah*).

³ At this time the Khān-i-Khānān was at Tandah, opposite to Gāur, settling political matters. On receiving Todar Mal's appeal for help, the Khān-i-Khānān promptly left Tandah, and quickly advanced to Orissa across Bihām, Bardwan and Midnapur into pargannah Chittua in Orissa, where Todar Mal was.

⁴ See *Akbarnamah*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Badaoni*, for full particulars of this battle. The *Akbarnamah* places the battle in a village called Takadhi or Takroi (two miles from the bank of the Soolmanatiku river and close to Jahnar). Professor Blochmann has traced also a village called Mughalmari (or Mughal's Flight) close to this Takroi or Tookroi. (See Blochmann's *Tr. of Ain*, Vol. I, p. 375, and also *Badaoni*, p. 193, Vol. II.)

Todar Mal, says Professor Blochmann "moved from Bardwan over Madarua into the pargana of Chittua, where he was subsequently joined by Munim. Dāud had taken up a strong position at Haripur which lies between Bengal and Orissa. Battle took place on 3rd March, 1575 A.D. After the battle, Todar Mal leads the pursuit, and reaches the town of Bhadrak. Not long after he

The heroes arrayed themselves on the battle-field,
 All were armed with daggers, arrows and spears.
 On two sides the two armies sprang up like mountains,
 One without terror, the other with terror.
 All vied with each other,
 And charged, and themselves were charged with guns,
 arrows and spears.
 From the blood of the heroes of both the armies,
 Flowed a torrent on that battle-field,
 On the field fell many a slaughtered,
 On both sides, towered heaps of corpses.

An Afghān named Gujra,¹ who in heroism and valour was the Rastam of his time, and who commanded the van of Dāud Khān's army, made a bold onslaught on the commander of the Khān-i-Khānā's van, named Khān-i-'Alim, discomfited the Imperial vanguard, slew Khān 'Alim, and shook the van. And a number of Imperialists who were between the centre and the van, becoming discomfited by the attack of Dāud Khān, reeled back to the centre, and caused confusion. The Khān-i-Khānān, with the small remnant of troops that yet held the ground, advanced in front of Gujra, and by chance, Gujra and the Khān-i-Khānān encountered each other.

When the two heroes encountered each other,
 They unsheathed from both sides dazzling swords.
 Now one, and then the other, inflicted sword-cuts,
 Worthy of heroes.
 The one did not succeed in penetrating the cuirass,
 The other defended himself with a shield.
 At length, by the sword of Gujra,
 The body of the Khān-i-Khānān got wounded.
 Other adherents came in the midst,
 And intervened between the two combatants.

writes to Munim to come up and join him, as Dāud had collected his troops near Katak, and the whole Imperial army moves to Katak, where a pounce is concluded.¹⁷

¹ When Bayasid was killed by Hanzo, it is related in the Sawasnā Akbari that Gujra Khān attempted to raise in Behar Bayasid's son to the throne. It may be noted that a village called Gujarpur lies about 5 miles from Katak, and that there is a family there that claims Gujra Khān as its ancestor.

The *Khān-i-Khānān*, in that plight fighting, retired from the battle-field and halted, and when the scattered *Mughal* forces again rallied round him, he again advanced to fight with *Gujra*.

When *Gujra* a second time came to fight,
 From the aim of destiny, the bow became stretched,
 When the arrow hit him clean on the forehead,
 The arrow passed right through the head.
Gujra fell on the field like a mountain,
 By his fall, his army became dispirited,
 When fortune turned its face from *Dāud Khān*,
 From every side, misfortune hemmed him in.
Dāud Khān fled from the battle,
 As he no longer dreamt of victory.

Dāud Khān, leaving behind the war-elephants and other armaments, in despair fled from the battle-field. And *Rajah Todar Mal* and other Imperial grandees marched in pursuit¹ of *Dāud Khān*. When *Dāud Khān* reached the environs of the river *Chin*,² he took refuge in the fort of *Katak*. Since every avenue of escape was closed, he was obliged to place his family and children inside the Fort, and then himself advanced to fight, putting the coffin on the shoulder, and preparing to die. *Rajah Todar Mal* communicated to the *Khān Khānān* the state of affairs. Although wounded, the *Khān Khānān* on the wings of swiftness proceeded to that place. But *Dāud Khān* negotiated terms of peace through the mediation of one of the *Omra*, and

¹ It appears from the *Akbarnamah* that after the battle of *Takro*, *Todar Mal* pursued *Dāud Khān* up to *Shadrak*, whilst *Mun'im Khān* the *Khān-i-Khānān* owing to his wounds till lay behind. At this time *Dāud Khān* collected his troops at *Katak*, and so *Todar Mal* wrote to *Mun'im Khān* to come up, and *Mun'im Khān* in spite of his wounds, moved up with the whole Imperial army to *Katak*, when the Peace of *Katak* was concluded. Under it, *Dāud Khān* formally resigned the sovereignty of *Behar* and *Boagal* to *Akhar*, retaining only *Orissa*. The battle of *Takro* (3rd March, 1575 A.C.)—called by *Badaoni* '*Bichwi*'—was a most decisive battle, as it virtually ended Afghan supremacy in *Bengal* and *Behar*, and substituted *Mughal* rule in its place.

² '*Chin*' is apparently a copyist's mistake for the '*Mahanadi*' river. In *shikasta* writing, the words '*Chin*,' and *Mahanadi* in Persian might resemble each other.

when the basis of the treaty¹ was settled, he went to meet Mun'im Khān. The Khān Khānān, showing chivalry and generosity, presented to him a belt, a dagger, and a sword set in jewels, left to him the province of Orissa and Katak Benares, and himself (on behalf of the Emperor) taking possession of other parts of the kingdom, returned with triumph and pomp, entered the city of Tandah, and set himself to administer the country. Since in former days, from the time of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khiljī down to the time of Sher Shāh, Gaur had formed the Capital of Bengal, (though owing to the climate of the latter place not suiting foreigners, the Afghāns had built Khawaspūr Tandah for the settlement of the rulers), the Khān Khānān, setting himself to the reconstruction of the city of Gaur, proceeded to the latter place, and built it anew, and made it his head-quarters. Soon after, owing to the badness of its climate, he fell ill, and on the 19th Rajab, 983 A.H.² died. Dāūd Khān, on hearing the news of the Khān Khānān's death, with the assistance of the Afghāns, re-occupied Bengal and Behar, and immediately marched to wrest the city of Khawaspūr Tandah. The Imperialists, not being able to tarry, evacuated the place. Dāūd Khān with full independence resumed his former sovereignty.



THE RULE OF NAWĀB KHĀN JAHĀN IN BENGAL, AND AN ACCOUNT OF DAUD KHĀN'S DEATH.

When the news of Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān's death reached Delhi, Emperor Akbar appointed Husain Quli Khān

¹ Under this treaty of Katak, Behar and Bengal were formally ceded by Dāūd Khān, the Afghan king of Bengal, to the Mughal Emperor (Akbar), Orissa being still retained by Dāūd Khān. *Badaoni* gives an interesting description of the *Darbar* held on the occasion by Mun'im Khān Khānān, across the Mahanadi river, opposite to the fort of Katak (Cuttack). Both Mun'im and Dāūd showed refined chivalry and magnanimity towards each other, at this State function.

² Corresponding to 1576 A.C.

Professor Blochmann, in his *Tr. of Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 376, gives a list (compiled from the Akbarnamah) of 14 other principal Mughal officers who died at Gaur of malaria at this time (983 A.H. or 1576 A.C.) *Badaoni* also gives the list.

Turkman, after bestowing on him the title of Khān Jahān,¹ to the office of Governor of Bengal. And when Khān Jahān reached the frontiers of Bengal, Khawājah Muzaḥfar Ali Turbatī,² who was a servant of Bahrām ³ Khān, and, obtaining the title of Muzaḥfar Khān, was Governor of Behār, and had come for the conquest of the Rohtas fort, joined him with the troops of Behār, Tirkhet and Haḥipar, &c. And all the Imperialists uniting their forces, advanced to storm the fort of Teliagadhī and Sakrigali. Dāud Khān also with a formidable army advanced to Akmahal,⁴ which lies midway between Gadhi and Tandah, to fight with Khān Jahān. But Khān Jahān, by delivery of the first assault, stormed Gadhi, slaughtered about 1,500 Afghāns, and advanced towards the site where Dāud Khān was entrenched. When the distance

¹ He was appointed in 983 A.H. (1576 A.C.) by Akbar Military Governor of Bengal, on the death of Mun'im Khān Khān-i-Khūnān. His second-in-command was Rajah Todar Mal. He was a slater's son of Bairam Khān Khān-i-Khūnān. See his biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Am-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 329, and also Munir-ul-Umra.

At Bhagalpur, the Amirs of Bengal waited on Khān Jahān.

From this period the whole of Behar, including South and North Behar, was placed under a separate Mughal Governor, whilst Bengal was similarly governed by another separate Mughal Governor. The Governorship of Behar generally henceforth formed a sort of stepping-stone for the more responsible and lucrative office of Governor of Bengal (see the text).

² "Tirkhat" is a copyist's mistake in the text for "Turbati." He was Akbar's Governor of Behar, and held all Behar from Chausa to Teliagadhī. He was ordered by Akbar to assist Khān Jahān, Akbar's Governor of Bengal, when the latter encountered opposition from the Afghāns under Dāud Khān, who had at this time entrenched himself in the fort of Akmahal (subsequently, Rajmahal or Akharnagar). He was at one time Finance Minister or Dewan of Akbar, and had Todar Mal under him. He, together with his Deputy, Todar Mal, was the author of Akbar's revenue-roll called "jum-i-hasil-i-hal," which supplanted the former revenue-roll of the Emperor, called 'Jami Rāqmi,' that had existed from Bairam's time. He was previously Bairam's Dewan also. The old Jum-i-Masjid (now in ruins) of Agra was erected by him. He was killed at Tandah (by Munim Khān, the rebel. (See his full biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Am-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 328, and also Munir-ul-Umra)).

³ "Bairam" is a copyist's mistake in the text for "Bairam."

⁴ i.e., Rajmahal or Akharnagar—Previous to Man Singh selecting it, Shah Shih had selected its site.

between was covered, on the 15th Muharram, 983 A.H., which was a Thursday, both the contending hosts arrayed their forces in battle-rank.

The two armies fell into battle-array ;
 The warriors became anxious to fight.
 When the market of fight and combat became warm,
 The warriors drew against each other sharp swords.
 From the thundering of guns, and the raging of war-
 rockets,
 The sky itself quaked.

Kālā Pāhār who was one of the renowned generals of Dāud Khān, attacking the right wing of Khān Jahān,¹ spread consternation, and Muzaḥfir Khān assailing the left wing of Dāud Khān, caused it to reel back, and simultaneously, Khān Jahān assaulted the centre of Dāud Khān, and a great battle commenced.

On that battle-field,² mutual fightings occurred :
 Both the armies lost numbers of men.
 From the numbers of the killed, mounds were raised,
 And signs of the Day of Resurrection appeared.
 The renowned hero, Khān Jahān, in the battle,
 Reduced to dust the army of Dāud :
 Whichever side he raised his sword,
 He severed the head of the enemy from the body.
 And from this side, Dāud with the sharp sword,
 Caused havoc in the army of Khān Jahān :
 Whichever side he turned with his sword,
 He felled on his feet the helmet of the enemy's head.
 If he struck a horse with his sharp sword,
 It was ripped into two pieces up to the bow of the saddle.

¹ " Khān Jahān " was a title next in importance to " Khān-i-Khānān."

² This was the decisive battle of Akmahal or Agmahal (subsequently called Rajmahal or Akbarnagar), on 15th Rabi II 984 A.H., corresponding to 12th July, 1576 A.D. It finally crushed Dāud Khān or Dāud Khān, the last Afghan king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and laid firmly the foundation of Mughal supremacy over those provinces, reduced Bengal to a *Satrah* of the Great Mughal Empire, and extinguished for ever Independent Muslim Royalty in Bengal.

See full account of this great battle in the Akbarnamah and Badāunī, which are contemporary accounts.

And if he struck a spear on the chest of any person,
 Its point passed right through his back :
 By the strength of arm, that furious lion
 Killed many, and squeezed many.
 But as fortune did not favour him,
 He could not stand his ground on the battle-field.
 He was vanquished, and he lost his treasures and effects,
 Misfortune, like a post-boy, ran towards him.

When the eagle of victory and triumph cast its shadow on the army of Emperor Akbar, and Dāud Khān fled from the battle-field, the heroes of Khān Jahān's army, not abandoning Dāud's pursuit, followed him up, and at length Dāud Khān was captured, and brought to Khān Jahān. The latter, considering Dāud's life to be a source of disturbance and insurrection, ordered him to be killed.¹

His head was cut off with the sharp sword,
 From the blood of Dāud, the ground underneath reddened.
 The Royal throne (of Bengal) became emptied of kings,
 From Bengal, Royalty vanished !

Jumaid Khān, son of Dāud Khān, who receiving a mortal wound, had fled from the battle-field, some two or three days subsequently also died. Khān Jahān reduced to subjection as much of the country as was in the possession of the Khān-i-Khānān, and sent all the elephants captured from the Afghāns, together with other booty, to Emperor Akbar. And Muzaffar Khān, striking up the kettle-drum of return, proceeded to Patnā, and in 984 A.H., turned to the conquest of the fort of Rohtas.²

¹ One cannot help noting the entire absence of chivalry on the part of this Mughal General, Khān Jahān. If he possessed one-quarter of the chivalry of his own predecessor in office, the Khān-i-Khānān, he could have never extended his hand to the perpetration of this brutality, which was as ferocious as it was ungallant. A worthy and heroic foe like Dāud Shāh deserved a better fate, and it is a pity that Khān Jahān's master, the Great Akbar, should not have provided against such a misdeed, which must reflect adversely on the Emperor's memory itself.

² This renowned Fort in South Behar in 945 A.H., passed into the hands of Sher Shāh. (See *Badauni* for a description of it, as it existed in Akbar's time). During his reign and that of his son Salim Shāh, Fath Khān Batni commanded the Fort. Subsequently, it came into the hands of Sulai-

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXTIRPATION OF CERTAIN GRANDEES OF DĀUD KHĀN.

When Muzaffar Khān planned to return to Patna, on the way he detached Muhammad Ma'sum Khān¹ to conquer Husain Khān² Afghān who was in those parts, and he causing Husain Khān to flee, came to the Parganna which was his *jagir*, and entered the fort. And Kālā Pāhār coming with 800 corps of cavalry, besieged Ma'sum Khān. The latter seeing a breach made, battered down the rear-wall of the fort, sallied out, and gave battle to Kālā Pāhār. As ill-luck would have it, in the heat of warfare, the war-elephant of Kālā Pāhār, with its trunk, flung down Ma'sum Khān's horse, and threw down Ma'sum Khān on the ground. In the meantime, the Mughal archers hit the elephant-driver with the arrow, and the elephant, being without its driver, turned round and attacked its own army, and killed and trampled down numerous Afghāns. From this cause, the Afghāns were vanquished, Kālā Pāhār was killed, and his elephant turned back. The province of Orissa and Katak. Benares, the whole kingdom of Bengal and Behār, by the efforts of Khān Jahān, were annexed to the Empire of Akbar; and the fortune of the kings of Bengal terminated, and no other king in that kingdom thenceforth minted coins, or had the Khutbah read after his name. And the leading Afghān grandees, like Husain Khān and Kālā Pāhār, as related above, were totally extirpated, and some fled to the jungles in the tracts of Bengal.³ In the

mān, Kararānī and Jannād, Kararānī. The latter appointed Syed Muhammad Commandant of the Fort. The latter being hardpressed by Muzaffar Khān, Mughal Governor of Behar, fled to Shabbās Khān (who had been deputed by Akbar to chastise Rajah Gajpati. See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Bloch. Tr., Vol. I, p. 396), and handed over the Fort to him (984 A.H.) In the same year, Akbar appointed Mahbub Ali Khān Bahtari Governor of Rehtas, and Shabbaz Khān made over the Fort to him. (See Bloch. Tr. of *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 422).

¹ He fought against Kālā Pāhār. See particulars of his career in Bloch. Tr. of *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 431 *u.* and also in *Bada'uni* and *Masir-ul-Ummu*.

² See p. 339, Bloch. Tr., *Āin*, Vol. I.

³ After the battle of Akumhal or Rajmahal (1579 A.C.), in which the last independent Afghan King of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, named Dāud Shāh, was defeated and killed, Khān Jahān proceeded to Satgaon, where Dāud's family lived at the time, defeated remnants of Dāud's followers under Jamshid and Mīrī, and re-annexed Satgaon to the Mughal Empire. Dāud's mother came to Khān Jahān as a supplicant. . . . With the defeat and death

year 987 A.H., Khān Jahan died,¹ and the Afghāns, whose names and traces had been lost, now issued out from all corners, and tried to re-occupy and re-conquer the country. Amongst these, one principal Afghān commander, named 'Ogmān Khān, combining with other Afghāns, raised an insurrection. Emperor Akbar appointed Khān 'Azim Mirzā Kokah,² together with other principal Omra, to the Government of Bengal and Behār. And he made meritorious efforts to destroy and extirpate the Afghāns. And when he did not succeed in completely extirpating them, Shāhbāz Khān³ came with re-inforcements, as an auxiliary to the Imperialists; and then engagements ensued with 'Ogmān Khān. The ferocious Imperialists did not stay their hands from the slaughter, capture and extirpation of the insurgent Afghāns. In short, in the life-time of Akbar, the fortune of the Afghāns declined, but as their extirpation was not completed by the time of the death of Emperor Akbar, which took place in 1014 A.H., 'Ogmān Khān rising again, re-sharpened his sword. And mobilising nearly

of Dānd, Bengal was by no means thoroughly conquered, as troubles broke out in Bhati (Sunderbans including tracts along the Megna), where the Afghāns had collected under Karim Dād, Ibrāhīm and 'Isa Khān, whom Abul Fazl calls "Marzbān-i-Bhati." (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Bloch. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 390 and 349).

¹ He died at a town called Sihātpūr (the 'Sanitarium') which he had founded near Tandah.

² In 988 A.H. Aziz was promoted by Akbar to command of Five Thousand, received the title of Azam Khān, and was in 988 A.H. detached with a large army to Bengal and Behar, to quell disturbances. In 990 A.H. he was again sent there, when he occupied Teliagadhī, the "key" to Bengal. He fought against the rebels Ma'yūm-i-Kabul and Majnun Khān, and also operated against the Afghan Qutub, who had occupied Orissa and a portion of Bengal. He took ill, retired to Behar, leaving the command in Bengal to Shāhbāz Khān Kanbā. Of him, Akbar used to say "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." (See Blochmann's Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 325 for details of his career and also *Munir-ul-Umara*).

³ For interesting details of his career see Blochmann's Tr., *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 399 and *Munir-ul-Umara*. Ma'yūm Khān Kabul rebelled, fled to Bhati, and took refuge with the Marzbān-i-Bhati, 'Isa Khān. Shāhbāz Khān followed him to Bhati, crossed the Ganges at Khirpūr (near Narainganj) plundered Bakhimpar, 'Isa Khān's residence, occupied Sunargaon and encamped on the banks of the Brahmaputra. 'Isa Khān made proposals of peace which were accepted: under it, an Imperial Resident was to stay at Sunargaon, Ma'yūm was to go to Mecca, and Shāhbāz was to withdraw. But these terms were not carried out, as his officers shewed insubordination, and Shāhbāz had to retreat to Tandah.

20,000 Afghāns, he had the *Khutba* in that tract read after his name, and from the pride of being at the head of numerous followers, he became aggressive. And taking no account of the Imperial officers who were stationed in this country, he raised his hand of conquest on the Imperial dominions.



Now I adorn my rarity-depicting pen with the chronicle of the accounts of the *Nāzims* of Bengal, who were honoured with the *khill'at* of the *Nizāmat* of Bengal from the lofty presence of the *Chaghtai*¹ Emperors, and who raising the standard of authority, freed this country from the weeds and thorns of rebellions.

¹ *i.e.*, Mughal Emperors. See note *ante*.

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF THE NAZIMS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO THE NIZĀMAT OF BENGAL BY THE TIMURIDE EMPERORS OF DELHI.

NIZĀMAT OR VICEROYALTY OF RAJAH MĀN SINGH.

(When on the 19th Jamādi-ul-Sāni 1014 A.H., Nuru-d-din Muḥammad Jahāngir Bādshāh, in the fort of Agra, ascended the Imperial throne, inasmuch as from official despatches, news-letters, and the correspondence of officers, news of the insurrection of 'Ogmān Khān was continually received, (on the very day of his accession, the Emperor, bestowing rich khill'at with chargal, and a sword set in jewel, and a splendid horse, appointed Rajah Mān Singh to the Nizāmat of the Subah of Bengal, whilst Wasir Khān was exalted to the office of Diwān and Auditor of this Province.) After their arrival in this country, the refractory 'Ogmān advanced to fight, and a battle ensued. 'Ogmān with great shrewdness opened secret negotiations. As the war was protracted, and the extirpation of the Afghāns was not accomplished, in that very year of accession, Rājah Mān Sing² was recalled from office, and

(¹ For the first time, we hear of the offices of Nazim and Diwan. Hitherto we heard of Military Governors, called "Sipasaltars" or "Sircasaltars" or "Hakims" appointed by the Moghal Emperor. It is obvious that, hitherto, Bengal under the Moghals was under a sort of Military Government, presided over by Military Governors. When the back-bone of Afghān opposition was broken, in the time of Emperor Jahangir, for the first time, under Moghal rule, Bengal was placed under Civil Government by the Moghal Emperors, who appointed two distinct functionaries, one being the Nazim (in charge of executive government) and the other, the Diwan (in charge of Revenue and Finance). This system of Government, though actually enforced in Bengal in Jahangir's time, must have been matured towards the end of Akbar's reign.)

² He was a son of Bhagwan Das, and Akbar bestowed on him the title of "Farzand" or "Son," and raised him to the Mansab of *Haji Razari*. See full

Qutbu-d-din Khān Kokaltāsh was exalted to his place, being the recipient at the same time of khil'ats with a belt set in jewels, and of a horse with gold-mounted saddle. The Viceroyalty of Rajah Mān Singh lasted eight months and a few days.



NIZAMAT OF QUTBU-D-DIN KHĀN.

When Qutbu-d-din Kokaltāsh,¹ on the 9th Šafar, 1015 A.H., was honoured with the khil'at of the Nizāmat of Bengal, he was raised to the rank of a *Panjhaziri*, with 5,000 soldiers and troopers, and 2 *lacs* of rupees was given him for his allowance, and 3 *lacs* of rupees was given for the expenses of his contingent. After taking leave of the Emperor, he arrived in Bengal. As yet some months had not passed, when he was killed at the hands of 'Alī Qulī Beg Astajlā, styled Sher Afghan Khān.² And the detail of

particulars of his career in Bloch. Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 340, and also in *Mansir-ul-Umara*, and *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*.

¹ His name was Shaikh Khuba (Qutbu-d-din Khān-i-Chihān) and his father was Shaikh Zada of Badam, and his mother a daughter of Shaikh Salim of Faizpur Sikri. He was a foster-brother of Jahāngir, who whilst a Prince conferred upon Khuba the title of Qutbu-d-din Khān, and made him Subadar of Behar. On Jahāngir's accession to the throne, Khuba was appointed Subadar of Bengal, (1015 A.H.) At that time Sher Afghan 'Alī Qulī Astajlā was jagirdar (or jagirdar) of Bardwan, and his wife Mehrunnisa (afterwards Empress Nūr Jahān) was coveted by Emperor Jahāngir. Qutbu-d-din had instructions to send Sher Afghan to court, but the latter refusing to go, Qutb went to Bardwan, where Sher Afghan came to meet him. On his approach, Qutb lifted up his horse-whip. Sher Afghan thereon rushed with his sword against Qutb, and inflicted a cut on his abdomen. Qutb died, and one of his followers Amlah Khān, gave Sher Afghan a sword-cut on the head, when the latter was also killed. (Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 406 and *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 19).

² He was *isfahāni* or brother of Ismail II, king of Persia. After the latter's death, he went to India, and met at Multān, Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānān, and received a *mansab*, and on arrival at court, Akbar gave him in marriage to Mehrunnisa (the future Nūr Jahān), daughter of Mirza Ghīyās Tahirānī. Prince Salim fell in love with her, and brought about, on his accession to the throne, Sher Afghan's death. Sher Afghan had received Bardwan district as *iqbal* or jagir, on Jahāngir's accession. His body was buried in the shrine of the saint Bahram Saqqā at Bardwan. (See *Iqbalnāmah*, p. 22).

Four tigers had been caught, and Nūr Jahān requested Jahāngir (Tuzuk, p. 180), to let her shoot them. She killed two with one bullet, and the other

this incident is this. 'All Qutl Beg Astajlâ was a brother of Shâh Ismâ'il,¹ son of Shâh Tahmasp Safarî.² On the death of Shâh Ismâ'il, coming to India via Qandahâr, at Multan he entered the service of 'Abdur Rahim Khân, Khân Khânân,³ who was then employed on the conquest of Thatah and Sindh. The Khân Khânân informally enlisted him in the ranks of Imperial officers, and in that expedition, 'All Qutl showed bravery and rendered valuable services. When the Khân Khânân from that expedition returned triumphant to the Imperial presence, at his request, 'All Qutl was honoured with an appropriate Mansab, and at the same time, a daughter of Mirzâ Ghiyâs Beg Tehrânî,⁴ named Mehrunnisa,⁵ was wedded to him. And at the time when Emperor Akbar proceeded from Akbarabad (Agra) to the conquest of the Dakhn, and the Crown-Prince (Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jahângir), was ordered to undertake the subjugation of the Râna of Udaipur, 'All Qutl Beg was appointed as an auxiliary to the Prince. The Prince,

two with two bullets, and so one of the courtiers spoke out on the spur of the moment the verse given in the text. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 324.

¹ These were kings of Persia. See p. 97, *Naamah-Khusrav*.

² He was a *sepahe-sar* or Commander-in-Chief under Akbar. His great military services were conquests of Sindh and Gujrat. He was also an accomplished scholar, and translated into Persian Memoirs of Bahar. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 324 and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahângir*, p. 257.

³ His real name was Mirzâ Ghiyâs-d-din Muhammad, and his father was Khwajâh Muhammad Sharif, who was *Peis* to Tahir Sultan and his son Qasq Khân, and who was subsequently appointed, by Shâh Tahmasp, Vazir of Isfah. After his father's death, Ghiyâs Beg fled from Persia with two sons and one daughter. On the way at Qandahâr, his wife gave birth to a daughter, named Mehrunnisa—the future world-renowned Nûr Jahân, consort of Emperor Jahângir. On his arrival at Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar appointed him Diwân of Kabul, and subsequently Diwân-i-Hayâtî. In Jahângir's reign, he received the title of *Imâm-i-daulah*. After the death of her first husband, Sher Afghan, at Bardwan in the fight with Qutb-ud-din Khân, Jahângir's Governor of Bengal, Mehrunnisa was brought to court, and married in 1020 A.H. by Jahângir, who bestowed on her first the title of Nûr Mahâl and then that of Nûr Jahân, her father Ghiyâs Beg being at the same time advanced to the office of Prime Minister or Vakil-i-Kul. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 508 and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahângir*, pp. 2, 54 and 55.

⁴ Udaipur is mentioned by Abul Fazl in *Bakhar Chikr* under the Sâlsah of Ajmir. (See Jarrett's Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, p. 272). It is related that a daughter of Naushirvan, the Persian king, whose wife was a daughter of Maurice of Constantinople, was married into the Udaipur Royal family.

showing every attention to him, gave him the title of Sher Afghan, and on accession to the throne, bestowing on him a *Jagir* at Bardwan in the Sûbah of Bengal, he sent him there. Afterwards, when the crookedness of his conduct, his wickedness and ill-temper became known to the Emperor, the latter, whilst sending Qutb Khân to Bengal, gave the latter a hint that if he found Sher Afghan well-behaved and loyal, well and good, but if otherwise, he should send him to the Imperial presence, and that in coming if he made excuses, he should punish him. When Qutb-d-din Khân reached Bengal, he was dissatisfied with Sher Afghan's action and conduct. Although he summoned the latter to his presence, putting forward idle excuses, he did not attend. Qutb-d-din Khân communicated the matter to the Emperor, who ordered that agreeably to the injunctions conveyed at the time of his departure, he should punish Sher Afghan. The above Khân, on receipt of the Imperial order, instantly marched swiftly to Bardwan. Sher Afghan on getting news of the arrival of the above Khân, advanced forward with two grooms to receive him. At the time of meeting, the soldiers of Qutb-d-din Khân crowding in stood at a distance, like a ring. Sher Afghan said: "What is this treatment, and what does it mean?" The Khân told his soldiers to disperse, moved alone in Sher Afghan's company, and commenced conversation. Sher Afghan read signs of treachery in the aspect of affairs, and forestalling the other, he thought it prudent to apply the remedy before the disease appeared, and with great agility hit Qutb-d-din on the abdomen with a sword, so that the latter's entrails came out. The Khân¹ seizing his abdomen with both hands, shouted out: "Don't spare him, don't let this wretch escape." A Kashmirian, named Aina Khân,² who was one of Qutb's principal officers, spurring his horse, struck Sher Afghan with a sword on the head. In that plight, Sher Afghan with another blow finished Aina Khân's work. At this moment, the soldiers of Qutb-d-din Khân collecting from all sides, killed Sher Afghan also, by inflicting successive cuts. Sher Afghan Khân is that person,

¹ He was a stout man, and one can well imagine his pitiful posture at this moment.

² He is called Pir Khân, also "Ratnah Khân" and "Daitah Khân" in *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 24.

whose widow, Nūr Jahān,¹ as Consort of Emperor Jahāngir, is so renowned. A poet says:—

نور جهان گرچه بصورت زن است
دروصف مردین زن شیرانگن² است

Translation :

Nūr Jahān, albeit in appearance a woman,
In the ranks of heroes, is a tiger-hunting woman.

After Qutb-u-d-din Khān was slain, the office of Governor of the Śābah of Bengal was bestowed on Jahāngir Qulī Khān, who was Governor of the Śābah of Behar; and Islām Khān was appointed Governor of Behar in the latter's place.

—o—

THE NIẒĀMAT OF JAHĀNGIR QULĪ KHĀN.³

Towards the end of the year 1015 A.H., which was the second year of Emperor Jahāngir's accession, Jahāngir Qulī Khān, who was Governor of the Śābah of Behar, was appointed to be Governor of Bengal. And his name was Lalāh Beg, and he was a slave-boy

¹ What chivalry towards women was possible under Islām in olden days even in India, is eloquently testified to by the career of Nūr Jahān, the renowned Empress. Emperor Jahāngir, her Royal Consort, used to say of her, "Before I married her, I never knew what marriage meant. I have conferred the duties of Government on her; I shall be satisfied if I have a *seer* of wine and half a *seer* of meat *per diem*." With the exception of the *Āmān*, she received all the privileges of royalty. She sat by the side of her Consort in administering State affairs, and her name appears side by side with that of Emperor Jahāngir on the Imperial farmāns and coins. She took particular care of orphan girls, led the fashions of the times, and displayed æsthetic art in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. She was also a poetess. She exhibited great resourcefulness and bravery in rescuing Jahāngir from Mahabat Khān's hands. She lies buried at Lahore near her husband. On Jahāngir's coins, the following inscription was engraved.

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت حد زیور
بقام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زیور

¹ Note the pun here. See *Iqbalnāmā-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 56 and 57.

² See Bloch. Tr., *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 501, and *Iqbalnāmā-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 24.

of Mirzā Ḥakīm. After the Mirzā's death, he entered the service of Emperor Akbar, who bestowed him on Prince Nūr-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngir. He was a strong-built man, and he had rendered useful services. In religious matters and in regard for justice, he was very firm. After reaching Bengal, as yet he had not fully set his hand to the work of administration, when death claimed him. His rule lasted one month and some days. When news of his death reached the Emperor, Islām Khān,¹ son of Shaiḫ Badru-d-dīn Fatehpurī, who held the office of Governor of Behar, was appointed Governor of Bengal. And the Governorship of Subāh Behar and Patna was conferred on Afzal Khān,² son of Shaiḫ Abul Faḫl 'Allāmi.³



RULE OF NAWAB ISLAM KHAN, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF 'OSMÂN KHAN.

When in the third year of Emperor Jahāngir's accession, the Nizāmat of the Subāh of Bengal was entrusted to Islām Khān, the latter had strict orders to extinguish the fire of insurrection and rebellion that had been kindled by 'Osmân Khān. Islām Khān on

¹ Islām Khān was married to a sister (named Ladli Begam) of Abul Faḫl, Akbar's renowned Prime Minister. Islām Khān died as Governor of Bengal in 1022 A.H. (Tuzuk, p. 126). His name was Shaiḫ Alau-d-dīn Qishlū, and he was a grandson of Shaiḫ Salim, the Saint of Fatehpūr Sikri. He received the title of Islām Khān, and was Governor of Bengal from 1016 to 1022 A.H. He shifted in 1015 A.H., the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal from Taudah to Dacca. See *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 33 and *Mansir-ul-Umara*.

² Shaiḫ Abul Faḫl Allāmi, Akbar's friend and Prime Minister, was born on 14th January, 1551 A.C., (6th Muharram, 959 A.H.) at Agra, during the reign of Islām Shāh. He was a son of Shaiḫ Mubārīk; held the office of Prime Minister under Akbar and actively co-operated with the latter in the enunciation of a liberal policy of toleration in the government of the mixed races subject to the Musalman Rule in India. He was a great scholar, and author of several works including the Akburnāmah and the Ain-i-Akbārī. He was murdered by Bir Singh, at the instigation of Prince Salim (afterwards Emperor Jahāngir) on 12th August, 1602 A.C. See his life in Blochmann's *Tr. of Ain-i-Akbārī*, Vol. I, and also in *Mansir-ul-Umara*.

³ Abdur Rahman, son of Abul Faḫl Allāmi, received the title of Afzal Khān, and was appointed by Emperor Jahāngir, in the third year of his reign, Governor of Behar, vice Islām Khān who was appointed Governor of Bengal. *Iqbalnāmah*, p. 33, and *Mansir-ul-Umara*.

arrival at Jahāngirnagar (Dacca),¹ set himself to the affairs of the administration of the country. When his good administration and his thorough grasp of the affairs of the Nizāmat came to be known by the Emperor, the latter, in recognition of his good services, in the 4th year of accession, raised him to the rank of a *Panjshāhī*, including soldiers and troopers. Islam Khān detached a large force under the command of Shaikh Kabir Shujāt Khān² for the extirpation of 'Osmān Khān, leader of the Afghan insurrection, whilst other notable grandees, like Kishwar³ Khān, son of Qutb-d-dīn Khān Kokah,⁴ Iftikhār Khān,⁵ Syed Adam Barha,⁶ Shaikh Achha,⁷ Mutaqqad Khān, the sons of

¹ At this time (1015 A.H.) the Capital of Bengal was transferred from Tandah to Dacca or Jahangirnagar (so called after Emperor Jahangir) by Jahangir's Viceroy of Bengal, named Islam Khān. Dacca continued to remain henceforth the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal for nearly a century (barren a few years when it was temporarily shifted to Rajmahal).

² His name was Shaikh Kabir Qhishhi, and his titles were "Shujāt Khān Rustam-i-Zaman." In the printed Pers. text, is inserted by mistake between "Shaikh Kabir" and "Shujāt Khān," thus misleading the reader to fancy that these were two individuals. See note post. He was a relation of Islam Khān-i-Qhishhi, Governor of Bengal, and received first the title of Shujāt Khān from Prince Salim, who on ascending the throne, gave him the additional title of "Rustam-i-Zaman," on account of his services in putting down the Afghans under 'Osmān in Bengal. See p. 64, *Iqbalnāmah Jahangiri* and *Maasir-ul-Umara*.

³ His title was 'Kishwar Khān,' in the text it is misprinted as "Kīr Khān. His name was Shaikh Ibrahim; he was a son of Shaikh Khula (Qutb-d-dīn Khān-i-Qhishhi), Governor of Bengal. In 1015 A.H., he was a commander of 1,000 foot, 300 horses, and received the title of Kishwar Khān from the Emperor Jahangir. He was for some time Governor of Rohtas, and served in Bengal in 1021 A.H., under Shujāt Khān (Shaikh Kabir Qhishhi) against 'Osmān Khān Lohani, the Afghan. See *Iqbalnāmah*, pp. 61 and 62 and *Maasir-ul-Umara*.

⁴ See n. 1, p. 169, *ante*.

⁵ Two sons of Ahmad Beg Kabuli (see Bloch. Tr., *Aln*, Vol. 1, pp. 465-466) named Maqbulah Khān and Abul Baqah held the title of 'Iftikhār Khān,' either of them in turn.

⁶ He was a grandson of Syed Mahomed of Barha, who carried Akbar, Most of the Barhā Syeds received from the Mughal Emperors the honorific distinction of 'Khān,' which in those days, was considered the highest title of Indo-Muslim peerage, next only in rank to Prince Royal and the "Khān-i-Khānān" and "Amir-ul-Umara." (See Bloch. Tr., *Aln*, Vol. I, p. 392, and *Alamgir-nāmah*).

⁷ He was nephew of Shaikh Hassan or Hassu alias Muzaffar Khān who

Mu'azzam Khān,¹ together with other Imperial officers, were appointed his auxiliaries. When these reached the frontiers of the tract² under 'Osmān, they first deputed a sagacious envoy to conciliate the refractory mind of the leader of the insurrection. They strung the precious pearl of good advice to the ear-corner of his heart. Inasmuch as that wretched man ('Osmān Khān) was by inherent nature a bad stuff, and had not the capacity of appreciating goodness, not appraising the value of this pearl of advice, he collected brickbats of vain aspirations in the vessel of his bad luck, and in the face of that shining pearl, he put forward the stature of his wild ambition, gave permission to the envoy to withdraw without accomplishing his mission, and preparing to die, spurred swiftly the horse of aggressiveness and fighting, and

in 1027 A.H. was Governor of Behar. (See Bloch. Tr., *Āin*, Vol. I, pp. 521 and 543).

¹ Shaikh Bayazid (Muazzam Khān) was a grandson of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Pathpur Sikri. He was made Subadar of Delhi by Jahangir. His son Mukkaram Khān was a son-in-law and nephew of Isām Khān, Viceroy of Bengal, and served under the latter, conquered Koch Hajo and Khurdah, became Governor of Orissa and subsequently of Bengal. See *Mansir-ul-Umara*.

² The tract under 'Osmān appears to have been "Bhati," that is the tract including the Sundarbans, the lands alongside the Brahmaputra and the Megna, in fact, the whole tract from Ghoraghat (or Rangpur) southward to the sea. His residence is mentioned in the histories (see Bloch, *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 529) to have been at "Kohistan-i-Dacca," the "Vihāyat-i-Dacca," but his father 'Isā Khān's residence (vide p. 543 of *do.*) is mentioned to have been at Baktrapur, close to Khilpur. Khilpur has been identified with a place about a mile north of modern Narainganj, close to which are ruins of the forts built by Mir Jumla, Mughal Viceroy at Dacca, in the 17th century. There is still there a *Khanbarah*, which is supposed to be the resting-place of one of Jahangir's daughters. Here was the chief naval fleet of Muhammadan Government, it lay at the confluence of the Ganges, the Jakhya and the Brahmaputra rivers. It is three miles west of Sonargoon, and nine miles from Dacca. About thirty miles north of Khilpur, are two villages within a mile of each other, called "Baktrapur" and "Isurpur," but these contain no ruins. (See J.A.S. for 1874, pp. 211-212). "Bhati" from its inaccessibility was elected as the last stronghold of the Afghans, who, sheltered amidst its jungles, cut up by numerous rivers and channels, long defied there the power of the Mughals. During the Mughal military revolt under Akbar, the chief rebel, Masūm Khān Kabuli, who was a Turbati Syed and whose uncle had been Vazir under Humāyūn, took refuge in "Bhati," where he fought against Musaffar and Shaktar, and at length died in 1007 A.H. (See Bloch. Tr., *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 431).

rallied his forces on the banks of a river,¹ full of mud. When news of this daring impudence reached Jahāngir's officers, in the seventh year of accession, towards the end of the month of Zilhaj, 1029 A.H., the latter arrayed their forces, and advanced to the field of warfare. From the other side, 'Osmān Khān also arrayed his miscreant troops for battle on the field of adversity, in front of the unpropitious Imperialists. The heroes of the battle, on both sides advancing to fight, displayed heroism and bravery.

When the fighting hosts on both sides faced each other,
They fell to fighting against each other from every side.
From the gun, the musket, the spear and the arrow,
The banquet of warfare became warm.
From excess of smoke and dust up to the sky,
The universe could not be descried.
From the din and tumult of both the armies,
The battle-field turned into the field of the Day of Resur-
rection. [rockets,
Showered from every side cannon-balls, arrows and war-
And emptied the world of heroes.
The corpses of heroes frisked in every direction,
Like slaughtered cooks, on both sides.

In the thick of the fighting, and amidst the shower of arrows and rockets, 'Ozmân, displaying great valour, placed before himself roving war-elephants, and assaulted the vanguard of the Imperialists.

The brave Imperialists advancing, grappled with their swords and spears, and exhibited heroism worthy of a Rustam and a Sam. Syed Adam Barin² and Shaikh Acha² who were Commanders of the Imperial vanguard, fell gallantly fighting. At this moment, the flanks of both the armies came into line. Istikhār Khān,¹ Commander of the left wing, and Keshwar Khān,² Commander of the right wing, with a large number

¹ Probably this was the small Lakhyā river, on which modern Saralaganj is situated, and close to which were Kharipur and Baktarpur. *Iqbāl-namāh*, pp. 61 and 64.

* The *Tuzuk* (p. 102) mentions that *Kishwar Khan* (son of Qutub-d-din Khan, late Governor of Bengal), *Iskandar Khan*, Syed Adam Barha, *Shahid Agha*, brother's son of Muzaffar Khan, *Muhammad Khan*, and *Imam Khan* were under *Shuja's* command in his fight with *Qasim*. Syed Adam, *Iskandar*, and *Shahid Agha* were killed (the *Tuzuk*, p. 132). Later *Abdus Salam Khan*, a

of adherents, were killed; and on the enemy's side also many passed to hell.¹ On seeing that some of the leaders of the Imperialists had been killed, and their ranks emptied of veterans, a second time 'Ozmān placing before himself the rogue elephant, named Baoja, himself mounted on a saddled elephant, personally assaulted the Imperial van, and delivered successive onsets. From the side of the Imperialists, Shujāit Khān,² with his relations and brothers, advancing to oppose him, exhibited great bravery and heroism. Many of his relations were killed, and many retreated on receiving mortal wounds. When that elephant came in front of Shujāit Khān, the latter spurring his horse struck it with a spear on its trunk, and with great agility drawing the sword from his waist, inflicted two successive cuts on its head; and when he came in collision with the elephant, he drew his dagger, and inflicted on it two more cuts. The elephant, from its great ferocity, not recking of these cuts, with great fury rushed up, and flung down both the rider and the horse. Shewing agility, Shujāit dismounted from his horse, and stood erect on the ground. At this juncture, Shujāit's groom struck the trunk of the elephant with a double-edged sword, and inflicted a serious cut, causing the elephant to fall on its knees. Shujāit Khān, with the help of his groom, throw down the rider of the elephant, and with a dagger inflicted another cut on its trunk. The elephant rearing fiercely fled after this cut, and moving some paces fell down. Shujāit Khān's horse sprang up unhurt, and the Khān mounted it again. In the meantime, another elephant attacking the Imperial standard-bearer threw him down with the standard.

son of Muzammil Khān (a former Governor of Bengal) joined the Imperialists, and pursued 'Ozmān. See also *Iqbalnāmah*, pp. 61 to 64.

¹ The author's remark is unjust and ungraceful. The Afghans under 'Ozmān were fighting for their homes and hearths, and did not deserve this opprobrious expression.

² The *Tazak* calls the elephant "Gajpati," *Iqbalnāmah* (p. 62) "Bakhtah."

³ His name was Shakh Kabir-i-Ullāhi, and his title was Shakh Shujāit Khān Rustān-i-Zamān. He was a relative of Iskān Khān, Governor of Bengal and served under the latter in Bengal, and commanded the Imperialists in the lightings with 'Ozmān, the Lohani Afghan. (See Bloch. *Tr. A'n*, Vol. I, p. 420, and the *Tazak*, and the *Massir* and *Iqbalnāmah*, p. 64). He was subsequently appointed Governor of Behar.

Shujāt Khān shouted out, "Take care, behave like a man, I am alive, and will soon advance to your rescue." A number of troops who were round the standard-bearer took courage, inflicted serious cuts on the elephant which fled, and placed the standard-bearer on the horse again. At this time, when the battle was lingering towards its close, and many had fallen, and many being wounded were unable to move their limbs, the Imperial fortune blazed forth, and a cannon-ball hit 'Ogmān Khān on the forehead, and levelled him straight on his horse. Though he realised that he could not survive this wound, still he heroically encouraged his soldiers to fight on. And when he read signs of defeat in the forehead of his fate, pulling back the rein of his adversity, with the last breathings of a dying man, he reached Bengal. And the triumphant Imperialists following him up to his camp, halted. 'Ogmān' expired at midnight. Wali Khān, his brother, and Mamurā Khān, his son, leaving behind the tents and the armaments, and removing his corpse, fled to their tent. Shujāt Khān on hearing of this, thought of following up the enemy, but his advisers opposed the pursuit that day, on the ground that the troops were tired, the killed had to be buried, and the wounded dressed. In the meantime, Mu'taqed Khān, who was afterwards honoured with the title of Lashkar Khān, 'Abdus-Salām Khān, son of 'Abdul Mu'azzam Khān,¹ and other officers of the Emperor arrived with a fresh re-inforcement of 300 cavalry and 400 mus-

¹ Khwajah 'Ogmān, according to the *Makhamat-i-Afghani*, was the second son of Miyan 'Isa Khān Lohani, who after the death of Quth Khān was the leader of the Afghans in Orissa and South Bengal. 'Ogmān succeeded his brother Subhman, who had 'reigned' for some time, had killed in a fight Himsi Singh, son of Rajah Man Singh, and had held lands near the Brahmaputra, and subdued the Rajahs of the adjacent countries. 'Ogmān succeeded him, and received from Man Singh lands in Orissa and Satgum and later in Eastern Bengal, with a revenue of 5 or 6 lacs per year. His residence is described to have been at "Kuhistān Dacca," the "Vikrāt-i-Dacca" and Dacca itself. The battle between 'Ogmān and the Imperialist General, Shujāt, took place at a distance of 100 kos from Dacca on 8th Muharram, 1031 (or 2nd March, 1612 A.D.) Stewart places the battle on the banks of the Subarnarika in Orissa, which is improbable. 'Ogmān's brother, Wali, on submission, received a title with a jagir, and was made a commander of one thousand. According to the *Mansur* he was murdered. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 520, *Makhamat-i-Afghani* and *Iqbalnāmā*, p. 61.

² He was a Subadar of Delhi. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 493.

keteera. Shujāit Khān taking this corps with him, chased the enemy. Wali Khān despairing sent the following message: "The root of this insurrection was 'Ogmān; he has met with his deserts, we are all loyal. If we receive assurances of safety, we would make our submission and would send the elephants of 'Ogmān, in the shape of tribute." Shujāit Khān and Mu'taqad Khān, showing chivalry, arranged terms of peace. The following day, Wali Khān and Mamrūz Khān, with all their brothers and connexions, came to meet Shujāit Khān, and presented forty-nine elephants as tribute. Shujāit and Mu'taqad Khān, taking charge of them, moved victorious and triumphant to Islām Khān to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca). Islām Khān sent a despatch containing news of the victory to the Emperor at Akharābād (Agra). On the 16th of the month of Muharram 1021 A.H., this despatch reached the Emperor, and was perused. In recognition of this good service, Islām Khān was raised to the *manzab* of a *Shahbazari*, and Shujāit Khān had his *manzab* raised, and received the title of Rustam-i-Zamān; whilst all other Imperialists who had loyally and gallantly co-operated in the extirpation of 'Ogmān Khān, received similarly befitting *manzabs*. The insurrection of 'Ogmān Khān lasted eight years, and in the 7th year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1022 A.H., his subjugation was accomplished. In the 8th year of the Emperor's accession, Islām Khān led an expedition against the Mags, who were brutes in human form. Islām Khān sent to the Emperor, in charge of his son, Hoshang Khān, a number of the Mags that were captured, and in the same year (1022 A.H.) Islām Khān died in Bengal. Thereupon, the Governorship of that country was entrusted to his brother, Qāsim Khān.



NIZAMAT OF QĀSIM KHĀN.

After the Governorship of Bengal was conferred on Qāsim Khān, brother of Islām Khān, he ruled five years and a few months, when the Assāmess making an incursion into the conquered Imperial domains, captured and decoyed Syed Abū Bakr.¹ Qāsim Khān failed to make a sifting enquiry into this

¹ He was Commandant of a Moghal out-post on the Assam frontier at Jamdhara, under Jahangir. (See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 680).

affair, and was therefore superseded, and Ibrahim Khān Fateh Jang was appointed Nazim in his place.

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NIZĀMAT OF IBRAHIM KHĀN, AND THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN IN BENGAL.

Ibrahim Khān Fateh Jang,¹ in the year 1027 A.H., corresponding to the 13th year of the Emperor's accession, received the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa. He appointed his nephew, Ahmad Beg Khān² to be Governor of Orissa, whilst he himself resided at Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), and devoted himself to the work of administration. As during his incumbency, several grave affairs came to pass, these will be briefly narrated. In the 17th year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1031 A.H., news reached Emperor Jahāngir to the effect that the King of Persia was aiming to wrest the fort of Qandahār.³ In consequence thereof, Zainul-'Abidin, the Pay-Master General of the Ahadi⁴ troops, communicated an order to Prince Shāh Jahān at Burhānpur, directing the latter to march quickly to the Imperial presence with troops, artillery and elephants. The Prince marching from Burhānpur⁵ reached Mando,⁶ sent a message to the

¹ He was the youngest son of Mirza Ghīyā Beg, and a brother of Empress Nur Jahān. (See Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 512).

² See Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 512. He was a son of Muhammad Sharif, eldest son of Ghīyā Beg, father of Empress Nur Jahān.

³ In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahar, Khān Jahān was appointed by Jahāngir Governor of Multan. In the 17th year, Shāh Akbar, king of Persia, took Qandahar, after a siege of forty days. Khān Jahān was called to court for consultation, and it was decided that Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) should be placed at the head of the expeditionary force to reconquer Qandahar. In the meantime, Shāh Jahān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahar was not undertaken. See Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 503-504.

⁴ They were a body of troops intermediate between the Regulars and non-Regulars and Auxiliaries. They were created under Akbar. See Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 249, for a full description of Ahadi troops. Zainul-'Abidin was a son of Asaf Khān (III). See Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 412.

⁵ A town in the Dakkhin; it was for some time the Moghal head-quarters, during the military operations in the Dakkhin.

⁶ Mando is name of a Sirkar or district as well as the name of a city in Sirkar Mando, included in the Subah of Malwah. (See Jarrett's Tr. of *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 209).

Emperor to the effect that as the rainy season had approached, he would make Mando his rainy-season quarter, and would afterwards wait on the Emperor. He also asked for pargannah Dholpur¹ being added to his *jagir*, and set *Dariā Khān*² Afghān to take charge of it. But before the arrival of the Prince's letter, the Emperor had negotiated the marriage of Prince *Shahryār* with a daughter of *Nur Mahal*³ by *Sher Afghan*,⁴ and at *Nur Mahal*'s request the aforesaid Pargannah had been bestowed on *Shahryār*, and *Sharifu-l-Mulk*, servant of Prince *Shahryār*, had taken possession of the fort of Dholpur. Soon after, *Dariā Khān* arrived and wanted to forcibly take possession of the fort. From both sides, the fire of conflict kindled. As luck would have it, an arrow hit *Sharifu-l-Mulk* on the eye, and blinded him. This mishap caused the *Begam*⁵ to be indignant; the fire of discord blazed up, and at the instance of the *Begam*, the expedition to Qandahar was entrusted to Prince *Shahryār*, whilst *Mirzā Rustam*⁶ *Safavi* was appointed *Ataliq* of the Prince and *Qumliassimo* of

¹ Dholpur lies 20 *kos* from Agra, near the left bank of the Chambal river. (Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 337).

² *Dariya Khān* Rohilla was an officer of *Shāh Jahān* in the *Dakhin*. (See Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 504-505).

³ Another name of the renowned Empress *Nūr Jahān*, consort of Emperor *Jahangir*.

⁴ *Sher Afghan* was the first husband of *Nūr Jahān*; by him she had one daughter named *Ladli Begum*, to whom Prince *Shahryār* (5th son of *Jahangir*) was married. *Shāh Jahān* or Prince *Khurram* was *Jahangir*'s third son. *Nūr Jahān* had no children by *Jahangir*.

⁵ That is, Empress *Nūr Jahān*.

⁶ *Mirzā Rustam Safavi* was third son of *Sulhān Husain Mirza*, nephew of *Shāh Tahmasp* king of Persia (920-984 A.H.), and Governor of Qandahar under the latter in 965 A.H. *Mirzā Rustam*'s daughter was married to Prince *Purvis*, second son of *Jahangir*. He invaded Qandahar, but met with no success. In 1021, *Jahangir* appointed him Governor of Thatta, and afterwards *Shahbazari* and Governor of Allahabad, and in the 21st year, Governor of Bihar. He died in 1051 at Agra. His third son *Mirzā Hasan-i-Safavi* was Governor of Koch under *Jahangir* and died in 1060 A.H., and his grandson (son of *Mirzā Hasan*) named *Mirzā Safahkan* was *Faujdar* of Jessore in Bengal. (See Bloch. Tr., *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 314-315 and *Manzil-ul-Umara*). *Mirzanagar*, a place close to Jessore town, probably was *Mirzā Safahkan*'s *Faujdar* headquarters, and received its name from him. He died in 1073 A.H. *Mirzā Safahkan*'s son, *Mirzā Saifu-d-din Safavi*, accepted the titular distinction of *Khān* under *Aurangzeb*.

his army. On hearing of the blazing of the fire of discord, Shāh Jahān sent to the Emperor along with a letter Afzal Khān, son of Abul Faḡl 'Allāmi, who after his dismissal from the Governorship of Behar, held the office of Diwan to the Prince, so that with the aid of cajolery and civility the storm of the dust of discord might be made to subside, and relations of amity and harmony between the Emperor and the Prince might not cease. Inasmuch as the Begam held absolute sway over the mind of the Emperor, Afzal Khān was refused an audience, and was ordered back without accomplishing his mission. And orders were passed on the Imperial Revenue-officers directing that the Mahals in the possession of Shāh Jahān, in the Sarkars of Hissar¹ and Doab,² should be transferred to Prince Shaharyār. And injunctions were issued to Prince Shāh Jahān, intimating that the Ṣubahs of the Dakhin, and Gujrāt³ and Malwā⁴ were bestowed on him, and that he might rule over them, making his headquarters within those limits wherever he pleased, and directing that he should quickly despatch to the Emperor some troops for the expedition to Qandahar. And in the beginning of the month of Khardād, in the 18th year of the Emperor's accession, in the year 1032 A.H. Asaf Khān,⁵ was appointed Ṣahabdar of the Provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Since a daughter of Asaf Khān had been married to Shāh Jahān, some malicious persons imputing

¹ In the Āin-i-Akbari, Sarkar of Hissar (or Hissar Firuzah called after Emperor Firuz Shāh Taghlak who founded the city of Hissar about 1354 A.C.), is described as one of the Sarkars or districts included in the Ṣubah of Delhi. This Sarkar is described as containing 27 mahals, with revenue of 52,554,905 Dams. (Jarrett's Tr. of Āin, Vol. II, p. 293).

² Under the Ṣubah of Lahore (Jarrett's Tr. of Āin, Vol. II, p. 315), five Doab Sarkars are mentioned. These five Sarkars were: (1) Sarkar of Bet Jalandhar Doab, (2) Sarkar of Bari Doab, (3) Sarkar of Bechnan Doab, (4) Chambal (Joch) Doab, (5) Sindh Sagar Doab.

³ See Āin-i-Akbari, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 238.

⁴ See Āin, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 195.

⁵ He was Mirza Abū Husain Asaf Khān (IV) second son of Mirza Ghiās Beg, and brother of Empress Nār Jahān, and father of Shāh Jahān's Queen, Mumtaz Mahal or Taj Bibi, whose mausoleum, the Taj, is at Agra. He received from Shāh Jahān the title of Yamīn-ud-Daulah and Khān-i-Khānān Sepahsāhar, and was made a commander of 3,000. He died in 1051 A.H. and was buried at Lahore, north of Jahangir's tomb. He married a daughter of Mirza Ghiās-ud-din Abū Asaf Khān II. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, pp. 611 and 668 and Muntaz al-Umara.

to Asaf Khān partiality for Shāh Jahān, induced the Begam to call from Kabul Mahabet Khān, who was an old enemy of Asaf Khān, and who was also ill-disposed to Shāh Jahān. And the Imperial order with the Begam's message was sent for summoning Mahabet Khān. Mahabet Khān on arrival from Kabul, was honoured with an audience by the Emperor. Order was also passed to Sharif Khān,¹ Vakil of Prince Parviz, to hasten to Court with the Prince and the Behar army. And since the Begam was anxious, owing to separation from her brother, that year on the 2nd of the month of Adar, order was given to Asaf Khān to return to Court. In short, on being apprised of the foregoing incidents of inattention on the part of the Emperor, and of ill-will on the part of Nūr Jahān Begam, Shāh Jahān arranged that Qāzi 'Abdul 'Aziz proceeding to court, should represent his wishes to the Emperor, whilst he himself would follow before the arrival of Prince Parviz and the armies from different parts of the Empire, so that the dust of discord might possibly be laid. In short, the aforesaid Qāzi met the Imperial army on the banks of the river² of Ladianah. Inasmuch as the Emperor's mind was enamoured of the Begam's seductions, the Qāzi was refused access to the Emperor, and Mahabet Khān was ordered to imprison him. Soon after, Shāh Jahān also with a large army encamped at Fatehpūr, in the vicinity of Akbarābād (Agra). The Emperor marched back from Sirhind,³ and all the grandees and officers from different *fajirs* joined the Emperor, and before the Capital, Delhi, was reached, a numerous force collected. The vanguard of the Imperialists was entrusted to the command of 'Abdullah Khān,⁴ who was ordered to proceed one *kroḥ* in advance of the Imperial camp. But Shāh Jahān, foreseeing the result, thought that if he engaged in fighting against such a numerous army, the result might prove disastrous. Consequently, together

¹ See p. 317, Vol. I, Bloch. Tr. of Aīn and Haccir-ul-Umara. He enjoyed the titles of Amir-ul-Umara and Vakil, and enjoyed the friendship of Jahangir.

² River Satlej is tenant; Ladianah town is situated on its banks. See Aīn-i-Akbari, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 310.

³ Sarkar of Sirhind is mentioned by Abul Fazl under Sābah Delhi in the Aīn (See Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 105). Sirhind was long the western frontier of India, and hence the name.

⁴ He was a Barha Syed. The Barha Syeds alone had the privilege to fight in the vanguard (or *harnes*).

with the Khān Khānān¹ and other officers, retiring by the right-side road, he marched 20 *brah* northwards. He left, however, Rajah Bikramajit² and Dārāb Khān, son of the Khān Khānān, together with other officers, in front of the Imperialists, so that if the latter, under the direction of the Begam, led the pursuit, the aforesaid commanders might prevent their advance, till the discord subsided. On the 20th Jamādī-ul-Awwal 1032 A.H., news of Shāh Jahān's withdrawal reached the Emperor. The Begam, under the advice of Maḥabet Khān, detached Aḡaf Khān,³ Khawājāh Abul Ḥasan,⁴ 'Abdullāh Khān,⁵ Lashkar Khān,⁶ Fedāi Khān⁷ and Nawāzish Khān,⁸ &c., with 25,000 cavalry to fight. From Shāh Jahān's side, Rajah Bikramajit and Dārāb Khān, arraying their forces, advanced, and on both sides the fighting commenced with arrows and muskets. As 'Abdullāh Khān⁷ was in intrigue with Shāh Jahān, he promised that when the two forces would encounter each other, availing himself of an opportunity, he would go over to the Prince's side. Finding an

¹ This was Khān-i-Khānān Mirza Abdur Rahīm, son of Bairam Khān. See Bloch, Tr. of Āin, Vol. I, p. 324 and Mansur-ul-Umara. When Shāh Jahān rebelled, he sided with the latter. His second son's name was Dārāb Khān, who fell into the hands of Prince Parvīr and Maḥabet Khān, who killed him, wrung his head in a table-cloth, and sent it as a present of a 'malak' to his father, Mirza Abdur Rahīm.

² His name was Rai Pati Das; he was a Khatri. Akbar conferred on him the title of Raja Bikramajit. He served Akbar as joint-Divān of Bengal, Divān of Behar, and was made a commander of 5,000. Jahangir on his accession invested him Mir Atash or Superintendent of Artillery. When disturbances broke out in Gujarat, he was sent to Ahmadabad to pacify the rebels. See Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 409, Bloch, Tr. and Mansur-ul-Umara.

³ The printer or editor of the text by mistake has put, between Aḡaf Khān and Khawājāh Abul Ḥasan.

⁴ The title of "Lashkar Khān" was held by (1) Moḥammad Ḥusain of Khurasān, under Akbar, (2) by Abul Ḥasan Maḥabbi under Jahangir, and (3) by Jau Nisar Khān Yudgar Beg under Shāh Jahān. The second is meant here.

⁵ Mirza Rustam had the taballus of Fidāl. (See p. 314, Bloch, Tr., Āin, Vol. I). I am not sure if he is meant here.

⁶ Sadullah, son of Saīd Khān, Governor of Bengal, held the title of Nawāzish Khān (see Āin, Bloch, Tr., Vol. I, pp. 363-364).

⁷ 'Abdullāh Khān Ushak was made by Akbar a Panjshāhī, and was sent to Malwah with unlimited power. He 'reigned in Malwa like a king.' See Bloch, Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 321 and Mansur-ul-Umara. I am not sure if he is meant here.

opportunity now, he with the greatest expedition joined Shāh Jahān's army. Rajah Bikramajit who was aware of 'Abdullah Khān's' plan, with great delight went to Dārāb Khān, to inform the latter of 'Abdullah Khān's' desertion. As luck would have it, a cannon-ball hit the Rajah on the forehead, and threw him down. From this mishap, the thread of the arrangement of Shāh Jahān's army was broken. Although a commander like 'Abdullah Khān', destroying the basis of the Imperial vanguard, had joined the Prince's army, Dārāb Khān and other commanders of Shāh Jahān's army were not daring enough to hold their ground. On the Imperialists' side, the desertion of 'Abdullah Khān', and on the Prince's side, the fall of Rajah Bikramajit caused mutual confusion, and both the armies were dispirited. Towards the end of the day, both the forces withdrew to their quarters. At length, the Emperor withdrew from Akbarābād towards Ajmīr, whilst Prince Shāh Jahān retired towards Mando. On the 25th of the Jamādī-al-Awwal, the Emperor detached Prince Parviz with a large army to follow up Shāh Jahān; and Mahabub Khān was entrusted with the command of Prince Parviz's army. When Prince Parviz with his army, crossing the defile of Chanda¹ arrived in the Villāyet² of Mando, Shāh Jahān with his army sallied out of the fort of Mando, and detached Rustam Khān³ with a body of troops to encounter Prince Parviz. Bahān-d-dīn Barquandās, one of the confidants of Rustam Khān, a servant of Shāh Jahān, held treasonable correspondence with Mahabub Khān, and was waiting for an opportunity. At the time when the two armies fell into battle-array, Rustam Khān riding forward joined the Imperialists. This wretched Rustam Khān was by Shāh Jahān elevated from the mansab of a Sekbasti⁴ to that of a Panjahāzārī, and honoured with the title of Rustam Khān and appointed Governor of Gujrāt, and he enjoyed the Prince's full confidence. Now that the Prince

¹ It is a place mentioned under Sālah Barar in the Ain-i-Akbari (Hoch Tr., Ain, Vol. II, p. 290), near it is Manikdrug fort.

² There is no such Villāyet, in the strict sense of the term; not only a Sarkar of Mando is Sālah Malwah.

³ Rustam Khān-i-Dakhil is mentioned in the Ain, as Jagirdar of Samogach. See Hoch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 478.

⁴ "Sekbasti" in the printed text seems to be a mistake or misprint for "Sihasti." (See Hoch Ain, Tr., Vol. I, p. 245, for a dissertation on the constitution of the Mughal Army).

appointing him generalissimo detached him to encounter Prince Parvis, the wretch shelving the obligations of so many years' kindness, joined Mahabet Khān. Owing to the occurrence of this mishap, Shāh Jahān's army got demoralised, and all confidence between each other was lost. Many, going the high-way of infidelity, fled. On hearing of this, Shāh Jahān summoned the remnant of the army to his side, crossed the river Narbada, and removed the boats to his side of the river-bank. Leaving Baisām Beg, the Pay-Master General of the Force, with a body of troops on the banks of the river, Shāh Jahān himself with the Khān-i-Khānān and 'Abdullāh Khān and others proceeded towards the fort of Asir and Burchānpur. Muḥammad Taqī Bakshi intercepting the letter of the Khān Khānān, which the latter had secretly despatched to Mahabet Khān, produced it before Shāh Jahān. On the top of the letter, this line was written;—

مدکس بنظر نگاه میداندم
در نه بپریدم ز بے آرمی

Translation:

A hundred persons with their eyes watch me,
Or else I should have fled from this discomfort.

Shāh Jahān summoning the Khān Khānān with his son Dārāb Khān from his house, secretly showed him the letter. The latter failed to give any satisfactory explanation. Consequently, the Khān-i-Khānān with his son was kept in surveillance close to the Prince's quarters, and then the inauspicious presage of the line (quoted above) came to pass. Mahabet Khān sending secret letters, had diverted the Khān Khānān from the path of loyalty, through the persuasions of traitors. And the Khān Khānān, by way of advice, told Shāh Jahān that as the times were out of joint, following the saying: زمانه با تو ندارد تو باز مانده بدو (Translation: "If the times do not fall in with you, you must adjust yourself to the times") he should arrange for an armistice, as that would be expedient and desirable in the interests of humanity. Shāh Jahān deeming the extinguishing of the fire of discord to be a great achievement, called the Khān Khānān to his closet, and first reassured his mind in respect of him by making the latter swear by the Qurān. And the Khān Khānān placing his hand on the Qurān swore with vehemence that he would never play false with the

Prince, nor turn disloyal, and that he would put forth his efforts to bring about the welfare of both the parties. Thus being reassured, *Shāh Jahān* sent off the *Khān Khānān*, and kept *Dārāb Khān* and his sons with himself. It was also settled that the *Khān Khānān* should remain on this side of the river *Narbada*, and by means of correspondence arrange terms of peace. When news of the conclusion of an armistice and of the departure of the *Khān Khānān* became known, the troops who had been stationed to guard the banks of the river, ceasing to be vigilant and alert, neglected to guard the ferries of the river. Of a night, at a time when these were asleep, a body of Imperialists plunging into the river with their horses, gallantly crossed over. A great hubbub arose, and from panic men's hands and feet were paralysed. *Bairam Beg*, ashamed of himself, went to *Shāh Jahān*. On hearing of the treachery of the *Khān Khānān* and of the crossing of the river *Narbada* by the Imperialists, *Shāh Jahān* deeming it inexpedient to halt any further at *Burhānpur*, crossed the river *Tapti*, in the thick of the rains, amidst a storm-wyve, and marched towards *Orissa*,¹ scouring the Province of *Qutba-i-Mulk*.²

¹ The following is extracted from *Bloch. Tr., Ain*, as it briefly and at the same time lucidly describes *Shāh Jahān's* movements:—

"*Shāh Jahān* rebelled, returned with *Mirza Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānān* to *Maado*, and then moved to *Burhanpur*. On the march thither, *Shāh Jahān* intercepted a letter which *Mirza Abdur Rahim* had secretly written to *Mahabet Khān*, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son *Dārāb Khān*, and sent them to *Fort Asir*, but released them soon after on parole. *Parviz* and *Mahabet Khān* had in the meantime arrived at the *Narbada* to capture *Shāh Jahān*. *Bairam Beg*, an officer of *Shāh Jahān*, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the Imperialists from crossing. At *Mirza Abdur Rahim's* advice, *Shāh Jahān* proposed at this time an armistice. He made him swear on the *Quran*, and sent him as ambassador to *Prince Parviz*. *Mahabet Khān*, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and *Mirza Abdur Rahim*, forgetful of his oath, joined *Parviz* and did not return to *Shāh Jahān*, who now fled from *Burhanpur*, marching through *Talanganah* to *Orissa* and *Bengal*. *Mahabet* and *Mirza Abdur Rahim* followed him up a short distance beyond the *Tapti*. . . *Shāh Jahān* then moved into *Bengal* and *Behar*, of which he made *Dārāb Khān* Governor." *Bloch. Tr., Ain*, Vol. I, p. 237.

² In the *Ain*, it is stated as below:—"Talanganah was subject to *Qutba-i-Mulk*, but for some time past has been under the *Ruler of Bernar*." (See

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN'S ARMY IN BENGAL, AND THE FALL OF IBRĀHĪM KHĀN FATEH JANG.

When Prince Shāh Jahān's army reached Orissa, Ahmad Beg Khān, nephew of Ibrāhīm Khān, Nāgiri of Bengal, who from before his uncle held the Deputy Governorship of Orissa, was out in the interior to chastise some Zamindārs. Suddenly hearing of the arrival of the Prince, he lost all courage, and abandoning his mission, he proceeded to Pipili¹ which was the Headquarters of the Governor of that Province, and withdrew thence with his treasures and effects to Katak, which from Pipili is 12 *kroḥ* towards Bengal. Not finding himself strong enough to encamp even at Katak, he fled to Bardwan, and informed Šāleḥ Beg,² nephew of Ja'fer Beg, of the whole affair. Šāleḥ Beg did not credit the news of the arrival of Shāh Jahān in Orissa. At this time, a letter of a soothing tenour came from 'Abdullāh Khān to Šāleḥ Beg. The latter, not being won over, fortified the fort of Bardwan, and entrenched himself there. And when Shāh Jahān's army arrived at Bardwan, 'Abdullāh besieged the fort, and Šāleḥ Beg was hard-pressed. When things came to their worst, and all hopes of relief were lost, Šāleḥ Beg was obliged to surrender to 'Abdullāh Khān. The Khān putting a piece of cloth round the Beg's neck, dragged him to the presence of the Prince. When this thorn was put out of the way, the banners of victory were raised aloft towards Rājmahal. When this

Jarrett's Tr., *Āin*, Vol. II, p. 236), Quṭb Quṭb Shāh was the founder of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty in 1512, with Golkandah as his capital. It was conquered by Aurangzeb in 1688. (See p. 238 *do.*)

¹ This is obviously a Printer's mistake in the text for Pipili, south of Cuttack. Bihli (or Pipili) is mentioned in Sarkar Jalsar in the *Āin*. (See Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 142).

² The list of grandees in the *Padshāh-nāmah* describes Muḥamad Shāh (or Šāleḥ Beg) as a son of Mirza Shāhī, and nephew of Mirza Jafar Beg Asaf Khān III. (See Bloch's Tr., *Āin*, Vol. I, pp. 411-412). Asaf Khān Jafar Beg is described as a man of the greatest genius, an able financier, and a capital accountant. His intelligence was such that he could master the contents of a page by a glance; he was a great horticulturist, planting and lopping off branches with own hands in his gardens. He was also a great poet. He was Yakkul-Mulk and a Commander of Five Thousand, under Emperor Jahāngīr. His son Mirza Zawal-ahidin is mentioned in the *Āin* as a commander of 1,500 with 500 horses.

news reached Ibrāhīm Khān Fateh Jang,¹ who was Viceroy of the Sūbah of Bengal, he sank in the river of bewilderment. Although his auxiliary forces were scattered about in the tract² of Magha and in other places, mustering up courage, at Akbarnagar otherwise called Rajmahal, he set himself to strengthen the fortifications, to mobilize his troops, and to arrange his forces and armaments. At this time, the message of the Prince came to him, to the following effect: "Owing to the decree of fate, whatever was predestined has passed from potentiality into action; and the victorious army has come this side. Though before the outlook of my aspiration, the extent of this Province is not wider than the area covered by the movement of a glance, yet as this tract has fallen in my course, I cannot summarily leave it. If you intend to proceed to the Imperial presence, and to stay my hand from meddling with your life, property and family, I tell you to set out in full security for Delhi; or else if you consider it expedient to tarry in this Province, select any place in this Province that may suit you, and you will be let alone there at ease and comfort." Ibrāhīm Khān in reply wrote: "The Emperor has entrusted this country to this, their old servant. So long as my head survives, I will cling to this province; so long as my life lasts, I will hold out. The beauties of my past life are known to me; how little now remains of my future life in this world? Now I have no other aspiration than that, in the discharge of my obligations for past Royal favours and in the pursuit of loyalty, I may sacrifice my life, and obtain the felicity of martyrdom."³ In short, Ibrāhīm Khān at first intended to shelter himself in the fort of Akbarnagar, but as the fort was large, and as he had not at his command a sufficiently large force to properly defend it from all sides, he entrenched himself in his son's mausoleum, which had a small rampart. At this time, a body of Shāh Jahān's troops who were detailed to garrison the Fort besieged the rampart of the mausoleum, and from both inside and outside, the fire of arrows and muskets

¹ He appears to have gone at this time temporarily from Dacca (then the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal) to Rajmahal.

² That is, South-Western Behar. 'Tract of Magha' or South-Western Behar should not be confounded with the 'tract of Mags', or Arrakan.

³ I must remark Ibrāhīm Khān was uncommonly loyal for his times which were full of traitors, as the text shows.

blazed up. At the same time, Ahmad Beg Khān also arrived, and entered the rampart. By his arrival, the hearts of the besieged were somewhat encouraged. As the family and children of many of Ibrahim Khān's party were on the other side of the river, 'Abdullāh Khān and Darīā Khān Afghān planned to cross the river, and array their forces on the other side. Ibrahim Khān¹ on hearing of this, became anxious. Taking in his company Ahmad Khān, Ibrahim marched confounded to the other side, left other persons to protect the fortifications of the mausoleum, and sent in advance of himself war-vessels, so that these seizing the routes of march of the Prince's army, might prevent his crossing over.



END OF FASC. 2.

¹ Mirza Ghīās Beg's third son was Ibrahim Khān Fatah Jūng. He was a brother of the Empress Nūr Jahān, and through her influence, became Governor of Bengal and Behar, under Jahāngīr. He was killed near his son's tomb at Rajmahal, during Shāh Jahān's rebellion. His son had died young, and was buried near Rajmahal, on the banks of the Ganges (*Tuzuk*, p. 353). His nephew, Ahmad Beg Khān, on Ibrahim's death, retreated to Dacca, where he handed over to Shāh Jahān 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (*Tuzuk*, p. 384). See also *Padshahnamah* II, 727 and Bloch. Tr., *Āin*. Vol. I, p. 511. *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and *Mastir-ul-Umara*.

(FASC. III.)

But before the war-vessels arrived, Darā Khān had crossed the river. Ibrahim Khān on being apprised of this, directing Ahmad Beg to cross the river, sent him to oppose Darā Khān.¹ When the two armies encountered each other, a great battle ensued on the banks of the river, and a large number of Ahmad Beg's comrades were killed. Ahmad Beg, not finding himself strong enough to stand his ground, retired. Ibrahim Khān with a corps of well-mounted cavalry, joined him. Darā Khān, on hearing of this, retired a few *kroḥ*, and Abdōllāh Khān Bahadur Firuz Jang² also advancing a few *kroḥ*, under guidance of zamindars, crossed the river, and joined Darā Khān. By chance, on a site which is flanked on one side by the river and on the other by a dense jungle, they encamped, and arrayed their troops for battle. Ibrahim Khān, crossing the river Ganges, set to fight. He detached Syed Nūrullah,³ an officer, with eight hundred cavalry to form

¹ Darā Khān was a Bohilla general under Shāh Jahān. In the beginning, he was employed under Shāikh Farid, and under Sherifu-l-Mulk. disinclining himself in the battle of Dholpur. After the battle of Benares, he deserted Shāh Jahān. (See *Mausira-i-Umra*, p. 18, Vol. II).

² When Rājā Partab, Rājā of Bhojpur or Ujjain (west of Arrah) revolted against the Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 10th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, Abdōllāh Khān Firuz Jang besieged and captured Bhojpur (1046 A.H.) Partab surrendered, and was executed; his wife became a Maharanadān and was married to Abdōllāh's grandson. (See *Pudgāhānamah* I, b. pp. 271 to 274 and *Mausira-i-Umra*, p. 777, Vol. II). Abdōllāh Khān, though he was thoroughly loyal to Prince Shāh Jahān at the battle of Benares, subsequently sided with the Prince, and submitted to Jahangir through the intercession of Khān Jahan. (See p. 248, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangir*).

³ One Mir Nūrullah is mentioned in the Ain amongst the learned men of Akbar's time. It is evident the Nūrullah in the text was a Syed of Barha; for the Syeds of Barha from Akbar's time were enrolled in the Army, and claimed their place in battle in the van or *harad*. Many of these Barha Syeds for their military or political services to the State, were honoured by the Mughal Emperors with the honourable distinction of "*Khān*," which in course of time very often obliterated all traces of their being Syeds. For instance, Syed Ali Asghar, son of Syed Mahmūd of Barha, received the title of 'Sāif Khān' under Jahangir, his nephew Syed Jafar received the title of 'Shujail Khān', Syed Jafar's nephew, Syed Salāh, received the title of

the van, and set Ahmad Beg Khān with seven hundred cavalry to form the centre; whilst he himself with thousands of cavalry and infantry, held the line of reserve. A great battle ensued, when the two forces encountered each other. Nūrullah being unable to stand his ground, retreated, and the fighting extended to Ahmad Beg Khān. The latter gallantly continuing the fight, was seriously wounded. Ibrahim Khān being unable to be a passive spectator of the scene, advanced rapidly. By this forward movement, the array of his force was disturbed. Many of his followers stooped to the disgrace of flight, whilst Ibrahim Khān with a few troops only advanced to the battle-field. Although the officers of his staff seizing him, wanted to drag him out from that labyrinth of destruction, he did not assent to retreat, and said: "At my time of life, this cannot be. What can be better than that, sacrificing my life, I should be reckoned amongst the loyal servants of the Emperor"? At this juncture, the enemy from all sides rushing up, inflicted on him mortal wounds, finished his work, and victory declared itself for the adherents of the fortunate Prince. And a body of men who were entrenched inside the rampart of the mausoleum, on being apprised of this, were depressed. At this time, the Prince's army set fire to a mine which they had laid under the rampart, whilst gallant and intrepid soldiers rushing up from all sides stormed the fortifications. In this assault, 'Abid Khān Diwan and Mir Taqī Bakshī and some others were killed by arrows and muskets, and the fort was stormed. Many of the garrison of the fort fled bare-headed and bare-footed, whilst a number of people with whom the charge of their family and children was the halter of their

'Satalat Khān alias Ikhtisār Khān,' the latter's cousin, Syed Musaffar, received the title of 'Hummat Khān.' Again Syed Abdāl Wahhāb received the title of 'Dīlār Khān,' whilst Syed Khān Jahānī-Shāh Jahānī's son, Syed Sher Zādā, received the title of 'Musaffar Khān,' another son, Syed Manawar, received the title of 'Lashkar Khān,' whilst his grandson, Syed Firuz, received the title of 'Ikhtisār Khān.' Again, Syed Qasim flourished under the title of 'Shāhmat Khān' in Aurangzeb's reign; whilst his nephew, Syed Nasrat, held the title of 'Yār Khān' under Muhammad Shāh. (See the *Tarikh-i-Padshah-namah*, *Masir-i-Umra*, *Alamgir-namah*, *Masir-i-Alamgir*, and also Professor Blochmann's interesting note on Rāha Syeds on his Tr., of *Āla Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 300-302). The *Masir-i-Umra* mentions also one Mir Nūrullah, as a son of Mir Khān-i-Mullah (p. 337, Vol. III, *Masir*).

neck, came and submitted to the Prince.¹ As Ibrahim Khān's family and children, effects and treasures were at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), Shāh Jahān's army proceeded there by river.² Ahmad Beg

¹ For a graphic contemporary account of this warfare, see *Iqbalnamah-i Jahangiri* (Pers. text, Fasc. 3, pp. 218-221), and the *Tuzk* (p. 383). Ibrahim Khān was killed near the tomb of his son at Rajmahal, on the banks of the Ganges. Our author appears to have borrowed his account (in an abridged form) from the *Iqbalnamah*, though there are slight variations. In the text we are told that Ibrahim Khān at the battle had with him "thousands of cavalry and infantry," while in the "*Iqbalnamah*," it is mentioned that Ibrahim Khān had with him only "one thousand cavalry."

² Ibrahim Khān Faiz Jang was a son of 'Itimād-ud-daulah Mirza Ghisā. His real name was Mirza Ibrahim.

In the commencement of his career, he held the office of *Rahīshī* and *Wazir-nawīs* at Ahmadabad in Gujarat. In the 9th year of Jahangir's reign, he received the title of "*Khān*" and the nishān of *kotār* and *perangī*, and was promoted to the office of Imperial *Rahīshī*, and was gradually further advanced to the rank of *Panahgarī* and to the office of *Subadar* (or Viceroy) of Bengal and Orissa, receiving at the same time the titles of "Ibrahim Khān Faiz Jang." In the 19th year of Jahangir's reign, Prince Shāh Jahān invaded Orissa and Bengal and Telingana. On hearing of this news, Ibrahim Khān moved from Dacca (which was then the Viceregal Capital, and where his family and treasures were) to Akharnagar or Rajmahal. Prince Shāh Jahān sent messengers to him, to win him over to his side, but he proved unflinching in his loyalty to the Emperor, and fell fighting heroically in the battle of Rajmahal, near the mausoleum of his son. Ibrahim Khān's reply to Prince Shāh Jahān, in a model of dignified and firm protest couched in the best diplomatic form of the Persian language, and is worth quoting:—

فرمود حضرت ترجمان احکام الهی است - وجان و مال بندما بحضرت
تعلق دارد - اما کاین ملک شناسی و حقیق تربیت پادشاهی سد راه من شدو -
نه بمالومت میتوانم رسید - و نه قوار قرار بخود داده روی خجالت بامنا و اقربان
توانم نمود - و چون پادشاه این دیار به پیر غلام سپرده اند برای زندگی
مستعار مجهول الکفایت که معلوم است چه مانند - نمی توان درکار ولی نعمت
تبار و عزیز - ناچار سر خود را یا انداز سم ستورین موکب اقبال ساخته میخواستیم
بعد از قتل من این ملک به بندمای درگاه ارزانی باد -

(See *Manuscript-Dacca*, Vol. I, p. 135).

¹ At this time, the Musalman Viceregal Capital of Bengal continued to be at Dacca or Jahangirnagar, which appears to have been so named during the Vicereignty of Jāhm Khān I, owing to the decisive battle which was fought under its walls on 9th Muharram 1021 A.H., or 2nd March, 1612 A.C., in the seventh year of Emperor

Khān¹, nephew of Ibrahim Khān, who had gone ahead to that city, saw no resource except in surrender, and through the

Jahangir's accession, between the Afghans under Khwajah Osman Lohani, and the Mughal Imperialists under Shujāt Khān Rustam-i-Zamān (Shāikh Kabir-i-Chishtī),—a battle which finally crushed Afghan resistance in Bengal and Orissa, and firmly consolidated Mughal supremacy throughout those Provinces. (See pp. 60-64, Fasc. I, Pers. printed text of *Ighatnamah-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, and also *Tauk* for fascinating descriptions of this sanguinary and decisive battle near Dacca). Stewart wrongly places the battle "on the banks of the Beharnarika in Orissa." Osman being absent, rode at the battle on a rogue elephant called *Bāghu*. Many Imperialist leaders, such as Syed Aden Barha, Shāikh Agha, Mūshār Khān, Kishwar Khān fell at the battle, which was half-decided in favour of Osman, when a chance arrow-shot wounded Osman on the forehead, and, coupled with the arrival of Mughal reinforcement under Ma'taquid Khān and Abdās Salām Khān, saved the Mughal disaster, and turned it into a victory.

It would appear that within the 19th year of Jahangir's reign corresponding to 1033 A.H. Prince Shāh Jahān rebelling against his father, invaded Bengal, the Mughal Bengal Viceroy, Ibrahim Khān Fatah Jang (a relation of Empress Nur Jahan) had moved from his capital at Dacca or Jahangirnagar to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar. The *Ighatnamah-i-Jahangiri* (p. 218, Fasc. 3, printed text), a contemporary record, states that Ibrahim's troops were stationed at the time on the borders of Magha, which signifies South Western Bihar. Owing to paucity of troops (the Maasir explains otherwise), Ibrahim did not think of fortifying the fort of Rajmahal which was large, but entrenched himself in the mausoleum of his son, situated within the Fort and close to the river Ganges. Shāh Jahān moved from Burhanpur in the Dakhin across Talugana into Orissa, overran it across Pipil and Katak, and moved to Burdwan across Sarkar Madaran, and after capturing Burdwan (where Shāh was commandant) marched up to Rajmahal, where the great battle was fought, and after defeating Ibrahim Khān, proceeded to Dacca, whither Ahmad Beg Khān (nephew of Ibrahim and of Empress Nur Jahan) had previously retreated after Ibrahim's death. Ahmad Beg surrendered to Shāh Jahān at Dacca (according to the *Tauk* and *Maasir*) with forty-five lacs of treasure and 500 elephants. Shāh Jahān leaving Durrāb Khān (a son of Mirza Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khanān) as Governor of Bengal, marched back westward across Bengal, Behar and Jaunpur to Benares, where he was opposed and checked by Mahabeb Khān. (See *Ighatnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, pp. 215, 216, 217, 222, 223, 228, 238, 239). Shāh Namas Khān was the eldest son of Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khanān; his life also is given in the *Maasir-i-Imari*.

¹ Ahmad Beg Khān was a son of Muhammad Shahī, and a nephew of Ibrahim Khān Fatah Jang, the Bengal Viceroy, and of Empress Nur Jahan. At the time of Prince Shāh Jahān's incursion into Orissa and Bengal, he was Deputy Governor of Orissa. He was at the time engaged in an expedition against Khurda. On hearing of Shāh Jahān's invasion, he withdrew to Pipil

intercession of *Shāh Jahān's* confidants, was granted an audience with the Prince. The Prince's officers were ordered to confiscate Ibrahim Khān's treasures. Besides goods and silk-stuffs, elephants and aloes wood, ambergris and other rarities, forty lacs of rupees were confiscated. The Prince released from confinement Darab Khān, son of the Khān-i-Khanān, who had hitherto been in prison, and exacting from him an oath, entrusted to him the Government of Bengal, and took along with him as hostages the latter's wife and a son, *Shāh Nawās Khān*.¹ The Prince sent Rajah Bhīm,² son of Rajah Karan, with a large force, as his Deputy to Patna, and he followed himself with 'Abdullah

(his head-quarters), thence to Katak, and not feeling himself secure even there, marched first to Bardwan, whence he went to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar, and joined his uncle Ibrahim Khān. Being defeated in the battle there, Ahmad Beg moved to Dacca (which was then the Viceroyal capital of Bengal, and where the family and treasures of Ibrahim Khān were), but was soon overtaken there by Prince *Shāh Jahān*, to whom he surrendered. On *Shāh Jahān's* accession, he was appointed Faujdar of Siwastan. (See *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 194, Vol. I).

¹ In the text there is some mistake. When Darab Khān (second son of Mirza Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khanān) was made Governor of Bengal, *Shāh Jahān* took his wife, a son and a daughter, and also a son of *Shāh Nawās Khān* (eldest son of the Khān-i-Khanān) as hostages (see *Masir-ul-Umara*). *Shāh Nawās* was not taken as a hostage, as the text would imply. Darab was subsequently killed by Mahabat Khān, at the instance of Jahangir. The following chronogram is given in the *Masir-ul-Umara* (p. 17, Vol. II), as yielding the date of Darab's death (1034 A.H.):—

شہید پاک شد دلاویز مسکین

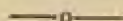
² Rām Das, the Kachwah Rajput, was at first attached as naib in the Financial Department under Todar Mal, and soon gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and industry. Emperor Jahangir conferred on him the title of 'Rajah Karan,' but owing to his disgraceful flight during the wars in the Dakkhin, he lost Jahangir's favour. Jahangir is stated to have cursed him thus:—"When thou wert in Rai Sal's service, thou hadst a tankah per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Rajputs think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas, thy title, Rajah Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith." His sons were Naman Das and Dalap Das—Bhīm Das is not mentioned amongst his sons (see Bloch. Tr., Am., Vol. I, p. 483). But one Bhīm Singh is mentioned (see Bloch. Tr., Am., Vol. I, p. 418), amongst the grandsons of Maitha Singh, son of Rajah Bhagwan Das. This Bhīm Singh was killed in the Dakkhin, in the 3rd year of *Shāh Jahān's* reign. Another Rana Karan is mentioned in the *Masir-ul-Umara* (p. 201, Vol. II).

Khān and other officers. As the **Sūbāh** of Patna was assigned as a *jayir* to Prince Parviz, the latter had appointed his **Diwān**, **Mukhalis Khān**¹, as its Governor, and **Alāh Yār Khān**, son of **Iftikhar Khān**, and **Sher Khān Afghān**, as its **Faujdar**s. On the arrival of **Rajah Bhīm**, they lost courage, and had not even the boldness to shelter themselves in the fort of Patna, till the arrival of auxiliaries. They fled from Patna to Allahabad. **Rajah Bhīm** without movement of the sword or the spear, entered the city, and subdued the **Sūbāh** of Behar. **Shāh Jāhān** followed, and the **Jāgirdars** of that tract went to meet him. **Syed Mubarik**, who was Commandant of the fort of **Rohtās**, leaving the fort in charge of a zamindar, hastened to pay his respects to the prince. The Prince sent **Abdullāh Khān** with a body of troops towards the **Sūbāh** of Allahabad, and sent **Daria Khān** with another body of troops towards the **Sūbāh** of Oudh, whilst after a while, leaving **Bairām Beg** to rule over the **Sūbāh** of Behar, the Prince himself advanced towards those parts. Before **Abdullāh Khān** crossed the river at Chausa, **Jāhāngir Quli Khān**,² son of **Khān 'Azim Kokāh**, who was Governor of Jaunpūr, being

¹ **Mukhalis Khān** was in the beginning in the service of Prince Parviz and gradually by his merit and ability advanced himself to the office of **Diwān** under the Prince. He was subsequently promoted to the office of **Sibadar** of Patna (which was then in the *hijra* or *jayir* of Prince Parviz). In the 19th year of **Jahangir's** reign, when Prince **Shāh Jāhān** invaded Bengal and Behar via Telingana and Orissa, and advanced towards Patna, after the fall of **Ibrahim Khān Fātib Jang** (the Bengal Viceroy), accompanied by **Rajah Bhīm**, son of **Rana Amar Singh** (in the text **Rana Karam**), **Mukhalis Khān** (though he had with him **Allakhyār Khān**, son of **Iftikhar Khān**, and **Sher Khān Afghān**), instead of holding out in the fort of Patna, fled to Allahabad. After **Shāh Jāhān's** accession, **Mukhalis Khān** was appointed **Faujdar** of **Gorakhpur**, and in the seventh year of **Shāh Jāhān's** reign, was appointed a commander of Three Thousand and also **Sibadar** of Telingana. He died in the 10th year of **Shāh Jāhān's** reign. (See p. 428, Vol. III, *Muntir-ul-Uroon*).

² His real name was **Mirza Shamsi**, and he was the eldest son of **Khān 'Azim Mirza 'Azim Kokāh**. At the end of **Akbar's** reign, **Shamsi** was a Commander of Two Thousand, and in the third year of **Jahangir's** reign, he received the title of "**Jāhāngir Quli Khān**," vacant by the death of **Jāhāngir Quli Khān Lālah Beg**, Governor of Behar, and was sent to Gujarat as deputy of his father, who was Governor of Gujarat. Subsequently, **Shamsi** was made Governor of Jaunpūr. When Prince **Shāh Jāhān** invaded Behar from Bengal, and the Prince's vanguard under **Abdullāh Khān Firuz Jang** and **Rajah Bhīm** crossed

panic-stricken, had left his post, and had fled to Mirzā Rustām¹ to Allahabad. Abdullāh quickly advanced to the town of Jhosi, which is on the other side of the Ganges facing Allahabad, and encamped there. As he had taken a flotilla of large vessels with him from Bengal, with the help of cannonade crossing the river, he encamped at the pleasantly-situate city of Allahabad, whilst the main body of Shāh Jahān's army pushed up to Jaunpur.



PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN'S FIGHTINGS WITH THE IMPERIAL ARMY, AND HIS WITHDRAWAL TO THE DAKHIN.

When news of Shāh Jahān's advance towards Bengal and Orissa reached the Emperor, he sent orders to Prince Parviz and Mahabot Khān, who were in the Dakhin, to march quickly towards the Subahs of Allahabad and Behār, so that in case the Nāzim of Bengal was unable to oppose successfully the advance of Shāh Jahān's army, they were to engage Shāh Jahān. In the meantime, news of the fall of Nawab Ibrahim Khān Fatch Jang,

at Chausa to proceed to Allahabad, Jahangir Quli Khān fled from Jaunpur to Allahabad and joined Mirzā Rustām Safavi there. He subsequently became Governor of Allahabad, and on Shāh Jahān's accession, was appointed Governor of Sūrāt and Janagadh. He died in 1041 A.D. at Sūrāt. (See *Musir-ul-Umara*, p. 524, Vol. I, Pers. text).

¹ Mirzā Rustām Safavi was a son of Sulḥār Husain Mirza, grandson of Shāh Ismāʿil, king of Persia. Mirzā Rustām was appointed by Akbar, Governor of Multan; Akbar also made him a Panjshāzi, and gave him Multan as *Jagir*. One of his daughters was married to Prince Parviz, and another to Shāh Shujāʾ. He enjoyed great influence with Jahangir who made him a Shahshāzari, and also Governor of Allahabad, which he successfully held against Shāh Jahān's General, Abdillāh Khān, forcing the latter to retire to Jhosi. He was subsequently Governor of Behar, Shāh Jahān persuaded him off, and he died at Agra in 1051. It is worthy of interest to note that his grandson, Mirzā Safahkhan (son of Mirzā Hasan Safavi) was Faujdar of Jessore in Bengal, where he died in 1073 (see Bloch, Tr., *Ain*, p. 314, Vol. I). After him, I guess Mirrangar (a son of old Jessore Muslimau Faujdars) is named. The family still survives there, though impoverished. Safahkhan's son, Mirzā Saifu-d-din, Safavi, accepted the title of "Khān" under Emperor Aurangzeb. (See *Musir-ul-Umara*, Pers. text, p. 478, Vol. III). The *Musir* (printed text) states that on the death of his father, Mirzā Hasan Safavi, Mirzā Safahkhan was appointed Faujdar of 'Haar' in Bengal. 'Haar' is evidently a misprint or a misreading for 'Jessore' (Jessor).

Nāzīm of Bengal, reached the Emperor, who thereon repeated his previous orders to Prince Parviz¹ and Mahabet Khān. Prince Parviz with Mahabet Khān and other officers marched towards Bengal and Behar. As the Commander of Shāh Jahān's army, drawing the boats towards his side, had fortified the ferries of the river Ganges, some delay was caused in the arrival of the Imperialists. The Imperialists, with considerable difficulty, collected thirty flotillas of boats from the zamindars, and under the latter's guidance selecting one ford, succeeded in crossing over. For some days, both the armies arrayed themselves in front of each other. As the Imperialists numbered 40,000, whilst Shāh Jahān's army did not number more than 10,000, the advisers of Shāh Jahān dissuaded the Prince from offering battle. But Rajah Bhim, son of Rana Karan, unlike other advisers, displayed rashness, and with the rashness common to Rajputs insisted that he would part company, unless they agreed to fight. Prince Shāh Jahān, of necessity, considered it expedient to humour Bhim's wishes, despite paucity of troops, and passed orders for fighting. Both sides rallying into ranks, commenced to fight.²

On both sides, the troops rallied into ranks,
Holding in hand daggers, arrows and spears.

¹ Prince Parviz was the second son of Emperor Jahangir, and a great favourite with the latter. He imitated his father in everything, "in dress, in quaffing wine, in eating, and in night-keeping" (*Iqbalnāmā-i-Jahangiri*, Part 3, p. 279), and "never disobeyed his Imperial father's wishes." He died at the age of 38 years in the Dakhn, where he was employed in subjugating the country and in quelling the Insurrection of Malik Ambar, in 1035 A.H., that is, in the twenty-first year of Emperor Jahangir's accession to the throne. He rendered also important services to his father, in opposing Shāh Jahān's invasion of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and with the help of his generalissimo, Mahabet Khān, defeated Shāh Jahān at Benares, and obliged the latter to abandon Behar, Bengal and Orissa, and to beat a hasty retreat to the Dakhn. (See pp. 233, 232, 240, 273, 270, *Iqbalnāmā-i-Jahangiri*, Part 3, Pers. text, which is a contemporary record).

² See description of this battle at Benares between the Imperialists under Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khān, and Shāh Jahān's troops, in the *Iqbalnāmā-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, p. 233, Pers. text. Shāh Jahān was totally defeated, owing to the rashness of his favourite officer, Rajah Bhim, who himself fell fighting, being cut to pieces by the Imperialists. The *Munsir-ul-Umra* states that the battle took place on the side of نهر قوس (Nahr-i-Tunsa) in the suburbs of Benares.

They tramped up to the field for fighting;
 Yea the fire of war blazed up.
 First from both sides, the artillery of the gunners,
 Commenced scattering fire on the hosts.
 From the smoke of the gun-waggons of the two forces,
 You might say a pitchy cloud had formed.
 The cannon-balls showered like hail,
 Yea a storm of destruction blew:
 Yea the heads and hands, the breasts and feet of the Cam-
 Blew like wind on all sides. [murders,
 From blood, yea on every side a stream flowed,
 Yea like fish, the bodies of the heroes throbbed.
 On every side showered stone-riding arrows;
 They passed right through every body that they lodged in.
 From swords and spears, breasts were torn to shreds;
 The corpses of heroes fell on the ground.
 But the Imperialists, like stars,
 Hemmed in on the army of the Prince.
 They surrounded the latter in that battle,
 Yea as the ring encircles the finger.
 From Shāh Jāhān's army, Rajah Bhīm the valorous,
 Was not cowed down by this slaughter.
 Some of his race who were his comrades,
 Hurled themselves on the enemy's force.
 They spurred their horses, yea like lions in fight,
 They drew swords, yea like water-dragons.
 By one gallant charge, they broke the enemy's ranks,
 And swiftly attacked the enemy's centre.
 Whoever stood in the way of that force,
 They hurled down his head on the dust.
 But the veteran Imperialists,
 When they saw that suddenly a calamity had come,
 Spurred on their chargers from every side,
 And attacked that elephant-like hero, Bhīm.
 They cut up his body with the sword,
 And hurled him down from his steed on the dust.
 Other commanders and officers (of Shāh Jahān).
 Could not advance to his (Bhīm's) rescue.

The gunners, on seeing this crisis, leaving the artillery,

fled, and the arsenal was captured by the Imperialists. Daria Khān and other Afghāns and Generals ceasing to fight, decamped. The Imperialists, collecting from all sides like a circle formed by a pair of compasses, surrounded the Prince, who remained at the centre. Save and except the elephants carrying flags and standards, and select targeteers who were behind the Prince, and 'Abdullāh Khān who stood to his right-hand side at a short distance, not a single soul remained. At this moment, an arrow hit the horse of the Prince. When 'Abdullāh Khān saw that the Prince would not retire from the field, he moved up, and by use of great entreaties and exhortations, succeeded in bringing out the Prince from the field, and placing before him his own horse, induced the Prince to mount it. In short, from the battle-field up to Rohitas, the contest did not cease. As at this time, Prince Murad Baksh¹ was born, and long marches could not be made, leaving him to the protection of God and appointing Kheduit Parast Khān and some other trusty servants to take care of him, Shāh Jahān with other Princes and adherents slowly marched towards Patna and Bahar. At the same time, letters were received from people in the Dakhīn, especially from Malik 'Ambar² the Abyssinian

¹ He was the fourth and youngest son of Shāh Jahān, whose other sons were (1) Dara Shikoh, (2) Shāh Shuja (3) Aurangzeb.—See p. 200, *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc. 3, Pers. text.

² He gave no end of trouble to Jahangir. His insurrection is fully described in the *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, Fasc. 3, pp. 234 to 258. The author of the *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri* pays a high tribute to his military genius and generalship, to his administrative capacity and vigorous rule in the Dakhīn. (See p. 271, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*, Pers. text). He died at the ripe old age of eighty, holding his own against the Imperialists to the last. After Malik Ambar the Abyssinian's death, his generalissimo, Yaqut Khān the Abyssinian, together with Malik Ambar's son, Faiz Khān, and other officers of Nizam-ul-Mulk, submitted to Khān Jahān, Jahangir's Viceroy or Subadar in the Dakhīn, in the twenty-first year of Jahangir's accession. (See p. 280, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*).

The *Mansir-ul-Umara* (Vol. III, p. 7), gives some additional facts about him. It states that Malik Ambar was an Abyssinian slave of the Bijapur king, Nizam Shāh. When in 1000 A.H., Queen Chand Sulṭān or Chand Bibi was killed, and the fort of Ahmadnagar fell into the hands of Akbar's officers, and Bahadur Nizam Shāh was taken prisoner, and kept in the smaller fort, Malik Ambar and Raja Mian proclaimed their independence. Malik Ambar brought to his control the territory extending from the limits of Telingana to a point, four kroḥ from Ahmadnagar and eight kroḥ from Daulatabad. In

requesting the Prince's return towards the Dakkhin. Shāh Jahān,¹ after retreat, summoned Dārāb Khān who, after taking oaths, had been left as Governor of Bengal, in order to join the Prince in his march. Dārāb Khān, owing to his disloyalty and knavery putting a wrong interpretation on his call, replied that the zamindars, surrounding him on all sides, had cut off ways of his march, and that, therefore, his egress being difficult, he begged to be excused. Shāh Jahān losing all hopes of Dārāb's arrival, and having no body of troops capable of action, was obliged with a sorrowful heart, and in an anxious mood, after leaving Dārāb Khān's son in charge of Abdallāh Khān, to march towards Akbar-nagar (Rajmahal). From thence carrying all household paraphernalia, which had been left there, Shāh Jahān marched back towards

1010 A.H., close to Nandirah, a battle was fought between Malik Amber and Mirza Iraj, son of Abdār Naḥīm Khān-i-Khansān. Malik Amber was wounded, but the Khān-i-Khansān, knowing the adversary's capacity, was glad to arrange terms of peace. When Akbar died, and dissensions broke out between Emperor Jahangir and his son, Prince Shāh Jahān, Malik Amber mobilising a large force encroached on Imperial territories. In consequence, during Emperor Jahangir's reign, the Imperialists were constantly engaged in warfare against Malik Amber, who held out to the last, and died a natural death in 1036 A.H. He lies buried in a mausoleum at Daulatabād, between the Shrines of Shāh Muntajāb-ud-dīn Zarbaksh and Shāh Rajarī Qatīl. The author of the *Musṭafī-ud-Dumrah* pays a high tribute to Malik Amber, as a general and as a soldier, and also as a leader of men and as an administrator. He ruled his dominions vigorously, stamping out all turbulence, weeding out all bad characters, maintaining perfect peace in his domains, and always strove for the well-being and happiness of the subjects he ruled. In the village of Kharkī (which was subsequently named Aurangabad), he dugged tanks, laid out public gardens, and built lofty palaces. He was liberal in charities, and very just, and very pious. A poet has written about him.

در خدمت رسول خدا یک بال بود

بعد از مزار سال ملک عمر آمد

¹ From the battle-field of Benares, after defeat, Shāh Jahān retreated to Rahtas (up to which desultory fighting was kept up between the Imperialists and Shāh Jahān's troops), thence marched to Patna and Bahar town, and thence to Garhi or Telingarhi fort. Whilst at Garhi, Shāh Jahān summoned his Governor of Bengal, Dārāb Khān, to join him, but the latter made excuses, whereon Shāh Jahān becoming dispirited, went to Rajmahal, and retreated thence to the Dakkhin (being hotly pursued by Prince Parvī and Mahshet Khān) across Sackar Madaru, Midnapur, Orissa and Telingana. (See *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*, Part, 3, pp. 239-240).

the Dakkhin by the same route that he had come. Abdullāh Khān, on knowing the disloyalty and villainy of Dārāb Khān, slew the latter's grown-up son, and satisfied his grudge. Although Shāh Jahān sent orders to prevent the son being killed, these had no effect. When the news of Shāh Jahān's retreat from Bengal to the Dakkhin reached the Emperor, the latter ordered that Mukhlās Khān should quickly go to Prince Parviz, who had gone to Bengal in pursuit of Shāh Jahān, and taking up the office of *Sarawal* (Superintendent of Revenue), should send the Prince with other leading noblemen to the Dakkhin. Consequently, Prince Parviz left for the Dakkhin, entrusting the *Sūbah* of Bengal to the *Jagir* of Mahābet Khān and his son Khānāhrād Khān.

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(THE ASSIGNMENT OF BENGAL IN *JAGIR* TO
MAHĀBET KHĀN AND HIS SON.)

(When the *Sūbah* of Bengal was assigned, in the shape of *Jagir*, to Nawab Mahābet Khān and his son Khānāhrād Khān,

(Mahābet Khān) distinguished himself under Emperor Jahangir in the long war carried on in the Dakkhin. He was early attached by the Emperor to Prince Parviz, as attaly and generalissimo, when the Prince was sent to the Dakkhin to quell the insurrection there. Where Prince Shāh Jahān subsequently rebelled against his father (Emperor Jahangir), and marching out from the Dakkhin across Taliigana invaded Orissa and over-ran Bengal and Behar, the Emperor ordered Mahābet Khān along with Prince Parviz to oppose Shāh Jahān's progress. In this, Mahābet Khān (along with Prince Parviz) completely succeeded, inflicted a crushing defeat on Shāh Jahān on the battlefield of Benares, and compelled the latter to beat a hasty retreat across Behar, Bengal and Orissa into the Dakkhin. {For this signal military service, Mahābet Khān received from Prince Parviz (no doubt, with the previous sanction of the Emperor) Bengal in *jagir*. His head was soon turned, and he failed to send to the Emperor the war-elephants taken by him in Bengal, and also failed to remit the Imperial revenue from Bengal.} For this, the Emperor summoned him to his presence for chastisement, when Mahābet Khān adopted the extraordinary and impudent step of getting at the person of the Emperor, and placing the latter for some time under surveillance—from which at length the Emperor was rescued by the bold stratagems of his Queen, Nur Jahan-Begam. Mahābet was then sent away in disgrace to Thatta, whence he went to Gujrat, and joined the rebel Prince, Shāh Jahān. (See pp. 228, 233, 235, 238, 239, 244, 245, 248, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 264, 265, 268, 270, 277, *Fatah-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, and also *Munir-ul-Umra*, p. 385, Vol. III.)

they, parting company with Prince Parviz, marched to Bengal. And orders were given to the zamindars of that country to cease impeding Dārāb Khān, and to allow him to come. Dārāb Khān, without any impediment, came to Māhabet Khān. But when the news of Dārāb's coming to Māhabet Khān reached the Emperor, the latter sent an order to Māhabet Khān to the following effect: "What expediency dost thou see in sparing that villain? It behoves you, instantly on reading this, to send the head of that mischievous rebel to the Imperial presence." Māhabet Khān, carrying out the Emperor's order, beheaded Dārāb Khān, and sent the latter's head to the Emperor. (And as Māhabet Khān had not sent to the Emperor the elephants that he had captured in Bengal, and had defaulted in payment of a large amount of the Imperial Revenue, the Emperor passed orders to the effect that 'Arab Dast Ghāib' should go to Māhabet Khān, confiscate the elephants and send them to the Emperor, and tell Māhabet Khān, that if he got proper accounts, he should submit them personally to the Emperor, and pay up all Revenue arrears to the Imperial exchequer.) Māhabet Khān first sent the elephants to the Emperor, and subsequently after appointing his son Khānahzād Khān to be Subadar of Bengal, set out to meet the Emperor with four or five thousand

From the *Mauzū'at-Us-salāt* (p. 285, Vol. III), the following additional facts about Mahabet Khān are gleaned. His real name was Zamanah Beg, his father's name being Ghīwar Beg Kabuli. He was a Rasevi Sayyid. Ghīwar Beg came from Shiraz to Kabul, and thence to India, and entered Akbar's service, and distinguished himself in the battle of Uthor. Zamanah Beg, in youth, entered Prince Salim's service as an *ashraf*, and soon was advanced to the office of Bahadur under the Prince. In the beginning of Jahangir's reign, Zamanah Beg was appointed to be commander of three thousand, and received the title of Mahabet Khān. He was deputed to meet with Prince Shāh Jahān in the Dakkhin, and in the 12th year of Jahangir's reign, was appointed Subadar of Kabul. In the 17th year, discussions broke out between Emperor Jahangir and Prince Shāh Jahān, and Mahabet Khān was recalled from Kabul. When Shāh Jahān succeeded the throne, he advanced Mahabet Khān to the rank of *Hafiz-i-humay*, and conferred on him the title of "Khān-i-Khānān Sipās-kār," and appointed him Subadar of Ajmir, and next, Subadar of the Dakkhin. He died in 1044 A.H.

1 He appears to have been employed by Emperor Jahangir on similar missions with reference to other refractory princes and officers, such as Hoshang, son of Prince Danyal, and Abulrahim Khān-i-Khānān and Mahabet Khān. (See p. 244, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* Pers. text, Fasc. 3, and also *Mauzū'at-Us-salāt*, p. 322, Vol. 3).

blood-thirsty Rajput cavalry, and resolved inwardly that in case any harm or injury were attempted against his honour, property or life, he with his family and children would be prepared to face martyrdom. When news of his arrival reached the Emperor, order was passed that he would not be granted an audience, so long as he did not pay up the Revenue arrears to the Imperial Exchequer, and so long as he did not redress by exercise of justice the public grievances against him. Afterwards summoning to his presence Bakhshidar, son of Khawājā Nakshbandī, to whom Māhabet Khān, without the Emperor's approval, had betrothed his daughter, the Emperor had him disgracefully whipped and thrown into prison, with his neck bound and head bare. In the morning, Māhabet Khān rode out with his cavalry, and without making obeisance to the Emperor, in an insolent and daring manner broke open the door of the Emperor's Private Chamber,¹ entered it with four hundred or five hundred Rajputs, saluted the Emperor in hunting and travelling suit, and marched back towards his own residence.²

¹ In p. 253, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, "Khawājā 'Umar Nakshbandī."

² In the printed text, the words occur "بحکم شامشاهی" which is obviously a mistake. The words should be "به حکم شامشاهی." (See p. 253, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*).

³ In the printed Persian text, there is a mistake: the word "غلامخانه" (see p. 256, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah*) is misprinted in the *Riyaz* as "گللابازی." The Ghulshākhāna or 'Bathing Room' was a luxury in Mughal days: it was fitted up elegantly with cooling apparatus and on sultry days, the Mughal Emperors and the Mughal Emara passed much time in it, transacting business. Thus, 'Ghulshākhāna' gradually came to signify a 'Private Chamber, or a 'Khushkhāna.'

⁴ The author of the *Riyaz* has borrowed the account from the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* (see pp. 256-257, Fasc. 3), but in his attempt to condense it, he has rendered his account slipshod and confused. The author of the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, named Mu'ammad Khān, was Jahangir's Bakhshī at the time, and was an eye-witness of what occurred. From the account that he gives, it appears that the Emperor was returning at the time to Hindustan from Kabul, that he had his camp pitched on the banks of the river Bihat (or Jhelam), that he was alone there with some courtiers, such as 'Arab Dast Ghulab, Mir Mansūr Badakhshī, Jawahar Khān the Eunuch, Firuz Khān, Khudmat Khān the Eunuch, Balad Khān, Khudmat Parat Khān, Faah Khān, and three or four others, that all the rest of the Imperial officers and attendants including Asif Khān the Prime Minister, had left and crossed over to the eastern banks of the river. Seizing, therefore, this opportunity, Māhabet

In short as the Imperial army had gone towards Thatah, Māhabet Khān was ordered to join it there. In the meantime, Prince Parvis died. As Sharif Khān¹ had entrenched himself in the fort of Thabih, Shāh Jāhān's army marched back to the Dakhīn. Māhabet Khān after reaching Thatah sent letters to Shāh Jāhān, avowing his loyalty, and Shāh Jāhān being conciliated, Māhabet Khān entered the former's service. In consequence, the Subah of Bengal was transferred from Khānahzād Khān, son of Māhabet Khān, to Mukkaram Khān,² son of Musazzam Khān, and the Province of

Khān, leaving some Rajput troops to guard the bridge, marched up to the Imperial tent with a large number of Rajput cavalry. At the time, the Emperor was reposing in the Khaskhānā. Māhabet Khān fearlessly broke open the door, and entered it with about 500 Rajput cavalry, and paid obeisance to the Emperor. The Emperor coming out of the tent, seated himself on the Imperial Palanquin, which had been in front of the tent. Māhabet Khān came quite close to the palanquin, and addressed the Emperor as follows: "Fearing that through the vindictiveness and malice of Asif Khān, I should be disgraced, tortured and killed, I have dared to take this daring step of personally throwing myself on the Imperial protection. Since if I deserve to be killed and punished, kill and punish me in your Imperial presence" (p. 236, Fasc 3, *Iqbalnāmā*). In the meantime, Māhabet Khān's Rajput cavalry surrounded the Imperial tent from all sides. Then Māhabet Khān told the Emperor that that was the usual time for the Emperor to go out hunting, and asked the Emperor to mount a horse. The Emperor mounted a horse, and went out some distance and then leaving the horse mounted an elephant. Māhabet Khān in hunting dress accompanied the Emperor and led the latter to his own camp. Finding that Nur Jahan Begum had been left behind, he led back the Emperor to the Imperial tent, but in the meantime Nur Jahan had gone across the river and had joined her brother, Asif Khān and was busy concerting measures to rescue the Emperor. After some days, by adoption of an ingenious and a bold stratagem—when the efforts of all the Imperial officers had failed—Nur Jahan succeeded in rescuing her Royal Consort, and in banishing Māhabet Khān, who was sent in disgrace to Thatah. (See p. 270, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnāmā*—*Jahangīr*). Māhabet Khān subsequently joined Shāh Jāhān in the Dakhīn.

1 In the *Iqbalnāmā*, "Sharif-i-Mulk" it appears that Prince Shāh Jāhān had gone from the Dakhīn to invade the province of Thatah. Then Sharif-i-Mulk, on behalf of Prince Shahryār, held the Fort of Thatah with 4,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. On hearing the news, the Emperor Jahangir sent an Imperial army to repel Shāh Jāhān's invasion, and Māhabet Khān was sent on the same errand. Shāh Jāhān was obliged to raise the siege, and to march back to the Dakhīn via Gujrat. (See *Iqbalnāmā* and also *Musir-ul-Umra*, Pers. text, Fasc. 3, pp. 281-282).

2 Mukkaram Khān was a son of Shākh Bayasid Musazzam Khān, grand-

Patna was entrusted to Mirza Rustam Safavi.¹ It is said that on the day the patent transferring the *Subahdari* of Bengal from Khānahzād Khān to Nawab Mukarram Khān was drawn up at ShāhJahānābād (Delhi), Shāh Neamatullah² Firuzpuri composing a Qasidah (an Ode) in praise of Khānahzād Khān, transmitted it to the latter, and in this Qasidah, there was one line which was indicative of Khānahzād's supercession, and that line was this:—

من دعوایت ای گل خندان چو عنایب
سرو تو نور بهار و تماشای دیگران

Translation:

I am in love with thee, O budding rose, like a nightingale,
Thy cypress, however, is a new spring and a sight to others.

When Khānahzād Khān perused the above lines, he anticipated his supercession, and made preparations to pack up. And after one month the Imperial order of recall was received by him.

son of Shaikh Salim Qashti of Fatihpur Sikri. Jahangir conferred on Shaikh Bayazid the title of Musam Khān and made him Subadar of Delhi. Musam Khān's son, Mukarram Khān, was a son-in-law of Isām Khān I, Jahangir's Viceroy in Bengal, and rendered important services under the latter. He conquered Kuch Bijo (a portion of Kuch Behar) and captured its zamindar or Rajah, Parichat (*Padghahnamah* II, 64), and for some time remained as Governor of Kuch Bijo. Later, he was appointed Governor of Orissa, and conquered Khariab (South Orissa) and annexed it to the Delhi Empire. In the sixteenth year, he came to court, and was made Subadar of Delhi. In the 21st year, he was sent to Bengal as Governor in the place of Khānahzād Khān, Mahabat Khān's son. (See pp. 286, 287, 291, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, and also *Muassir-ul-Umara*). A gale upset his boat, and he was drowned in the river with all his companions.

¹ See n. ante.

The author of the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* mentions that Mirza Rustam Safavi was appointed by Jahangir Subadar of Vilayet-i-Bihar and Patna, in the 21st year of the Emperor's reign. (See p. 280, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, and also *Muassir-ul-Umara*).

² Later on in the text, he is described as a Saint, in whom Prince Shāh Shujā had great faith.

NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB MUKKARAM KHĀN.

(In the 21st year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1030 A.H., Mukkaram Khān was appointed to the Nezāmat of the Shāh of Bengal.) Many months had not elapsed, when by chance, an Imperial *firman* came to his address. The Khān in order to receive it, advanced.¹ As the time for afternoon prayer had arrived, he ordered his servants to moor his boat towards the bank, so that he might turn to business, after finishing prayer. The boatmen attempted to take the barge towards the bank. At this time, a strong wind blew, and sent the boat adrift. A severe gale coupled with a storm-wave, caused the boat to sink. Mukkaram Khān with his companions and associates was drowned, and not a single man escaped.²

(NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB FIDĀI KHĀN.)

(When news of Mukkaram Khān being drowned reached the Emperor in the 22nd year of the Emperor's accession

¹ This incident illustrates the solemn personality of the 'Great Mughal' in those days, and the ceremonial homage paid him by his officers. The practice of advancing several miles to receive imperial orders and *firmans*, existed throughout the Mughal regime.

² See similar account in *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc. 3, Para. xvi, p. 287.

³ "Fidai Khān" and "Jān Nisār Khān" or "Jasbār Khān" were his titles, his name being Mirza Hedaitullah. He should not be confounded with Mir Zarif who also received the title of "Fidai Khān." When Mir Zarif received this title of Fidai Khān, Mirza Hedaitullah who held the same title from before, received the new title of "Jān Nisār Khān" from Shāh Jahān the Emperor. In the beginning, in the reign of Emperor Jahangir, Mirza Hedaitullah was "Mir Bahar-i-Navaruk" or Admiral of the Imperial Fleet, and being patronised by Māhabet Khān, he advanced rapidly in influence. In the quarrel between Māhabet Khān and Emperor Jahangir, he took sides with his patron, Māhabet Khān, and subsequently fled to Rohilkhand. On return in the 22nd year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed Vicaroy of Bengal, in succession to Mukkaram Khān, who had been drowned, the arrangement entered into being that he should yearly remit from Bengal, 10 lakhs of presents, five lakhs for the Emperor and five lakhs of rupees for the Empress Nur Jahān (no doubt, over and above the annual Imperial revenues). In Shāh Jahān's reign, he was recalled from Bengal and received Jaunpur in *iqul* (or *juyir*) and subsequently was appointed Faujdār of Gorakhpur. He then helped Abdullāh Khān, Governor of

corresponding to 1036 A.H., Nawab Fidaī Khān was appointed Viceroy of the Subah of Bengal. Since at that period, besides rare silk-stuffs of this country, and elephants and aloes-wood and ambergris and other presents and gifts, no specie need to be presented to the Emperor, at this time, contrary to the former practice, (it was settled that every year five *lacs* of rupees as present to the Emperor and five *lacs* of rupees as present to Nūr Jahān Begam—in all ten *lacs* of rupees should be remitted to the Imperial Exchequer.¹) When on the 27th² of the month of Safar 1037 A.H., Emperor Naruddīn Muḥammad Jahangīr, whilst returning from Kashmīr, died at Rajor, his son Abul Muzzāfar Shāhābuddīn Shāh Jahān (who was then in the Dakhin) marched out, and through the noble exertions of Āṣaf Jah Āṣaf Khān³ (after destroying and extirpating his brothers) ascended the Imperial throne at Delhi. Then the Subah of Bengal was transferred from Fidaī Khān to Qāsim Khān.

Behar, in the conquest of Bhojpūr or Ujjain. (See *Mausir-ul-Umra*, p. 12, Vol. 3).

(1 This Fiscal Provincial Contract under Fidaī Khān is also noted in the *Iqbalnāmā-i-Jahangīrī*, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, p. 201.)

² In the *Iqbalnāmā*, "28th Safar (Sunday) Emperor Jahangīr died in the 22nd year of his reign, whilst returning from Kashmīr towards Lahore." He was buried at Lahore in a garden which had been laid out by his beloved Consort, the Empress Nūr Jahān. (See *Iqbalnāmā*, Fasc. 3, p. 201.)

³ His titles were "Āṣif Khān Āṣif Jah," his name being Mirza Abul Hasan. He was a son of 'Itimād-u-daulah, and the eldest brother of the Empress Nūr Jahān Begam, and he was father of Arjuman Bānū Begam alias Mumtaz Mahal, the beloved Consort of Emperor Shāh Jahān, (whose memory is enshrined in marble by the Taj at Agra). In the 6th year of Jahangīr's reign, he was appointed to the Mansab of *Shahāḥ kharāri*, and subsequently raised to a *ḥafī kharāri*, and was also appointed Subadar of the Panjah, and Vakil or Prime Minister. In 1037 A.H. when Jahangīr on return from Kashmīr died on the way near Rajor, Nūr Jahān (who espoused the cause of Prince Shāhriyār) wanted to imprison Āṣif Khān (who espoused Prince Shāh Jahān's cause), but Āṣif Khān could not be seized or brought back. Āṣif Khān sent a swift runner, named Benaroi, a Hoda, to Shāh Jahān who was then in Gajrok. Shāh Jahān quickly marched out to Agra, where he was installed as Emperor, whilst Shāhriyār and other princes were soon imprisoned and made away with. On his accession, Shāh Jahān gave Āṣif Khān the title of "ʿImīn-u-daulah," and made him a "Nāḥ kharāri." He died at Lahore in 1061 A.H. "رحمہ آسپ خان" is a chronogram which gives the above date. (See *Mausir-ul-Umra*, p. 151, Vol. 1).

(NEZAMAT OF NAWAB QASIM KHAN.)

When Qasim Khan succeeded to the Nezamat of Bengal, like his predecessors in office, he devoted himself to the affairs of

* It is strange that the *Riyaz* should give such a meagre account of the Administration of Nawab Qasim Khan, the first Bengal Viceroy appointed by Emperor Shah Jahan. Yet this Administration is peculiarly interesting and significant from the modern stand-point, as the chronicle of this administration contains, for the first time, a reference to a conflict (no doubt, then unimportant) between the Christian European merchants in Bengal and the Musalman Viceroys of Bengal. To supplement the account of this Musalman Viceroy with some additional facts gleaned from the *Musair-ul-Umari*, would therefore be interesting.

(Qasim Khan) was a son of Mir Mural of Juain (in the Vilayet of Balhaq). Mir Mural was a leading Sayyid of that place, whence he migrated into the Dakhin. He was brave and a capital archer, and was engaged by Emperor Akbar to train up Prince Khurram. He was subsequently appointed *Bakhshi* of Lahore, in the 46th year of Akbar's reign. His son, "Qasim Khan" (this was evidently his title, his actual name is not given in the *Mansur*) was a man of culture and literary habits. Under Islam Khan *Chishti* *Paradi* (Jahangir's Bengal Viceroy), Qasim Khan served as *Khasnaghi* or Treasurer-General of Bengal. Islam Khan took particular interest in training him up. Some times later, Qasim Khan was lucky in getting married to Manjiah Begum, sister of the Empress Nur Jahan. This matrimonial alliance was a turning point in Qasim Khan's fortune; he was soon advanced in rank and dignity. The witty courtiers of the time called him "Qasim Khan Manjiah." He soon became an associate of the Emperor Jahangir. Towards the end of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed *Sabadar* (or Viceroy) of Agra. (In the first year of Shah Jahan's reign, the Emperor (Shah Jahan) raised him to the Mansab of *Parajamari*, and appointed him *Sabadar* (Viceroy) of Bengal, in place of Fala Khan. During his stay in Bengal (during Jahangir's reign), Shah Jahan had become personally apprised of the wrongs practiced by the Christians (Portuguese, obviously) resident in the Port of Hughli. For instance, Shah Jahan had come to know that these often took unauthorized leases of adjoining *pagodas*, oppressed the tenantry of those *pagodas*, and sometimes by tempting offers, converted them to Christianity, and even sent them to *Farang* (or Europe). Further these Christians (Portuguese, obviously) carried on similar malpractices even in *pagodas*, with which they had no connection. Further, these Christians, under the pretext of carrying on trading transactions, had in the beginning established some ware-houses which they had gradually and clandestinely, by bribing local officers, converted into large fortified buildings. In consequence, the bulk of the trade which had found its way, hitherto, to the old Imperial emporium at Satgaon, was diverted to the new port of Hughli. In consideration of the above circumstances, the Emperor Shah Jahan, whilst sending Qasim Khan to Bengal

administration, and to the putting down of disturbances. In the sixth year of Shāh Jahān's accession, he marched against the Christians and Portuguese who had become insolent in the port of Hughli, and after fighting expelled and defeated them. As a reward for this service, he received favours from the Emperor, but he soon after died.

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(NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB 'ĀZAM KHĀN.)

After this, Nawab 'Āzam Khān¹ was appointed to the Nezāmat of Bengal. As he could not properly discharge the

as his Viceroy, gave the latter instructions to expel the foreign Christian (Portuguese) traders from the port of Hughli. Accordingly, in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, Qāsim Khān sent his son 'Imānullāh Khān in company of Allabyār Khān and other officers to Hughli, and he went also by the sea-route via Chittagong another company of troops on a fleet of vessels from the Imperial Navy or Fleet stationed in Dacca, so that the Portuguese might not escape by water, giving out at the same time that the expedition had as its objective Hiji. These besieged Hughli, and, after the fighting was protracted to three months and a half, succeeded in storming it, and in expelling the Christian (Portuguese) traders from it. 2,000 Christians were killed in the fighting, 4,000 were taken prisoners, and 10,000 Indian captives that were in the hands of the Portuguese were released, and 1,000 Musselman soldiers got killed in the fighting. Three days after this victory (in 1041 A.H.) Qāsim Khān died of disease. He built the Cathedral Mosque at Agra in Angah Khān bazar. (See p. 78, Vol. 3, *Mausul-Umra*.)

¹ 'Ā'im Khān's real name was Mir Mahanmūd Baqir, his titles being "Imādut Khān," and subsequently "Ā'im Khān." He was a Sayyid of Sava which is in Irāq. On arrival in India, he was appointed Faujdar of Siakot and Gujrat, through the interest taken in him by A'if Khān Mirra Ja'far, who married to him his daughter. Then he was presented to Emperor Jahangir, who gave him (on the recommendation of Smim-d-daulah Afif Khān) a good Manjib and the office of Imperial Khamsama. In the 15th year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed Subadar (Governor) of Kashmir and next Mir Bakhtash under the Emperor directly. On Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān raised him to the rank of Panjshahi, and also to the office of vizier of the Supreme Diwan. (In the second year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was set to reform the Revenue Administration of the Provinces in the Dakhin. In the third year, he received the title of "Ā'im Khān," and was employed by the Emperor for chastising Khān Jahan Lodi and for the conquest of the Nizam Shāhi Kingdom in the Dakhin.) Though he succeeded in dispersing Khān Jahan's force, and though he stormed the fort of Dharwar, his services in the Dakhin

duties of a Governor, the work of administration fell into confusion. The Assamese, making an incursion, invaded and ravaged many of the pargannahs within the Imperial domains, and along with much riches and effects captured and carried away 'Abdus Salam,¹ who had gone on an expedition to Gauhati with 1,000 Cavalry and numerous infantry. When this news reached the Emperor, the latter superseded 'Azam Khān, and appointed Islām Khān, who had much experience in the work of administration and was one of the principal 'Omāra of Jahangīr, to the office of Subadār of Bengal.

RULE OF NAWAB ISLAM KHAN.

When Nawab Islām Khān was appointed Subadār of Bengal, as he was an experienced and a sagacious ruler, on his arrival in did not satisfy the Emperor, who sent him to Bengal as Viceroy, in succession to Qāsim Khān, who died in the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. He continued in Bengal as Viceroy for three years only, and in the 8th year was transferred to Allahābad, and subsequently to Gujrat, and lastly to Jaunpur, where he was Rector of the Jaunpur University, and died in 1059 A.H., in his 70th year, and was buried in a garden which he had laid out on the banks of the Jaunpur river. His daughter was married to Prince Shāh Shuja (after the latter had lost his first wife, a daughter of Mirza Rustam Saferi). He possessed many good qualities, and was very strict in auditing the accounts of 'Amila (Collectors of Revenue). (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 174, Vol. I).

¹ This 'Abdus Salam would seem to be the Abdus Salam (son of Muqarram Khān, Subadār of Delhi) who opportunely reinforced Shajāt Khān at the decisive battle near Dhaka (Dacca) with the Afghan leader Osman Lohani. He would seem, therefore, to have been a brother of Mukkaram Khān (another son of Muqarram Khān) who was Governor of Bengal and who was conqueror of Kuch Hajo (or Kuch Behar) and Khurdah. 'Abdus Salam at the time would seem to have been Governor of Kuch Hajo, in succession to his brother Mukkaram Khān, and to have invaded Assam. (See n. ante). The *Alamgirnamah* (p. 680, Pass. VII. Park. text) calls him "Shaykh Abdus Salam," and states that towards the early part of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was 'Faujdar' of 'Hajo' (that is, Kuch Hajo, or western part of Kuch Behar), and that at Gauhati he together with many others was captured by the Assamese, and that, to chastise the Assamese, an expedition to Assam was shortly after (during the Viceroyalty of Islām Khān II alias Mir Abdus Salam) sent out under command of Siadat Khān (Islām Khān's brother), but that the expedition reached only Kajal (which is on the frontier of Assam), and did not result in any decisive issue, as Islām Khān was shortly after recalled by the Emperor to assume the office of Imperial Vicar at Delhi.

the *Sūbah*, he vigorously set himself to the work of administration. He organised a punitive expedition against the refractory Assamese, and also planned to conquer Koch Behar and Assam. Marching towards these tracts and fighting many battles, he chastised these wicked tribes, recovered the Imperial *mahals* which had been over-run by the latter, and marched against Koch Behar. After much fightings, he stormed numerous forts, and then extirpated the refractory Assamese. At this juncture, Islām Khān¹ was recalled by Shāh Jahān, for the purpose of being installed in the office of Vazir. And order was sent to Nawab Saif Khān² to the

¹ Islām Khān *Mahadī*; his actual name was Mir Abdus Salām, and his titles were "Ikhtisār Khān" and subsequently "Islām Khān." He should not be confounded with "Islām Khān Chishtī Faruqī," whose real name was Shāikh 'Alau-d-dīn, and who was Viceroy of Bengal, under Emperor Jahangīr.

Mir Abdus Salām was in the beginning a *Munshi* or Secretary of Prince Shāh Jahān. In 1030 A.H. (during Jahangīr's reign), he was *Fakīr-i-Darbār* or Prince Shāh Jahān's Political Agent at the Imperial Court (Shāh Jahān being engaged at the time in affairs connected with the Dakkhin), and at the same time received the title of "Ikhtisār Khān." When dissensions broke out between Shāh Jahān and Emperor Jahangīr, Mir Abdus Salām joined Shāh Jahān. On Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne, he raised Mir Abdus Salām to the rank of *Chāhāshāhī*, bestowed on him the title of "Islām Khān," and appointed him *Bakhshī* and subsequently Governor of Gujrat, with command of Five Thousand. In the 8th year, on the recall of A'zam Khān (the Bengal Viceroy), Mir Abdus Salām alias Islām Khān *Mahadī* was appointed Viceroy of Bengal. In the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's accession, he achieved several notable triumphs, viz. (1) the chastisement of the Assamese, (2) capture of the son-in-law of the Assam Rājāh, (3) capture of fifteen Assam forts, (4) capture of Srigat and Mando, (5) successful establishment of Imperial military out-posts or *Thannas* in all the *mahals* of Koch Hajo (the western portion of Koch Behar), (6) capture of 500 Koch war-vessels. Manik Red, brother of the Rājāh of Arratan, also at this time came to Dhaka (Dacca) and took refuge with Islām Khān. In the 13th year (in the text, correctly, 11th year), Islām Khān was called back by Shāh Jahān from Bengal, and installed in the office of Imperial Vazir. He was subsequently appointed Viceroy of the Dakkhin, where he died at Aurangabad in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, in 1057 A.H. He was buried in a mausoleum at Aurangabad. He was a learned scholar, a brave general and a sagacious administrator. (See *Mansab-ul-Omrah*, p. 162, Vol. I).

² Saif Khān Mirza Saif was a son of Asmat Khān. He married Malikāh Bānū, sister of Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and a daughter of Ajif Khān *Khutb-d-daulah*, and was thus closely connected with Emperor Shāh Jahān, by marriage. He first became *Diwān* of the *Sūbah* of Gujrat, and for his victory over 'Abdullah Khān under during circumstances, was appointed *Sūbadar* of

effect that the Nizamat of Bengal was assigned to Prince Muhammad Shuj'a, and that until the latter's arrival, he should, as Prince's Deputy, carry on the work of Bengal administration. As Islam Khān, in the very midst of fighting, had to march back to the Imperial presence, the work of Assam conquest was left incomplete; and his departure was a signal for fresh disturbances amongst the Assamese. This happened towards the end of the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

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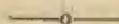
RULE OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD SHUJ'A.

In the 12th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, Prince Muhammad Shuj'a arrived in Bengal, and made Akbarnagar or Rajmahal the

Gujrat, and also received the title of "Saif Khān." He was subsequently appointed by Emperor Shāh Jahān to be Governor of Behar (where at Patna he built several lofty public edifices). [Safiābād town, near Jamalpūr in Monghyr, I guess, was built by him, and is named so after him. There is still a place in it called "Saif Barāi" or "Saif's inn." If my memory serves me aright, I found a big well in Monghyr town near the Club, which bears an inscription to show that it was built by Saif Khān]. In the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he became Governor of Allahabad; in the 8th year, he was selected as Governor of Gujrat, and next appointed Commandant of Agra. In the 12th year, when Islām Khān Mashadī was summoned back from Bengal to Delhi, to assume charge of the portfolio of Imperial Viceroy, Bengal was assigned to Prince Shāh Shuj'a. As the Prince was at the time away at Kabul, Saif Khān received orders to administer Bengal on behalf of the Prince, during his absence. In the 13th year of Shāh Jahān's reign (in 1649 A.H.) Saif Khān Mirza Safi died in Bengal, and his wife Mallikah Bībī died the following year. (See *Muhsir-ul-Umara*, p. 416, Vol. II).

1. Prince Shāh Shuj'a was the second son of Emperor Shāh Jahān, whose other sons were (1) Dīrā Shikoh, (2) Aurangzeb, and (3) Murād. Shāh Shuj'a was married to a daughter of Mirza Rustam Safavi, and subsequently (on the death of his first wife) to a daughter of Nawab 'Azam Khān (a former Bengal Viceroy). Shāh Shuj'a, on appointment to Bengal, temporarily removed the Viceregal Capital from Dacca to Rajmahal. He twice ruled over Bengal, that is, once for eight years, and again (after a break of two years) for another eight years. Shāh Shuj'a's rule over Bengal was marked by the introduction of financial reforms and by the growth of revenue. "About 1653 A.C. he prepared a new rent-roll of Bengal, which showed 34 Sarkars and 1,350 mihalas, and a total revenue on *Khatas* and *Jagir* lands of Rs. 13,115,207 exclusive of *shikats*." (See Blochmann's *Contrib. to History of Bengal and the Padshahnamah*). Shāh Shuj'a was a lover of architecture, and he built numerous marble edifices in Rajmahal, Monghyr and Dacca. He also

seat of his Government, and adorned it with grand and handsome edifices. The Prince deputed to Jahangirnagar or Dacca his Deputy and father-in-law, Nawab 'Azam Khān.¹ The affairs of administration which had fallen into confusion by the departure of Islām Khān, received now fresh *éclat*. For a period of eight years, the Prince devoted himself to the work of administration. In the 20th year² of Shāh Jahān's reign, the Prince was recalled to the Imperial presence, and Nawab 'Itaqād Khān was appointed to the Nizamat of the Śubab of this country.



NIZAMAT OF NAWAB 'ITAQĀD KHĀN.

When Nawab 'Itaqād Khān³ being appointed to the Nizamat of Bengal arrived in this country, he ruled over Bengal for two

extended his Bengal Satrapy by incorporating therein Sarkars Mooghyr and Behar (see *Alamgirnamah*), but shortly after he received a check in his onward career by coming in collision with his elder brother, Aurangzeb, and at length fled to Arrakan where he perished.

¹ See n., ante.

² In the text *عشتم* is evidently a misprint for *یستم*.

³ 'Itaqād Khān Mirza Shupūr was a son of 'Itmad-u-daulah, and a brother of Afif Khān Mirza Abul Hasan, and therefore, a brother also of Empress Nūr Jahān (*Mansir-ul-Umara*, p. 180, Pers. text, Vol. I, Fasc. 11).

Professor Blochmann's list (p. 511, *Ain, Tr.*, Vol. I), does not give his name. In the 17th year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed Governor of Kashmir, and continued there for a long period. He was also raised by Emperor Jahangir to a command of five thousand. In the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was recalled from Kashmir. In the 16th year, he was appointed Governor of Behar, and whilst there, in the 17th year, he organised and despatched an expedition to Palam (Palamow) under Zabardast Khān, and defeated its zamindar or Rajah, named Partab, who submitted to the Emperor, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of one lac of rupees. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Prince Shāh Shujā was recalled from Bengal, 'Itaqād Khān in addition to his Governorship of Behar was appointed Viceroy of Bengal, where he continued for two years. In the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1000 A.H.) 'Itaqād Khān died at Agra. He was a man of great refinement and culture, and his æsthetic tastes led him to be one of the founders of a new and elegant style of architecture. He built a splendid palace on a new and improved design at Agra.

In *Alamgirnamah* (p. 111) 'Itaqād Khān is mentioned as a son of Emīn-u-d-daulah Afif Khān. (See *Mansir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, Fasc. 2, Pers. text, p. 180).

years. In the 22nd year of *Shāh Jahān's* reign, he was superseded, and Prince Muhammad *Shuj'a* was for the second time re-appointed to the Nizamat of Bengal.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF *SHĀH SHUJ'A*, FOR THE SECOND TIME, AND THE END OF HIS CAREER.

When, for the second time, Prince Muhammad *Shuj'a* arrived in Bengal, for eight years more he carried on vigorously the work of administration, and conquering other tracts added laurels to himself. In the 30th year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1067 A.H., Emperor *Shāh Jahān* fell ill. As the period of illness became protracted,¹ and the Members of

¹ Emperor *Shāh Jahān* fell ill at Delhi on 7th Zul-haj 1067 A.H. (*Alamgir-namah*, p. 27). At the time of the Emperor's illness, Prince Dara *Shokoh*, the eldest son, was at Agra. Prince *Shuj'a*, the second son, was in Bengal; Aurangzeb, the third son, was in the Dakhsin; whilst Prince Murad, the fourth son, was in Gujrat. Owing to illness, *Shāh Jahān* was toribible to the public as well as to his ministers and officers, and great confusion in State affairs occurred, and Dara *Shokoh* went to the Emperor, and took into his hands the reins of Government. In order to make himself thoroughly master of the situation, Dara *Shokoh* aimed to keep the Emperor fully under his control, and so forcibly removed the Emperor together with all royal treasures from Delhi on 20th Muharram, 1068 A.H. (1068 in the printed Pers. text is a misprint) to Agra, which was reached on 19th Safar, 1068 A.H. In the meantime, Murad proclaimed himself King in Gujrat, whilst *Shuj'a* similarly proclaimed himself King in Bengal, and invaded Patna and Benares (*Alamgir-namah*, p. 29).

Dara *Shokoh's* plan was first to vanquish *Shāh Shuj'a*, next Murad, and to reserve the final blow for Aurangzeb, whom he dreaded most. In pursuance of this scheme, he first detached a large army under the command of his son Salaman *Shokoh* together with Rajah Jai Singh to operate against *Shāh Shuj'a*. The army under Salaman *Shokoh* on the 4th Rabi-ul-Awwal 1068 A.H. reached Bahadurganj, a village on the banks of the Ganges, 24 kos from Benares, and 14 kos from *Shāh Shuj'a's* encampment. *Shāh Shuj'a* had brought with him a large number of *Nauvakh* or war-ships from Bengal, and so was sanguine of success, and treating the foe with contempt, he had dispensed with all ordinary precautions of war. Salaman *Shokoh* made a feint retreat which further took in *Shāh Shuj'a*, and then suddenly wheeling round, made a bold dash which completely surprised *Shāh Shuj'a*, who leaving behind his tents, treasures, guns and horses, hastily got into a boat, and sailed down in Patna, thence to Monghyr, where he halted for some days. Salaman *Shokoh's* army pursued *Shuj'a* to Monghyr; and, then the latter quitting

Government could not obtain audience with the Emperor, great confusion ensued in the affairs of the Empire. Since amongst the

Monghyr, set out for Bengal. (See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 31). Whilst these events were transpiring in Bengal, Aurangzeb with his marvellous insight grasping the situation forestalled Dara Shikoh by making a move from Aurangabad towards Barhanpur on Friday, 12th Jamad-ul-Awwal 1068 A.H. (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 43). After halting for a month at Barhanpur to get news of the state of things at Agra, Aurangzeb learnt that Dara Shikoh had detached a large army under Rajah Jaswant Singh, who had already arrived at Ujjain, in Malwah. This made Aurangzeb decide his plans. He immediately on 25th Jamad-ul-Akhirah on a Saturday marched from Barhanpur, reached the banks of the Nerbadda, crossed it, and on the 20th Rajah encamped at Dholpur. On the 21st Rajah, setting out from Dholpur, he met on the way Prince Murad, and won him over to his side (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 55), and reached Dharmatpur, a place 7 kos from Ujjain, and one kos from Rajah Jaswant Singh's army, and pitched his camp on the banks of a rivulet, called Char Narainah. (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 56). Rajah Jaswant Singh was quite out-witted by this strategic move of Aurangzeb who had united his forces with those of Murad. Aurangzeb then inflicted a crushing blow on Rajah Jaswant Singh at Dharmatpur. (See charming description of this battle in the *Alamgirnamah*, Pers. text, pp. 61, 62 to 74). Marching quickly from Dharmatpur, Aurangzeb passed through Gwalior. In the meantime Dara Shikoh had marched to Dholpur (p. 55, *Alamgirnamah*), to oppose Aurangzeb's progress, and to prevent his crossing the Chandel river. Aurangzeb quickly however crossed the Chandel river at the ferry of Bhadurnah, which is 20 kos from Dholpur, on the first day of the month of Ramzan. On the 7th Ramzan, the battle of Dholpur was fought, and Dara Shikoh was completely defeated by Aurangzeb. (See description of the battle of Dholpur in the *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 100 to 104). Dara Shikoh fled to Agra, and thence to the Panjab and other places, was eventually captured and beheaded. Shortly after his installation, Aurangzeb drew his force against Shah Shuja who had advanced, and occupied Rohias, Chunar, Jampur, Benares and Allahabad. The battle between Aurangzeb and Shuja was fought at Kachwa, a place close to Korah, and resulted in Shuja's defeat. (See description of the battle in the *Alamgirnamah*, Pers. text, p. 243). After his defeat, Shuja fled to Bahadurpur, thence to Patna, thence to Monghyr which he fortified, and thence (owing to the treachery of Rajah Bahros, sardar of Kharakpur) to Rangamati, and thence (owing to treachery of Khwajah Kamala-d-din, sardar of Birbhumi) to Rajmahal, thence through minor places to Dacca, thence through Bhainnah and minor places to Arrakan, always heroically contesting every inch of ground against the hosts of Aurangzeb, led by his General Muazzam Khan alias Mir Jumla, but every time halted by the treachery of so-called adherents, barring a noble band of Barha, Syeds who clung to him to the last. (See pp. 495 to 551, *Alamgirnamah*, Pers. text).

Princes Royal, no one except Dara Shikoh was near the Emperor, the reins of Imperial administration were assigned to him. Dara Shikoh, viewing himself to be the Crown-Prince, fully grasped the threads of Imperial administration. Owing to this, Prince Murad Baksh in Gujrat had the *Khutbah* read after his own name, whilst in Bengal, Muhammad Shuj'a proclaimed himself King, and marshalling his forces, marched towards Patna and Behar, and advancing thence, reached the environs of Benares. On hearing this news, Dara Shikoh, during the serious illness of the Emperor, marched with the latter from Shahjahanabad (Delhi), to Akbarabad (Agra), on the 30th Muharram, 1068, A.H. corresponding to the 31st year of the Emperor's accession, and on the 19th Safar, reached Akbarabad (Agra). From this place, Dara Shikoh detached Raja Jai Singh Kachwah, who was a leading Rajah and a principal member of the Empire, together with other leading noblemen, such as Diler Khan, Sulabat Khan and Izad Singh, and other officers holding the ranks of *Panjahgiri* and *Chaharhazari*, besides a large army composed of his own and the Imperial troops, along with guns and armaments, under the general command of Sulaiman Shikoh, his eldest son, in order to fight against Muhammad Shuj'a. Accordingly, these marched from Agra on the 4th of the month of Rabiul-Awwal of the aforesaid year, and set out on the aforesaid expedition. And after marching several stages, and passing through the city of Benares, these encamped at the village of Bahadurpur (which is situated on the bank of the Ganges at a distance of two and a half *kroh* from the city of Benares) to a distance of one and a half *kroh* from Muhammad Shuj'a's army. Both the armies exhibited military strategy and tactics, and sought for an opportunity to surprise the other. In consequence neither side made a sally. On the 21st Jamadiul-Awwal, the Imperialists made a feint as if to shift their camp, but suddenly wheeled round, and rushed Shuj'a's army, which was completely taken by surprise. On hearing the news of the feint retreat of the Imperialists on the previous day, Shuj'a had neglected his war-preparations, and was fast asleep. Being thus taken by surprise, he woke up from his slumber, and mounting a female elephant, he moved about restlessly. But the game was already up, especially as Raja Jai Singh making a dashing flank movement from the left side, closed in upon him. Seeing no alternative, Shah Shuj'a got into his war-vessels which he had brought

up from Bengal, and sailed down swiftly, abandoning his treasures, guns, horses, baggage and tents. Sailing swiftly down Patna, he reached Munger, and prepared to fortify it, and halted there for some days. Salaiman Shékoh's army, after plundering and ravaging and slaughtering and capturing, followed up Muhammad Shuj'a, and reached Munger. Muhammad Shuj'a, finding it impossible to stand his ground there, fled with the swiftness of lightning and air, and entered Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). The Imperial army reduced to subjection the Subah of Patna and Behar.¹ But in the meantime, Aurangzeb had marched from the Dakkhin² towards the Imperial Presence, and on the outskirts of the Narbadda had fought an engagement with a numerous horde of Imperialists, and after sanguinary fightings had inflicted a signal defeat, and had marched to Shāhjahānabad, and entered the Capital. Deputing his eldest son, Sultān Muhammad, to be near the Emperor, Aurangzeb put the latter under surveillance, and killed Dara Shékoh³ after much warfare, and in the holy month of Ramzan 1069 A.H. ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi. Salaiman Shékoh, on hearing the news of Dara Shékoh's defeat, gave up the pursuit of Shāh Shuj'a, and retreated towards Shāhjahānabad (Delhi). Muhammad Shuj'a fancying that the struggle between Dara Shékoh and Aurangzeb would be a protracted one, thought his opportunity had come, and by the bad advice of Allvardi Khān and Mirza Jān Beg and other members of his Government,

¹ The *Alamgir-namah*, p. 31 (from which the account here in the text appears to be borrowed) says: "From Manghyr to Patna became annexed to the Sutrapy (vqz) of Dara Shékoh."

² Aurangzeb moved from the Dakkhin in 1068 A.H., inflicted a crushing defeat on Dara Shékoh's troops led by Maharaja Jaswant Singh at Ujjala, and also defeated Dara Shékoh near Agra, and then informally proclaimed himself Emperor in 1069 A.H. (See *Alamgir-namah*, pp. 59 to 83, and pp. 87 to 108).

³ Dara Shékoh, after his defeat by Aurangzeb near Agra, fled to Delhi, and thence to Lahore, and after various adventures in the Panjab, Gujrat and Kabul was captured by Jivan, mamluk of Nadar, and made over to Aurangzeb who caused him to be imprisoned and subsequently slain, and his body buried in the mausoleum of Hamayun at Delhi. (See *Alamgir-namah*, pp. 433 and 408). Those who take an interest in Dara Shékoh's adventures after his flight, will find a full account of the same in the *Alamgir-namah*. Dara Shékoh was a free-thinker and a pro-Hindu, and if he had succeeded to the throne, he would have out-Albared Akbar in his pro-Hindu policy. Aurangzeb was the reverse of Dara Shékoh; he was a champion of Islām, and an iconoclast like Mahmud of Ghazni or Shāhshāh-d-din Ghori.

refurbishing his sword, laid claim as his heritage to the suzerainty of Beugal, and with a large and formidable army marched towards the Capital of Hindustan. As before Shuj'a's arrival, the struggle in Hindustan between Aurangzeb and Dara Shekoh had terminated, and Aurangzeb had already mounted the Imperial throne, on hearing this news of Shuj'a's march, Aurangzeb with his entire army of Hindustan swiftly marched, and at Kachwah the two armies encountered each other, and a battle was fought.

The armies were arrayed on both sides,
 They stood forth like mountains on a plain.
 When the armies from both sides approached each other,
 From the dark dust that arose, the universe turned dark.
 When from both sides they struck up drums of war,
 The lion-like heroes spread their claws to smite.
 Tumult arose from drums,
 The ear of the world was deafened.
 From guns and muskets, rockets and arrows,
 Security in the world fled to a corner.
 From the smoke of gun-wagons that mingled with the
 atmosphere,
 The sky became hidden from the world's view.
 The spear warmed in slaughtering,
 And whispered messages of destruction into the ear of life.
 The lightning of the sword kindled fire so much,
 That it burnt the harvest of existence.
 The fire of warfare blazed up so keenly,
 That it scorched the heart of Mars aloft on the sky.

After much exertions and fightings, Aurangzeb's army was defeated. Aurangzeb, however, with a number of noblemen and some gunners, stood his ground on the battle-field. Alivardi Khān, the generalissimo of Shāh Shuj'a's force, attempted to capture Aurangzeb and checkmate him. As God has bestowed greater wisdom on Sovereigns than on the mass of mankind, and as in military affairs, Sovereigns are endowed with a more accurate perception of the situation, that wise sovereign (Aurangzeb) observing the adage that "war is fraud," deceived the aforesaid Khān by holding out to him the chance of being appointed Prime Minister, and said that if the latter could induce Mahammad Shuj'a to

dismount from his elephant and to mount a horse, he would win this game. The aforesaid *Khān*, seduced by the bait held out by Aurangzeb, played false with his own old benefactor, and spoke to Muhammad *Shuj'a* as follows: "Victory has been already achieved by our army, and the enemy's force has been defeated. As cannon-balls, and rockets and arrows are raining from every side, it is possible that the Royal elephant might be hit; it is therefore advisable that your Highness should dismount from your elephant and mount a horse. By the good luck of your Highness, I would immediately capture and fetch 'Alamgir." Instantly as *Shāh Shuj'a* mounted a horse, the aforesaid *Khān* sent information to 'Alamgir. 'Alamgir immediately adopted the ruse of causing the music of victory to be struck up. And since the army did not find *Shāh Shuj'a* on the elephant, news spread in the army about the victory of 'Alamgir and the defeat of *Shāh Shuj'a*. *Shuj'a*'s force fled panic-stricken, thinking that *Shuj'a* had been killed. Although *Shuj'a* made exertions to stop the panic and prevent the flight, these were in vain. Hence the adage is "*Shuj'a* lost a winning game." The army of Aurangzeb collecting together, made an onslaught. When *Shāh Shuj'a* found that he had lost the game, he was obliged to take to flight, and fled to Bengal, and fortifying the passes of Teligadhi and Sakrigali, he entrenched himself at Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). 'Alamgir appointed Nawab Mu'azzam *Khān*, *Khān-i-Khānān*, the Generalissimo, to be Subadar or Viceroy of Bengal. And detaching twenty-two renowned noblemen, like Nawab Islām *Khān*, Dilar *Khān*, Daūd *Khān*, Fatch-Jang *Khān*, and Ihtishām *Khān*, etc., under the command of Sultān Mahammad, to pursue *Shāh Shuj'a*, Aurangzeb himself triumphant and victorious marched back towards the Capital (Delhi).



VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB MU'AZZAM KHAN, KHAN-I-KHANAN.

When Nawab Mu'azzam *Khān* was appointed Subadar of Bengal, he marched towards Bengal with a large army. As the passes of Teligadhi and Sakrigali had been fortified by *Shāh Shuj'a*, viewing the forcing of these defiles to be a difficult operation, with twelve thousand soldiers he swiftly marched to Bengal

by way of Jharkand¹ and the mountains. When the contending armies approached each other, Shāh Shuj'a finding it impracticable to tarry at Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) caused 'Alivardi Khān, who was the root of all this mischief, to be slain, himself retired to Tandah, and erecting redoubts, fortified himself there. When the two forces approached each other, separated by the river Ganges, one day Shārif Khān, who was a source of mischief, and Fateh Jang Khān, getting into boats, crossed over to the northern bank, and they were similarly followed by others. From the northern side of the bank, as soon as Sharif Khān landed, the soldiers of Shāh Shuj'a gave battle. Nearly seventy persons who had reached the banks were killed and slaughtered. The remaining boats retired from the middle of the river. Sultān Shuj'a ordered the wounded persons to be killed; but Shāh Neamatullah Firuzpuri expostulated. Shāh Shuj'a who had great faith in this Saint made over to the latter Sharif Khān together with other wounded prisoners. The Saint nursed them, and after their wounds had healed up sent them back to their army. But Sultān Muhammad, desiring to desert to his uncle, came alone to meet the latter, and receiving much kindness from his uncle, stayed on with him. Sultān Shuj'a gave his daughter in marriage to him. Sultān Muhammad, on the side of Sultān Shuj'a, fought several battles with the Imperialists, consisting of the Khān-i-Khanan² and Diler Khān, &c.

¹ The *Alamgirnamah* indicates that at the time Shāh Shuj'a had halted at Moughyr, fortifying the place. Then Rajah Bahroz, zamindar or Rajah of Kharakpur, who professed loyalty to Shāh Shuj'a, but in reality was a traitor secretly intrigued with Aurangzeb's general, Mir Jumla *alias* Mu'azzam Khān, and showed the latter another route across the hills to the east of Moughyr. In covering this route, Mir Jumla had to make a detour of several miles; and Shāh Shuj'a finding that he was being out-flanked, instantly sailed down on his war-vessels from Moughyr Fort to Rangamati and Rajmahal, and on the way fortified the passes of Teligadhi and Sakrigali, which were then regarded as the 'key' to Bengal.

² A full account of his life will be found in the *Musir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 330, Pers. text.

From it, it appears that his name was Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla, and his titles were "Mu'azzam Khān, Khān-i-Khanan Sipahsalar." He came from Ardastan, first served under Sultān Abdullah Qutb Shāh, ruler of Golkondah, where he attained great eminence. Falling out with Qutb Shāh, he joined Prince Aurangzeb who was then in the Dekhin. His great services were (1) the conquest of Bijapur, (2) the extirpation of Shāh Shuj'a, (3) the conquests of Kuch Behar and Assam. He was a statesman of great sagacity

At length, on finding Sultān Shuj'a negligent and apathetic, Sultān Muhammad went over again to the side of the Imperialists, and from thence to the presence of Emperor Aurangzeb at Shāh Jahānabad, where he was imprisoned.¹ And orders were repeated to the Khān-i-Khanān to pursue Sultān Shuj'a. In short, one day when Diler Khān, &c., crossed the river at Paglaghat, Diler Khān's son, with a number of efficient men, was drowned. Sultān Shuj'a with his dependants and adherents, getting into war-vessels which had been brought up from Jahangirnagar (Dacca), set out for the latter place. The Khān-i-Khanān² also followed him up by land. Finding it impossible to make a stand at this place either, Sultān Shuj'a with a number of followers took the road to Assam, and from thence proceeded to Arrakan, and took shelter with the ruler of that tract, who was a Syed,³ and in a short time he died there, either owing to the treachery of the ruler of that tract, or from natural disease. When in the period of anarchy under Sultān Shuj'a, Bhim Narain, Rajah of Kuch Behar,⁴ becoming daring, with a large force attacked Ghoraghat,

and foresight, and as a general, he was matchless in his day. (See *Masir-ul-Umra*, p. 555, Vol. III, Pers. text).

¹ Details of Sultān Muhammad's desertion to Shāh Shuj'a, and his subsequent success, are given in the *Alamgirnamah*.

² Details of Shāh Shuj'a's fightings and adventures are given in the *Alamgirnamah*. See notes, ante.

³ The description in the *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 557 to 562, shows that the ruler of Arrakan was neither a Syed nor a Mussulman, but a Buddhist. It also appears from the *Alamgirnamah* that setting out from Tandah on boats, Sultān Shuj'a reached Dhacca (Jahangirnagar) where his eldest son Zaiun-d-din had been from before. Zaiun-d-din had arranged with the Rajah of Arrakan to escort Sultān Shuj'a to Arrakan, on the latter's arrival at Dacca. At this time, Maniār Khān, a zamindar of Jahangirnagar, proved obstructive to Zaiun-d-din's plans, and so he (Maniār) was first chastised with the help of the Arrakunese. Starting from Dacca on boats, guarded by the Arrakunese, Shuj'a passed through Dhapa (4 kos from Dacca), Siripur (12 kos north of Dacca), Bhalmah (which then formed the southern limit of the Mughal dominions in Bengal), and thence to Arrakan. One who cares to note names of old Bengal towns, may profitably read this portion of the *Alamgirnamah*.

⁴ In the *Alamgirnamah* (p. 676), he is called "Bhim Narain, zamindar of Kuch Behar." It is stated therein that hitherto he used to regularly pay tribute to the Emperor, but that during the chaos which arose owing to Emperor Shāh Jahān's illness, and owing to Shāh Shuj'a's march to Patna, in order to lay claim to the Imperial throne, Bhim Narain ceased paying tribute, and invaded Ghoraghat or Rangpur and subsequently Kamrup.

he captured a large number of the Musalman residents, male and female, of that place, and with the object of conquering Kamrup, to which Province pertained the tracts of Hajo and Gauhati, and which was included in the Imperial domains, he despatched his minister named Sahanuath¹ with a large force. On the news of this invasion, the Rajah of Assam² showing short-sightedness sent also a large force by land and water towards Kamrup. Mir Lutfullah Shirazi, who was Faujdar of the Province of Kamrup,³ seeing from both sides torrents of invasion overtaking him, and despairing of relief, and being certain about the absence of Imperial auxiliaries, quickly got into a boat, and reached Jahangirnagar or Dacca, and rescued himself from the impending danger. And Sahanuath, not being able to cope with the Assamese, acting up to the saying: "To return is better," retired to his own country. The Assamese, without contest, conquered the province of Kamrup, swept it with the broom of plunder, carried by force to their own country all and everything, including the moveable and immovable effects of the people, pulled down the edifices, left no trace of fertility, and reduced the whole province to one plain, level ground. As Sultān Shuj'a was occupied with his own affairs, the infidels of Assam finding an opportunity conquered the environs of mouza Kadi Bari, which is five stages from Jahangirnagar, and placing a garrison at the village of Tahsilah near Kadibari, raised the standard of daring and insurrection. Consequently, when the Khān-i-Khanan reached Jahangirnagar, after devoting himself for some time to administrative business, he collected war-vessels and artillery and other armaments, and leaving Iltisham Khān to protect Jahangirnagar (Dacca) and its environs, and appointing Rai Bhogati Das Shujai to charge of financial and internal affairs, in the 4th

According to the *Epistemonah-i-Jahangiri* (p. 110), Leghmi Nurain, "aminadar of Koch Behar" also used to pay homage and tribute to Emperor Jahangir. ✓

¹ In *Alamgirnamah* (p. 678), "Bholanath."

² His name was Ji dhar Singh. (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 678).

³ See *Alamgirnamah*, a contemporary record, p. 678. Lutfullah Shirazi, the Faujdar of Kamrup, retired on war-boats from Kamrup to Jahangirnagar (Dacca). The Koch also withdrew, on finding that the Assamese had invaded Kamrup. The Assamese advanced up to Kadibari which is five munsals from Dacca, and established a military out-post at Mast Sahak, close to Kadibari. (See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 679).

year¹ of Emperor Aurangzeb's accession, corresponding to 1072 A.H., he set out on an expedition towards the conquest of the Kingdoms of Kuch Behar and Assam, sending forward by the river-route, artillery, &c., and himself pushing on by land with a force of twenty thousand efficient cavalry and numerous infantry, and a hill which was frontier of the Imperial dominions. In a short time, he subdued the Kingdom of Kuch Behar up to Gauhati. After this, he pushed on with his forces to conquer Assam. In the meanwhile, the Emperor's order came, directing him to march to Arrakan, in order to rescue the children and ladies of the household of Shāh Shuj'a from distress and from imprisonment at the hands of the Arrakanesse, and to send them up to the Imperial presence. The Khān in reply to the Imperial order, represented that the Imperial troops were busy in fighting to conquer the provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam, and that to march to Arrakan, without accomplishing the conquest of the aforesaid two provinces, was opposed to expediency, and that he would postpone the expedition to Arrakan to next year, and that this year, he would set about subjugating the

¹ The Khān-i-Khānā (Mungam Khān) set out from Khizapur (which has been identified to be a place close to Narsingan) with war-vessels, on 17th Rabi-ul-Awwal 1072 A.H., for the conquest of Kuch Behar, leaving Muzhalis Khān as Governor of Akharnagar (Rajmahal) and Iltisham Khān as Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) and Bhagoti Dase as Diwan under the latter, and reached Baribollab, the Imperial frontier out-post. The Alamgirnamah mentions that at the time three land-routes lay to Kuch Behar:—(1) via the Murang; (2) via the Doars, (3) via Ghoraghat or Rangpur. The Khān-i-Khānā sent out scouts to ascertain which route was the best, and then chose the Ghoraghat route, by which he pushed on with his forces by land, sending out another force by the river on war-vessels, the two forces to give cover to each other, and to cover equal distances each day. (See Alamgirnamah, p. 683, for a full description of this expedition to Kuch Behar and Assam). The war-vessels passed through a river which joins Ghoraghat with the Brahmaputra, and the Imperialists reached Kuch Behar town. The Rajah (Din Narain) fled to Bhaten, his minister Bholanath fled to the Murang, and the Imperialists stormed Kuch Behar town, and named it Jahangirnagar. Syed Sadiq, Qazi or Chief Justice of Bengal, shouted out the Adas from the terrace of the Rajah's palace; the Rajah's son Birhanuath embraced Islam, and Ishandiyar Beg (who received the title of Ishandiyar Khān) was left by the Khān-i-Khānā as Faujdar of Kuch Behar, with Qazi Samu (who was formerly Shāh Shuj'a's officer) as Diwan of Kuch Behar. (See p. 624, Alamgirnamah, Pers. text).

provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam. After this, on the 27th Jamadialsaul of the aforesaid year, marching from Gauhati, he entered Assam. Fighting by water and by land, he pushed through the jungles, mountains and rivers. And wherever he went he established a garrison. Storming the citadel and palace of the Rajah of that country after much fighting, he gained much booty. After successive battles,¹ the hapless Assamese, being routed, fled and escaped to the hills of Bhutan, and the whole of Assam was conquered. At length, the Rajah of Assam drawing the rein of submission to the neck, and wearing the ring of obedience on the ear, deputed a trust-worthy envoy to wait on the Khān-i-Khānān with gifts and presents, and agreed to pay tribute to the Emperor, and also sent his own daughter with goods, rare silk-stuffs, elephants and other rarities in charge of Badli Phakm, for Emperor Aurangzeb. The aforesaid Phakan, with all the presents, reaching the outskirts of the city of Dacca, encamped and prepared

¹ After conquering Kuch Behar, the Khān-i-Khānān (Mumtaz Khān), proceeded to the banks of the Brahmaputra, with his military and naval forces, and passed through Rangamati. Diler Khān commanded the van, whilst Mir Murtaza was in charge of the artillery. The Khān-i-Khānān occupied Jogichapa, and appointed Atullah to be Faujdar of that place, and then occupying Sirghat, stormed Gauhati, and appointed Muhammad Beg to be Faujdar of Gauhati. After halting at Gauhati for some time, the Khān-i-Khānān marched out, when the Rajahs of Darrang (named Makrupan) and of Dacomaiah offered tribute and submitted. The Khān-i-Khānān then stormed the fort of Jamdhara, appointed Syed Mirza Sahawari (together with Syed Tatar and Rajah Kahin Singh) to be Thanadar of Jamdhara, and appointed Syed Nasir-ud-din Khān (together with other Imperial officers) to be Thanadar or commandant of Kilahari, captured 400 Assamese war-vessels with numerous guns and armaments and stores, occupied Solagadha, Lakhokadh, Diwalgon, Kajpur, and Kargon or Garguon, the capital of Assam, captured 208 battering guns, 100 elephants, and 3 *lacs* of specie in gold and silver, 675 other guns, 1,000 war-vessels, with other armaments and stores. (See description of Garguon, the old Assam capital, in p. 723, *Alauagirumamah*). When the rains set in, the Khān-i-Khānān encamped at Mathurapur, which was a high place, about 3 *kosh* distant from Garguon, leaving Mir Murtaza with Rajah Amar Singh and others in charge of Garguon, and appointing Syed Muhammad as Diwan, and Muhammad 'Alid to confiscate the effects of the Rajah who had fled to the hills of Kamrup, and Mans Khān in charge of Salpuri, and Ghazi Khān in charge of Dewpuri, and Jallal to protect the banks of the Dhank river. The whole of Dakhinkul and portions of Uttarkul were subdued by the Imperialists (p. 730, *Alauagirumamah*).

to set out for the Imperial capital. In that the sorcery of the Assamese is well known, the Khān-i-Khānān was affected by their sorcery. For some time he was laid up with pains on the liver and heart; daily these increased, and pointed to a fatal termination. Although he got himself treated, no beneficial effect was perceptible. He was, therefore, obliged to leave behind Mir Murtaza and other commanders. Leaving garrisons at every strategic point, he proceeded to a hill, and from thence, owing to his illness increasing, he set out¹ on a barge for Jahaugirnagar (Dacca). At a distance of two *kroḥ* from Khairpur, on the 2nd of the month of Ramzan 1073 A.H., corresponding to the 5th year of Emperor Aurangzeb's accession, he died on board the vessel.² Subsequently, the garrisons of the outposts evacuated their outlying posts, but the Rajah's daughter stayed behind with the tribute, as the Rajah refused to take her back into his household.

¹ After the rains set in, the Rajah of Assam with his army came down from the hills of Kamrup, and gave some trouble to the Imperialists, who suffered also from ague and diarrhoea. At length, the Rajah sued for peace, and the Khān-i-Khānān, who had fallen ill, granted it on the following terms (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 808):—

1. That the Rajah should send his sister and a daughter of Rajah Patani together with 20,000 *talas* of gold, and 20,000 *talas* of silver, and 20 elephants by way of tribute, besides 15 elephants for the Khān-i-Khānān, and 5 elephants for Diler Khān.

2. That in course of next 12 months, the Rajah of Assam should send 3 *lak* *talas* of silver and 90 elephants to the Emperor, and that every year he should send 20 elephants to the Emperor, and that till the payment of the indemnity, 4 leading Assamese noblemen should be given as hostages.

3. That Darrang (in the *Utarkul*) and Bilhali and Domarish (in the *Dakhikul*) should be subject to the Emperor, and that in the *Dakhikul*, the delimitation line between Assam and the Imperial dominions should be the river Kalang, and in the *Utarkul* it should be Alibarari. Rahmat Bānā, a daughter of the Assam Rajah, was given in marriage to Prince Mahamud Azam, her dower being one *lak* and Rs. 80,000. (See *Muzir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 73).

² See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 812. He was Viceroy of Bengal from 1658 to 1663. He died near Dacca in 30th March, 1663. In 1661, he had threatened to expel the English merchants from Hugli.—These, however, prudently submitted and were pardoned, on their tendering an apology through their Hugli agent, Trivisa, on their agreeing to pay Rs. 8,000 annually. See Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 35.

(VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB AMIR-UL-UMARA SHAISTA KHÂN)

After the *Khân-i-Khanan's* death, the office of Subadar of Bengal being conferred on Amir-ul-Umara *Shaista Khân*, the latter arrived in Bengal. For some years devoting himself to administrative work, he administered justice and promoted the welfare of the people. Bestowing grants of villages and lands on widows of nobles and others in straitened circumstances, he made them well-off. Spies informed the Emperor, whereon *Shaista Khân*¹ himself went to the latter and explained the true state of things. As the alleged dissipation of the Imperial revenue was unfounded, he was re-invested with the *Khellat* of appointment, and went back to Bengal.² But as the *Khân* was

¹ *Shaista Khân* was a son of *Emīnu-d-daulah Asaf Khân*, and a brother of *Mumtaz Mahal*, wife of *Shah Jahan*. His name was *Mirza Ali Talib*, and his titles were "Amir-ul-Umara *Shāista Khān*." In the reign of *Shah Jahan*, he became a *Buzhursi* and *Nazim* of *Balaghat* in the *Dakhin*, and subsequently *Sahdar* of *Behar* and *Patna*, when he invaded *Palau* (*Palamu*) and subdued *Pariah*, *Zamindar* of *Palau* (*Palamu*). He then became *Sahdar* of *Malwah* and *Gujrat* and subsequently *Viceroy* of all the *Subahs* of the *Dakhin*. He rendered good services to *Aurangzeb* in the latter's lightings with *Dara Shikoh* and *Sulaiman Shikoh*. On the death of *Mir Jumla*, he became *Viceroy* of *Bengal* in 1694 A.C. He chastised thoroughly the *Mag* pirates who harried the coasts of *Bengal*, and wrested from them *Chittagong* through the exertions of his own son, *Bazurg Umed Khān* the fort of *Chittagong*, and named it *Islamabad* (*Alamgirnāmah*, p. 940). He subsequently became a *Hafthursi* and *Viceroy* of *Agra*, where he died in 1105 A.H. He was held in high esteem by *Emperor Aurangzeb*, who bestowed on him high privileges and semi-royal honours. With all his greatness, *Shāista Khān* was meek and humble, courteous and affable, just and liberal, brave, noble, and enlightened. He established mosques with madrasas, rest-houses, bridges, and roads throughout India, and his charities were wide. He was married to a daughter of *Shah Nawaz Khān*, son of *Abdur Rahim Khān Khānān*. He forms a prominent figure in connection with the early commercial enterprises of the English East India Company. (See *Wilson's Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. 1, pp. 45—69 and 111, and *Hunter's "History of British India,"* Vol. 2, pp. 208—209). Nawab *Shāista Khān's* Viceroyalty in Bengal forms a brilliant chapter in the *Mughal* annals of *Bengal*, as during it many useful public works, such as *seats*, bridges, and roads were constructed, and the economic and agricultural condition of the people attained an unique degree of prosperity, in that a mound of rice sold in the *bazar* for two annas only (See *Munir-i-Alamgir*, pp. 167 and 305, and *Munir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 690).

² *Shāista Khān* was *Aurangzeb's* *Viceroy* of *Bengal* for a quarter of a

not desirous of staying in this Province, he used constantly to write letters to the Emperor, requesting permission to kiss the Royal feet, and begging deputation of some other officer to assume the office of *Ṣabadar* of this Province. At first his resignation was not accepted; but at length, owing to *Shahista Khān's* importunities, the *Nizamat* was bestowed on Nawab Ibrahim Khān, a son of 'Alimardan Khān *Yar Qadar*. Traces of the beneficent administration of the Nawab Amir-ul-umara are known not only in Bengal, but throughout Hindustan. One is this, that during his *Nizamat* the cheapness of food-grains was so great that for a *damri*,¹ one seer of rice could be purchased in the market. At the time of his return to the capital *Shahjahanabad* (Delhi), he caused the following inscription to be engraved on the western gate of *Jahangirnagar* (Dacca): "Let him only open this gate that can show the selling rate of rice as cheap as this." From his time onward till the *regime* of Nawab Shujaud-din Muhammad Khān, this gate remained closed. In the period of the Viceroyalty of Nawab Sarfaraz Khān, the gate was again opened, as will be mentioned hereafter.) The *Katrāh* and other buildings of the 'Amir-ul-umara' up to this day exist in *Jahangirnagar* (Dacca)."²

century with a short break, that is, from 1664 to 1680 A.C. He died in 1694 in his 93rd lunar year. For his purchase of pardon to the English in 1687, see Hunter's History Vol. 2, p. 260, f.n.

¹ A *dam* was equal to the fortieth part of the rupee, and a *damri* was equal to one-eighth part of a *dam* (See *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 31), that is, 320 *damris* made up one rupee. Therefore, during *Shahista Khān's* Viceroyalty in Bengal, for one rupee 8 maunds of rice could be had, in other words, the price, per maund, of rice was *two annas* only.

² The *Masir-i-Alauddin* (p. 368) is highly eulogistic in praise of Nawab *Shahista Khān*. It says that he established numerous caravanserais and erected numerous bridges throughout India. His great achievements in Bengal were (1) the Conquest of Chittagong which was named by him *Islamāhid* (for details see *Alauddin-namah*, p. 940); (2) the extirpation of the Mag pirates; (3) the improvement of the economic and agricultural condition of Bengal; and (4) construction of numerous useful public works. (See also *Masir-ul-umara*, p. 696, Vol. II). During his Viceroyalty, *Baldan Namjal*, Rajah of Tibet (through the exertions of Saif Khān *Ṣabadar* of *Kashmir*, *Murad Khān*, *zamindar* of *Tibat-i-Khari*, and *Muhammed Shah* envoy) submitted to Aurangzeb (pp. 921-922, *Alauddin-namah*).

³ It is strange that the author of the *Riwayat* in his account of the Viceroyalty of Nawab *Shahista Khān* should have omitted all mention of the Nawab's greatest military achievements in Bengal, viz., the conquest of

VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB IBRAHIM KHÂN.¹

Nawab Ibrahim Khân on being invested with the Khillat of the Nizāmat of the Subah of Bengal, arrived at Jahangirnagar

the Mags and Portuguese pirates and the re-conquest of Chittagong. I therefore translate freely the following contemporary account from the *Alamgir-namah* (Pers. text, p. 943):—

As the Mags emerging from Arrakan on war-veasels (Nawarah) and taking advantage of the struggle for supremacy between Aurangzeb and Shāh Shujā, harried the coasts of Bengal, Emperor Aurangzeb sent out orders to his Bengal Viceroy, Nawab Shajista Khān, to take immediate steps for chastising the Mags. With this object in view, Nawab Shajista Khān first took steps to guard and fortify his southern frontier out-posts. He appointed an Afghan named Said with 500 rocketeers and musketeers to charge of the Noakhali out-post, Muhammad Sharif, Faujdar of Hughli, with 500 rocketeers, 1,000 infantry and 20 guns to defend the out-post of Bankram-Kadab, and set Muhammad Beg Akakagh and Abū Hassan with the Imperial war-veasels which lay at Siripār to patrol the river. From Siripār to 'Alamgirnagar covering a distance of twenty-one kos, an embanked road as that it might not be flooded during the rains was also constructed under the Nawab's order, for military purposes. The Nawab then ordered Abū Hassan to bring round Dilawar, remainder of Sandip, or to punish him, as the latter secretly sided with the Mags. Abū Hassan attacked Sandip and fought with Dilawar, who being hit by an arrow fled to the jungles. Meanwhile, the Arrakanese fleet came up to Sandip to render assistance to Dilawar. Abū Hassan prepared to assault the Arrakanese fleet, which withdrew, and then Abū Hassan, not pursuing it, retired to Noakhali. Nawab Shajista Khān, on hearing of this, sent another fleet consisting of 1,500 gunners and 400 cavalry, commanded by Ibrāhīm Husain, Superintendent of the Nawarah (Fleet),

¹ Ibrahim Khān was the eldest son of Amir-ul-Umara 'Alī Mardan Khān. On his father's death, he was made a *Chahar bahari*, and subsequently a *Panjahari*. He became Subadar of Kachmir, of Lahor, of Bazar, and of Bengal in quick succession. His sons were Zuhairat Khān (who chastised the rebel Afghan, Rahim Khān) and Yaqūb Khān (who became Subadar of Lahor). He was recalled from Bengal in 1103 A.H. (in the 41st year of Aurangzeb's reign), when Shāhjadah Muhammad Azim, alias *Azīm-ah-Shah*, was appointed to his place. (See *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 71, 163, and 387, and *Masir-ul-umara*, Vol. I, p. 235). The English merchants styled him "the most famously just and good nabob" (see Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 124), as he allowed them to return from Madras and finally settle at Setasuti (future Calcutta) in the first year of his Viceroyalty (1690), after Emperor Aurangzeb had that year granted a 'general pardon' to the English merchants, on their making a most humble submissive petition, and on their 'promising to pay a fine of Rs. 150,000' (See Hunter's *India*, Vol. 2, pp. 292-295).

(Dacca) and devoted himself to administrative affairs. He unfurled to the oppressed the gates of justice and clemency, and did

Jamal Khān, Secundar Khān, Qarnaul Khān and Muhammad Beg, to re-inforce Abūl Hasan, to co-operate with the latter and occupy Sandip (Sandip), and to extirpate its samindar, Dilawar. Ibn-i-Husain with this re-inforcement moved up to Noakhali, which is in front of Sandip, and halted there with Muhammad Beg, in order to blockade the passage of the Arrakanese fleet. Abūl Hasan with others then attacked Sandip, wounded and captured Sharif, son of Dilawar, and captured also, after severe fighting, Dilawar with his followers, and sent them prisoners to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in charge of Manbar, samindar of Jahangirnagar, and subdued Sandip. Nawab Shaiista Khān, on getting news of the conquest of Sandip, appointed Abdūl Karim, brother of Rashid Khān, to the charge of Sandip, with 200 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. The Portuguese were at this time siding with the Arrakanese, so Nawab Shaiista Khān first took steps to detach the Portuguese, and for this purpose sent out letters to some of the leading Portuguese. Some of these letters falling into the hands of Karim Kibri, a Mag, who with a fleet was in the environs of Sandip, the latter communicated it to the Rajah of Arrakan, who lost confidence in the Portuguese, and ordered that the Portuguese should be deported from Chittagong to Arrakan. The Portuguese of Chittagong getting scent of this set fire to many of the Arrakanese fleet, and fled to Noakhali in the Mughal dominions. Farhad Khān, Commandant of Bhalash out-post, kept some Portuguese with himself, and sent their leaders to Nawab Shaiista Khān to Dacca (Jahangirnagar). The latter treated them generously. The Nawab then sent out an expedition to Chittagong in charge of his son, Buzurg Umed Khān, of Ikhtisar Khān Bacha, Sahab Singh Simudish, Miran Khān, Karan Khaji, with 2,000 cavalry. Orders were sent out to Farhad Khān, Treasurer of Bhalash, to move up with Ibn-i-Husain and Manbar samindar, with the fleet, and to Mir Mortaza, Superintendent of Artillery, to join Farhad Khān and to cover the latter's front. Captain Moore, Chief of the Portuguese in Chittagong, with his fleet was directed to render loyal services. Kamal, son of the former Rajah of Arrakan, who had taken shelter in Dacca in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, was also directed to go with Mir Mortaza, and to send conciliatory messages to the Mag Commander of Chittagong. Farhad Khān and Mir Mortaza proceeded by the land route, whilst Ibn-i-Husain, Muhammad Beg, and Manbar proceeded by the river route. These reached (setting out from Noakhali) Tuana Jugdish, on 16th Rajab; on the 18th Rajab, Farhad Khān with his followers crossed Finny river (Phan), and on the 24th Rajab reached near a tank, which was one day's distance from Chittagong, and then waited for the General-in-Chief, Buzurg Umed Khān. The latter on 21st Rajab crossed Finny river, and on 25th Rajab reached a point which was 10 kroś distant from Chittagong, and 8 kroś from Farhad Khān's encampment. The Imperial fleet halted at Domariak village, which was 20 kroś from Buzurg Umed Khān's encampment. On 27th Rajab, two naval engagements were

not allow an ant to be oppressed. As Emperor Aurangzeb was engrossed in fighting for twelve years in the Dakkhin with Alai Hasan¹ *alias* Tana Shāh, the Ruler of that Province, and with Sila and Sambha² Mahrattas, rebellious zamindars of Sattara, &c., disturbances³ broke out in several parts of the Empire owing to the Emperor's protracted absence from his capital. In the Subah of Bengal, in the district of Bardwān, Subha Singh, zamindar of Chitwah⁴ and Bardah, revolted, whilst Rahim Khān the cut-nosed, who was leader of the Afghāns, joined the former with a contingent of Afghāns. Kighan Ram, zamindar of Bardwan,⁵ who smarted under the former's oppressions advanced with his force to encounter him, and was killed. And the latter's wives and children, together with all his effects and

fought, in which the Arrakanese were defeated. The Arrakanese fleet then moved up to the Karauphuli river. Under orders of Buzurg Umed Khān, Mir Martaza cutting down the jungles, and laying down a road, moved up by land to near the Karauphuli, to re-inforce the Imperial fleet. Buzurg Umed Khān himself similarly moving up. A severe naval engagement took place in the Karauphuli river, in which the Mags were crushingly defeated, and Buzurg Umed Khān stormed Chittagong fort, captured the Arrakanese fleet, and subdued the whole tract of Chittagong, and 132 Arrakanese war-vessels, with guns, armaments and elephants, were captured. Emperor Aurangzeb ordered Chittagong to be named Islamabad, and conferred gifts on Nawab Shāista Khān, and raised his son Buzurg Umed Khān to the rank of *Hazir-o-Panahi*, and Farhad Khān to the rank of *Hazir-o-Panahi*, and conferred on Mir Martaza the title of 'Majid Khān,' and on Isha-i-Husain the title of Munassar Khān, and raised Manuar zamindar to the rank of *Hazir-o-Panahi*. This conquest of Chittagong took place in the 8th year of Aurangzeb's reign. See *Alamgirnama*, p. 336.

¹ See pp. 259, 144, 143, 244, 245, 290, 285, and 309, *Mausir-i-Alamgiri*.

² See pp. 142, 211, 319, 352, 308, *Mausir-i-Alamgiri*.

³ The text does not narrate another disturbance that had previously broken out on the Assam frontier. The Assamese had attacked the Imperial garrison at Ganhati, and killed its Faujdar, named Syed Firuz Khān. For the purpose of chastising the Assamese, an Imperial expeditionary force was sent out by Aurangzeb to Assam (*Mausir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 64).

⁴ Chitwa or Chatwah is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (see Jarret's Tr. Vol. 2, p. 141) as a *pargana* or *mahal* under Sarkar Madaxan. I have failed to trace Bardha, which may be a misprint in the text for Balgarhi, another *mahal* under the same Sarkar, or for Bharkondah (var. Bhargodha), a *mahal* under Sarkar Sharifabad (see *Ain*, Vol. 2, p. 139).

⁵ Bardwan appears in the *Ain* (Vol. 2, p. 139) as a *mahal* under Sarkar Sharifabad.

treasures, were captured, and his son, Jagat Rai, taking to his heels, fled to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), which was the Viceregal capital of Bengal. On hearing of this, Nur-ul-lāh Khān,¹ Faujdār² of the Chaklāh of Jassar (Jessore), Hugli, Bardwān, and Mednipur, who was very opulent and had commercial business, and who also held the dignity of a Sehnaāri, marched out from Jassar³ in order to chastise and subdue the rebels. From the din of the enemy's march, considering himself unable to stand the onset, he retired to the fort of Hugli, and sought for help from the Christian Dutch of Chuchrah (Chinsurah). The enemy, on getting news of Nurullah's cowardice, promptly set to besiege the fort, and after skirmishes reduced the garrison to straits. And that coward, acting on Shaikh S'adi's counsel:

"When you cannot vanquish the enemy by your might,
You ought to close the gate of disturbance, with largeness,"

throwing away his treasures and effects, considered it lucky to save his own life. With a nose and two ears, clad in a rag, he came out of the fort; and the fort of Hugli, together with all his effects and property fell into the enemy's hands. From the occurrence of this disaster there was a universal commotion. The leading gentry and nobility of the town and suburbs, and the merchants and residents of the environs, together with their effects, took refuge in Chuchrah (Chinsurah), which was a place of security. The Dutch leaders sailed up to the foot of the fort with two ships loaded with soldiers and armaments, and by a shower of cannon-balls, they battered the buildings of the fort, and flooded the harvest of numerous lives with the torrent of destruction. Subha Singh, not arranging terms of peace, fled to Satgaon, close to Hugli, and there, too, not finding

¹ This Nurullah Khān appears to have been subsequently promoted by Aurangzeb to the post of Deputy Subadar of Orissa (See *Memoirs of Aurangzeb*, p. 169).

² Ain, II, says: "In the same way that His Majesty (Emperor Akbar), for the prosperity of the Empire, has appointed a Commander of the forces for each Province, so by his rectitude of judgment, &c., . . . he appertains several pargannahs to the care of one of his trusty, just and disinterested servants, called a Faujdār." (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, p. 40).

³ Apparently, Jessore or Jassar at the time formed the head-quarters station of the Maghal Faujdār of the Chaklāh or Division, including Jessore, Hugli, Bardwān, and Mednipur districts.

it practicable to hurry, retired to Bardwan, and under the lead of Raḥīm Khān marched thence with his rabble towards Nadia and Murshidabad, which was then called Makhgusabad. Amongst the women and children of the slain Kishan Ram that were captives in the oppressive grip of Subhā Singh, the former's daughter was adorned with the ornaments of beauty and elegance and of chastity and modesty. That wretch of a villain (Subhā Singh) plotted to stain the hem of the maiden's chastity with the filth of defilement. As fate would have it, that dog of a night wanted to pounce on that maiden,¹ and through seduction of Satan, it stretched out its hand towards her. That lion-like maiden with the swiftness of the wink of blood-shedding eyes, by means of a sharp knife which she secreted with herself for such an occasion, cut him up from below the navel to the belly, and with the same sharp knife cut asunder the thread of her own life. When this world-consuming fire was extinguished, another arose in the person of that villain's brother, by the name of Himat Singh. The latter also resolved to set the world on fire, and attempted to plunder and pillage the Imperial domains. And Raḥīm Khān, owing to the strength of his rabble and clan, styled himself Raḥīm Shāh. Placing crookedly on the head of pride the cup of vanity, and collecting a large number of low and ignorant *badaashas*, he redoubled the flame of insurrection,² so that from Bardwan to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) on the west of the Ganges, half the Province of Bengal was harried by him. And whoever amongst the Imperial adherents refused to submit to him was punished and tortured. Amongst them, in the environs of Murshidabad, there lived an Imperial officer, named Neamat Khān, with his family and dependants. When he refused to join Raḥīm Shāh the latter, thirsty for his blood, ordered his head to be brought. Seeing the measure of his life full to the brim, Neamat Khān prepared to drink out of the cup of martyrdom, and advanced to the field. Tanhar Khān, his nephew, who was as brave as his name implied, spurring on his charger, made a brave onset. At length the forces of the enemy hemmed him in, and from every side attacked him, so that he drank the syrup of martyrdom, and his comrades, one after another, were levelled

¹ Literally, "Chinese deer."

² This opportunity was utilised by the English for fortifying their new settlement in Calcutta.—See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 147.

round him on the bed of annihilation. Neamat Khān, on seeing this, without cuirass and armour, tying a sword to his unlined garment, mounted a swift charger, cut through the right and left wings of the enemy's force, and, dashing up to the centre, inflicted a cut on the head of Rahim Shāh. As fate would have it, Neamat's sword striking against the latter's helmet broke. From ferocity of disappointed rage, putting his grip on Rahim's face and seizing his waist with the hand, by sheer strength, Neamat dismounted Rahim from his horse and threw him on the ground. With great agility then springing from his own horse, Neamat sat on the top of Rahim's chest, and drawing a dagger from his waist struck him on the throat. Accidentally, the dagger got entwined in the link of the cuirass of Rahim and did not penetrate through to his throat. Meanwhile, the adherents of Rahim Shāh coming up wounded Neamat Khān, by inflicting cuts on him with swords and spears, so that he was disabled, and dragging him down from his saddle, they throw him down on the ground. Rahim Shāh, recovering life in a way a second time, remained unhurt and unscathed. And they carried Neamat Khan to a tent, with his sickering life, in a state of fainting. From excessive thirst, he opened his eyes to signal for water. When the men of Rahim Shāh brought a cup of water, his feelings revolted against his drinking it out of their hands, and thus with a parched lip he quaffed the goblet of martyrdom. The samindars of the environs and the news-messengers, in succession, carried this woful news to Nawab Ibrahim Khān, to Jahangir-nagar (Dacca). The Nawab, to whom the following couplet is applicable :—

"Although possessed of the strength of a lion,
In seeking vengeance, he was flabby like a soft sword "

owing to pusillanimity, said : " War causes the spilling of blood of God's creatures ; what necessity is there that the blood of people on both sides should be shed ? " And when from messages and news-letters, the gist of this disaster reached the Emperor in the Dakkhin, an Imperial order was despatched to Zabardast Khān, son of Ibrahim Khān, conferring on him the office of Faujdar¹

¹ Apparently, Zabardast Khān was appointed to the office of Faujdar

of the *chaklaks* of Bardwan, Mednipur, etc., insisting on the chastisement of the miscreant enemy, and directing the Nazims and Fanjdars of the Subahs of Oudh and Allahabad and Behar, that, wherever they might get trace of the enemy, they should capture him with his women and children. It was also proclaimed that whoever would desert the enemy should be granted security of life, and whoever would join the enemy and thereby draw the paint of infamy on the face, should have his family extirpated. And so it came to pass. Shortly after, the Subahdari of Bengal and Behar was conferred on Prince 'Azim-shah, who was ordered to proceed to Bengal with a number of the Imperial officers. The noble Khān, named Zabardast Khān, on the very receipt of the Imperial order, fitting out a fleet of war-vessels armed with artillery, sailed up from Jahangirnagar (Dacca) with a numerous force, and spurred on the charger of war. Rahim Shāh, on hearing news of the approach of the Imperial army of vengeance, swiftly marched to the banks of the Ganges, with a large army, consisting of infantry and cavalry. Zabardast Khān, mooring his war-vessels alongside the river-bank, quickly entrenched himself in front of the enemy's force, arrayed his troops for battle, and placed in front of the entrenchment of those Gog-like people the projecting parts of waggons, in the shape of Alexander's wall. On the next day, advancing from his entrenchment, he arrayed his troops, posting armed heroes and warriors in the right and left wings, in the centre, in the van, and in the rear. Placing the artillery in front, he advanced like the wave of the sea, and struck the kettledrum of war. When the din of call to battle resounded in the ear of Rahim Shāh, the latter became perturbed, but moved with his intrepid Afghan soldiers to encounter the Imperialists. From the side of the Imperialists, Zabardast Khān ordered the artillery to be brought into action, and directed the discharge of muskets and war-rockets. The gunners and musketeers and rocketeers did not slacken their fire, whilst gallant combatants charged with their swords, and worked havoc in the enemy's ranks.

of the *chaklaks* of Jassar, Hugli, Bardwan and Mednipur, in the place of Nurullah Khān, who was apparently recalled for his pusillanimity.

1 It would appear, like Nurgillāh, Nawab Ibrahim Khān was also recalled promptly for exhibition of pusillanimity. The latter was a bookworm and a man of peace.

They charged with their spears and swords,
 And shed profuse blood on that battle-field.¹ [the infantry,
 From the smoke of gun-waggons and from the dust raised by
 The earth up to the sky became pitchy dark.
 From profuse spilling of blood on that battle-field,
 One roaring sea of crimson was spread.
 The heads of warriors looked like ripples therein,
 Their corpses swam like fish therein.

After terrible carnage, the cowardly Afghans took to their heels and Rahim Shāh retreated from the field. Zabardast Khān, who was strong and agile, became triumphant, and striking blows after blows, drove the Afghans like cattle to their tents. For three full hours the fire of warfare continued to blaze. Towards sun-down, owing to the excessive sultriness of the wind, and owing to terrible exertion and fatigue, the cavalry had to give up the chase. So the victors withdrew their hands from the work of blazing the fire of warfare and encamped on the battle-field, and set about washing, and burying the dead, and nursing and dressing the wounded. They passed the night in alertness and watchfulness, posting advance-guards and night-patrols. Next morning when the King of the East,² riding on a blue charger³ and suspending the dagger of rays, advanced on the plain of the celestial sphere, the darkness of the hosts of night and the troops of stars became effaced, nay extinguished, by its one onset; and again triumphantly seeking vengeance, the victors set about setting their forces in battle-array. On the approach of the two armies, they charged with their spears, swords, and daggers. The Imperialists tying the girdle of devotion and self-sacrifice to the waist of their lives, engaged in killing the insurgents, and piled up a heap from the slain. And after two hours' fighting the Afghan force was once again shattered. Rahim Shāh, stooping to the disgrace of flight, fled, and in a hapless state took the route to Murshidabad. Zabardast Khān to a distance of one *farsakkā* rode forward, beat and chased the enemy, captured and slew a large number of the rebels, and capturing their treasures, effects, armaments and horses,

¹ This battle was fought near Bhagwanpālah—See Stewart's *Bengal and Wilson's Annals*, Vol. I, p. 142.

² That is, the sun.

³ That is, the sky.

triumphantly returned to his own camp. He then made a gift of the booty to the soldiers, according to their rank, and did not spare himself in winning their hearts. For three days he halted there, and looked after the nursing of the wounded. For the purpose of effectually blockading the passages, and cutting off the enemy's supplies he despatched stringent orders to the zamindars and watchmen of passages. He sent the wounded soldiers, together with the more precious goods and spoils, to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), and detailed scouts in all directions for ascertaining the whereabouts of those who had fled. Rahim Shāh, in a hapless condition and in an anxious mood, reached Murshidabad, and there exerted himself diligently to mobilise troops. Rallying round some of his vanquished rabble, who were in a state of disorder, and also others who were in straits and without armour and helmets, he opened out his treasures and chests, and by distributing horses and arms and by lavishing money, he quickly mobilised an army, and once again prepared for battle. Zabardast Khān,¹ on the fourth day, striking the kettledrum of march from the battle-field, advanced in pursuit of the enemy towards Murshidabad. In the meantime, the zamindars of the vicinity flocked in and joined the Imperialists. After marching several stages, Zabardast Khān encamped on the east side of the plain. Rahim Shāh, seeing the overwhelming force of the Imperialists, felt himself no match for them, and cowardly fled to Bardwan. Zabardast Khān hotly chased him and gave him no rest.

—o—

(VICEROYALTY OF SHĀHZĀDĀH WĀLAGUĤAR
MUHAMMAD 'AZIMU-SH-SHAN AND THE
FALL OF RAHIM² KHĀN.)

(As related before, Shāhzādāh Wālaguĥar Muhammad 'Azimu-sh-Shan,³ son of Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shāh,

¹ Zabardast Khān was the eldest son of Ibrahim Khān, son of Āli Mardan Khān. Zabardast Khān rose subsequently to the office of Sādar of Oudh and Ajmir, and also to the rank of a *Chaharbasari*. His great service was the defeat of the Afghan insurgents led by Rahim Khān, during the Viceroyalty of his father, Ibrahim Khān, in Bengal. (See *Musir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 300, and also *Musir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 397 and 407).

² "Rahim Khān" is misprinted in the Persian printed text as "Ibrahim Khān."

³ Prince Muhammad 'Azim alias Azimu-sh-Shan was a son of Aurangzeb's eldest son, Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shāh, by the latter's wife, who was

received from the Emperor a special *Khilat*, together with a jewelled sword, a high *Masand* and the Insignia of the *Mahi*¹ Order, and was appointed *Sāhadar* of Bengal and Behar.)

For the chastisement of the rebels, he started from the Dakhin with his two sons, named Sultan Karimuddin and Muhammad Farukh Sir for the *Subah* of Behar, and swiftly arrived in Behar *vid* *Subah* Oudh and Allahabad. The Prince issued Royal mandates, as potent as God's decrees, summoning to his presence the *Zamindars*, 'Amils, and *Jagirdars*. These appeared in His Highness' presence with tributes and gifts, and were recipients of valuable *Khillats* according to their respective ranks. (And attending to the administration of the State affairs, they paid in the revenue and taxes into the Imperial treasury. The fiscal and administrative affairs were entrusted to honest *Diwāns* and thrifty *Karkuns*, and *Tahsildars* were appointed to charges of *Circles* and *Mahals*.) All of a sudden, news of the victory of *Zabardast Khān* and of the defeat of *Rahim Shāh* arrived through the medium of news-letters. Fancying that the flash of victory and triumph that was worthy of himself might be angled by another, who would go in for reward on account of good services, and fearing that *Zabardast Khān*, who was a grandson of *Nayab 'Alimardan Khān*,² in recogni-

a daughter of *Rup Singh Bathor*. He was born on the 6th *Jamadi-ul-Awal*, 1074 A.H. (in the 8th year of *Aurangzeb's* reign). (See *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 49). He married in 1089 A.H. (in the 11st year of *Aurangzeb's* reign) a daughter of *Korat Singh*, who received as *jhāt* or dowry Rs. 52,000, jewel-larins, one *pulki*, five *dāfīs* with embroidered and jewelled pillows. (See *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 107). He married in the 36th year of *Aurangzeb's* reign (1103 A.H.) a daughter of *Bab-Allah Khān* (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 347). In 1108 A.H. (in the 41st year of *Aurangzeb's* reign), he succeeded to the *Viceroyalty* of Bengal, including *Kach Behar*, in succession to *Ibrahim Khān*. (See *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 357). In 1114 A.H., Behar was added to his Bengal *Viceroyalty* (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 470).

1 The Order of the *Mahi* was one of the most Exalted Orders founded under the *Mughal* regime in India.

2 'Alī Mardan Khān *Amir-ul-Umara* rendered important services to the State in the reign of *Shāh Jahān*, and rose to the office of *Sābadar* of *Kashmir* and the *Panjab* and to the rank of a *Hafiz-Amori*. In 1080 A.H., he became *Sābadar* of *Kabul*, and also subsequently received the title of *Amir-ul-Umara*. In 1086 A.H., he invaded *Balkh* and *Badakhshan* and partially subjugated those tracts. Subsequently he became again *Sābadar* of *Lahore*. In 1097 A.H. he died, and was buried at *Lahore*. His rectitude of purpose, straightforwardness in conduct, firm loyalty, and sincerity combined with

tion of such valuable services, might be invested with the office of Subahdar of Bengal, the ambitious *Shāhrādāh*, moving from *Subah Behar*, swiftly marched to *Rajmahal*, and spurring his horse for the chastisement of the rebels advanced with his large force to *Bardwan*. The Prince ignored *Zabardast Khān*'s services, and failed to bestow on him a single word of praise or encouragement. The aforesaid *Khān*, becoming depressed by the apathy of the *Shāhrādāh*, and finding his great labours wasted, resolved to proceed to the Emperor. Caring not for the power of the *Shāhrādāh*, he struck the kettle-drum of march, and took the route to the *Dakhin*. *Rahim Shāh* who, from fear of the fury of that lion of the forest of warfare, had been hiding like the fox and the jackal, in the holes of the mouse and the serpent, finding now an opportunity, brought back water into the rivulet of his ambition, and triumphantly made incursions on the frontiers of *Bardwan*, *Hugli*, and *Nadia*. Pillaging the inhabitants of that tract he desolated it, nay rendered it a den of wild beasts and a nest of owls and crows. After the departure of *Zabardast Khān* the Prince, with great self-reliance, despatched mandates and orders to *Jabāngirnagar* (*Daoca*) for conciliating and reassuring the *Zamindars* and *Faujdar*s. His Highness himself, slowly marching from *Akbarnagar* (*Rajmahal*), advanced stage by stage, studying the convenience of his troops. The *Amils*, *Faujdar*s, and *zamindars*, with appropriate contingents drawn from their respective *mahals*, presented themselves before the Prince with gifts and tributes, and accompanied the latter in his Royal Progress. The ill-fated *Rahim Shāh*, fancying the news of the approach of the Prince to be a fiction, like his own fate, was sleeping the sleep of negligence. When, however, the news of the approach of the Royal Army reached the ear of that wretch, he hurriedly and anxiously concentrated his *Afghan* levies who were scattered far and near, and prepared for warfare. That royal eagle of the summit of the Empire, caring not for that flock of sparrows,

bravery, soon gave him an unique position amongst the Imperial officers of his day, and he enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign, who used to call him "*Yor Dfadar*" or the "faithful friend."

His important public works were (1) the irrigation of a large canal joining the river *Ravi* with *Lahore* city; (2) the establishment of a splendid public garden called "*Shalamar*" together with aqueducts, reservoirs, and fountains, on the banks of that canal, close to *Lahore*. (See *Mussir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 807).

set out unhesitatingly, without baggage and paraphernalia, and pitched his camp in the outskirts of Bardwan. There the Prince suspended the royal pearl of salutary advice to the ear of that contemptible prevaricator, promised reward in the event of acceptance, and threatened vengeance in the event of refusal. That dissembler treated the bright pearl of the order of the Prince ostensibly as the jewel of the ear, but covertly as the gravel of his own eyes, that is, apparently he shewed signs of submission, but in reality, he sowed the thorn of rebellion and dissimulation in the field of his heart. He besought to his assistance Khwajah Anwar, elder brother of Khwajah 'Asim,¹ who was a high officer and a boon companion of the Prince, and in fact the latter's prime-minister, and represented that in case the Khwajah came and promised on oath and re-assured his mind, next morning he would proceed in his company to the Prince's presence, to sue for pardon for misdemeanour. The guileless Prince, ignorant of the wiles of that traitor, assenting to his request, ordered the above Khwajah to proceed early in the morning to Rahim Shāh's camp, and instructed him to reassure the latter and to fetch him to the Royal Darbar to publicly avow submission. Next morning the abovementioned Khwajah, following the order of his master, adopted no measures of precaution, and rode out with a few relations and friends. Halting in front of the camp of Rahim Shāh, he sent information, and on horseback remained on the look-out. Hiding his armed Afghan soldiers in his tent, Rahim Shāh was in pursuit of treachery. Opening towards the envoy the door of wiles and softness, he requested that the Khwajah should enter his camp. Fearing lest smoke might arise from the fire of the reptile, the above Khwajah hesitated to go in, and making promises summoned out Rahim Shāh. When the demands of both sides resulted in a parley and the object of the mission remained unaccomplished, suddenly Rahim Shāh with an armed force sallied out of his camp shouting and advanced in front of the Khwajah. From wounds of the tongue it culminated in wounds of the spear. Fathoming the water underneath the straw, Khwajah Anwar, regretted his coming, and wanted to return without ac-

¹ Khwajah Asim came to Agra from Badakhshan, and subsequently received the title of "Sanjam-ul-daulah Khan Dauran Amir-ul-Umara." The *Mansur-ul-Umara*, p. 819, Vol. I, says his elder brother's name was "Khwajah Muhammad Jafar-Khan." Dauran was wounded in the battle with Nadir Shah, and died in 1151 A.H.

completing the object of his mission. Rahim Shāh, advancing forward, commenced fighting. Being compelled to encounter him, Khwajah Anwar gallantly and bravely fought, and made heroic exertions, but being covered with mortal wounds, fell together with a number of his comrades. Finding the field deserted, the Afghans with swords rushed out and attacked the Royal camp of the Prince.

When that scion of the Imperial family
Beheld perfidy in that prevaricator,
And also in regard to the condition of Khwajah Anwar,
News arrived that his head had been severed from his body ;
His face became cherry from rage,
He called for arms from the armour-bearer,
He placed the cuirass on the shoulder and the helmet on the
head,
From head to foot he became a figure of iron.
He suspended an adamantine sword,
And placed tightly a dagger in his waist.
He tied one sunny shield to his shoulder,
And placed a shining spear in his hand,
He hung a quiver from his waist,
And threw round the shoulder a Kaianian bow.¹
He tied a noose to the top of his *howdah*,
And clutched with the hand an iron mace.
He gave order that the Generals of the army
Should collect quickly near the Royal tents.
At his order, the battle-seeking army
Flocked in towards the Prince.
When the Prince mounted his elephant,
He looked like the sun on a mountain.
The kettledrum of battle was struck, and the army moved,
Like the river waving.
He advanced to the field and raised aloft his standard,
And boldly set himself to put his troops in array.
He arranged his centre and wings :
The right and left wings, the rear and the van.

¹ The old Kaianian sovereigns of Persia or Iran were capital archers and marksmen. Their bows were famous for range and precision of shot. See *Namā-ye Kāshānī*, p. 44, for an account of Kaianian Kings.

From the overwhelming number of his force, and from
 the Imperial prestige,
 The world quaked with terror.
 He rode up to the battle-field,
 But was dilatory in delivering an assault.

When the battle-field was arranged, and the cavalry and infantry, like the men at chess, were set in their proper places, Rahim Shah made a hostile flank movement, and fought gallantly. A number of Afghan troopers clad in cuirass and armed with daggers, by a desperate sally, galloped right through the ranks of the Imperialists, reached the centre, and sought for the Prince, shouting out "*Azimu-sh-Shān*." Attacking the Royal elephant with their horses, they prepared to give the final checkmate. The Imperial cavalry and infantry, unable to withstand the onslaughts of those villains, left the Prince in a corner before the enemy and fled. Thus the thread of the arrangement of the Imperial army was snapped. Rahim Shāh, breaking through the outrenchments, attacked the Prince's elephant. At this crisis, and at the sight of this impudent daring, Hamid Khān Quraishi,¹ who was standing at a short distance, spurred on his charger like an arrow shot from its bow, attacked Rahim Shāh, and said, "Villain, I am Azimu-sh-Shān." Promptly discharging a rock-piercing arrow from his quiver, he pierced Rahim Shāh on the chest.

He pulled out his bow from its string
 And drew out his *Khadang*² arrow from its quiver.
 He joined the arrow-notch to the ass's leather,
 And aimed at that giant.
 When the arrow-notch was shot to take aim,
 It pierced through the breast of that fighting demon,
 Piercing right through his breast,
 It figured like the balance from weight.

In quick succession Hamid Khān shot other arrows at the neck of Rahim Shāh's horse, and laid low both its neck and head. Rahim Shāh, owing to two mortal wounds on the breast, was

¹ He was a son of Daud Khān Quraishi. See n. ante and p. 27 *Muqarrat-un-Nawaz*, vol. 2.

² *Khadang* is the white poplar tree of which arrows and bows are prepared.

felled to the ground. Hamid Khān with great agility sprang down from his horse, and sat upon Rahim Shāh's chest, and severing the villain's head from his body whirled it round on a spear. At the sight of this, the cowardly Afghan soldiery faltered and fled, whilst the standards of those insolent villains were turned upside down. The zephyr of triumph and victory once again blew on the tails of the Imperial banners, and the Imperial band of victory and triumph struck up loudly, whilst cries of "Allah, Allah" resounded from the earth to the sky. The cavalry of the victorious Imperial army chased the vanquished to their tents, and whoever amongst young or old fell across the range of its career became the food of the crocodile of blood-drinking swords; whilst the rest who escaped the sword, scampered off, covered with wounds and racked by anxieties. Much booty and numerous captives fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The fortunate Prince, an associate of triumph and victory, entered Bardwan, and made a pilgrimage to the noble shrine of the saint Shāh Ibrahim¹ Saqqā. Making votive offerings, the Prince entered the citadel, and sent a congratulatory message on this victory to the Emperor, and despatched troops for chastising the adherents and abettors of the miscreant Afghans. Wherever trace could be found of their whereabouts, they were captured and slaughtered, and in a short time the districts of Bardwan, Hugli, and Jasar (Jessore) were purged of the desilement caused by the Afghan raiders. The tracts that had been desolated by the ravages of these rebels once again became fertile. Jagat Rai, son of Kishan Rai, the slain Zamindar of Bardwan, was invested with the khilat of the hereditary Zamindari of his forefathers. In a similar way, other Zamindars of that tract who had been oppressed and banished by the Afghans, were re-assured by Royal Proclamations of goodwill, and re-installed in their hereditary ranks and dignities. Taking fresh settlements of the Khatah mahals (crown lands) and of Jagirs, these commenced making collections of rent; whilst the holders of Tiyals² and Aimaks and

¹ In Stewart, "Bahram." He was a saint who lived at Bardwan, but I have not been able to get details of his career.

² "Tiyals" or "Tiyuls" and "Jagirs" are corresponding terms, and signify the same class of land-tenure. These were conferred for a specified time on Mautadars in lieu of salaries, and also on others by way of reward during lifetime or a fixed period. In the early Moghal period, the word "Tiyal" is frequently mentioned, but it frequently gives way to the word

Altamghas re-entered into the possession of their respective mahals.) Hamid Khān Qarnāshi, in recognition of his gallantry was rewarded by the Emperor with the advancement of his manṣab, with the bestowal of the title of Shāmsahīr Khān Bahadur, and with the office of Faujdar of Silhat (Sylhet) and Bandaul (?). And the other officers of the Prince, who had rendered good services, according to the measure of their services, and according to their ranks, were honoured with manṣabs and dignities. The Prince halted in the fort of Bardwan, which contained the Residency of the Faujdars of that district, laid the foundations of buildings, and erected a Cathedral mosque. And in Hugli, he founded Shahganj,¹ alias

Jagir, from Akbar's time. In the time of Sher Shāh, the Afghan king, the word *Jagir* is also frequently used. In the Ghurian, Khūji and Tughlak periods, the word 'Iqta,' corresponding to 'Jagir,' is frequently used. (See Tabakat-i-Nasiri, Tarikh-i Firuz Shāhi, and Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 270.)

(Besides the "Jagirs" or "Iqtas" or "tiyals," there was another class of land-tenures which were conferred for benevolent purposes, were hereditary (unlike Jagirs), and free from revenue and cesses, and imposed no obligations for military or other services. These before Mughal times were called *malik*, *madad-i-mash*, *ayams* and *altamghas*, but were denominated in Mughal times by the Chaghatai word "Sayurgahs." An officer called Sadr-i-Jahan, or Administrator-General, was in charge of these Sayurgahs. These were conferred on the following four classes of persons: (1) On enquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from worldly occupations and make no difference between night and day in searching after knowledge; (2) on such as practise self-denial and have renounced society of men; (3) on such as are weak and poor and have no strength for enquiry; (4) on honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are unable to take up a profession." (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi, pp. 333, 332, and 335, and Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 268, 270, 271, 272.)

Sher Shāh was very liberal in conferring these *simahi* and *altamghas*, which, however, were considerably resented by Akbar who, on account of his hatred of the Ulems, deprived them of their *madad-i-mash* lands, and banished most of them to Bengal. (See note in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 270, and *Badauni*, Vol. II, pp. 274, 276, 279.)

(*Altamgha*, a Turkish word, meant a 'real royal seal or stamp' and also a 'royal grant' of rent-free tenure, which was perpetual, hereditary, and transferable. (See Ain, Vol. II, p. 57 e). In founding this system of Sayurgahs or Altamghas, the Mussalman Rulers were actuated by a desire to perpetuate the three aristocracies of birth, of character, and of intellect. Care was taken to also maintain more or less permanently the fourth aristocracy of wealth, as the Zamindars under Mughal Emperors were more or less permanent quasi-state functionaries.)

¹ Shahganj town lies between Bandaulia and Hugli towns. When

'Azimganj, and named it after himself. And he extended the scope of the *Sayer* taxes that had hitherto been levied only on wares and silk-stuffs. And he levied customs-duties, in the shape of tax,¹ at the rate of 2½ per cent. on the goods of Mussalmans, and 3 per cent. on the goods of Hindus and Christians.² He held in esteem and respect the learned, the good, and the noble; and in the society of the nobility and the gentry, he discussed the subjects of Theology, Casuistry, Traditions, poetical works of Maulana Rûm³ (God's mercy be on him), and History. He showed an anxious solicitude to profit by the advice of saints and he exerted himself to promote the welfare of the realm. One day he sent Sultân Karīmā-d-dīn and Muhammad Farukh-sir to invite over Šafi Bāizid,⁴ who was the most glorious amongst the saints of Bardwan. On their approach the saint greeted them with the salutation of "Salam Alaekum." Sultân Karīmā-d-dīn, assuming the gravity of princely rank, did not respond; but Farukh-sir walking

¹ I was at Haghil in 1887, I saw at Shahganj an old dilapidated mosque which was said to have been erected by Prince Asimugh-Shah.

² This is another saint of Bardwan, the details of whose career are unknown to me.

³ There is nothing to wonder at in this, for one finds the same invidious distinction in a more accentuated form was observed by another European Christian community in the 16th and 17th centuries. "Mussulmans were to pay duty on all Merchandise. Portuguese were to be exempt." (See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 145).

⁴ Maulana Rûm is the renowned Mystic or Sufi Persian poet. His name was Maulana Jallāl-d-dīn. He was born at Balkh in 604 A.H., and died in 672 A.H. He was a great saint. His *Masnavi* is a storehouse of spiritual treasures, and has well been described thus:—

مثنوی مولوی معنوی • هست قرآن در زبان بیلوی

Selflessness was the keynote to his teachings, which further inculcated the cultivation of a constant sense of Divine presence in all human actions. For instance, he says:—

الله الله غیر الله نیست کسی • الله الله گشت مارا همتش

Again:—

الله الله خون چه نیکو کردی • آشکارا غنی دور پردی

* The word used is "tungha." "In every Kingdom, Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land-revenue, and this they call *Tungha*." (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 57).

up barefooted, stood respectfully and after offering salutations communicated his father's message. The saint, being pleased with the courteous behaviour of Farukh-sir, took the latter by the hand, and said: "Sit down, you are Emperor of Hindustan," and he offered prayer for Farukh-sir. The arrow of the saint's prayer reached the butt of Divine acceptance. As a result of courteous behaviour on the part of Farukh-sir, what the sire desired was bestowed on the son. When the saint arrived to meet 'Azim-ch-Shān, the latter advanced, and making apologies besought the saint's prayer for the attainment of the object which His Highness had in view. The saint said: "What you seek, I have already bestowed on Farukh-sir, and now the discharged arrow cannot be recalled." Offering the Prince benedictions, the saint returned to his own closet. In short, being satisfied with the administrative methods and arrangements introduced in respect of the affairs of the tracts of the Chakla of Bardwan, Hugli, Hijli, and Midnapur, &c., the Prince set out on Imperial war-vessels, constructed by Shāh Shujā, towards Jahangirnagar (Dacca). After arrival at Dacca, he set himself to organise the administration of that tract. When information about certain improper acts of the Prince like practices of Sauda-i-Khāṣ and Sauda-i-'Am, and the wearing of saffron-coloured red clothes at the time of the Holi, which is the Nauroz or New Year of the Hindus, through the medium of messages of news-writers and historiographers, reached Emperor Aurangzeb, the latter was annoyed.¹ The Emperor wrote thereon to the Prince as follows: "A Saffron-coloured helmet on thy head, a red garment on thy shoulder, thy venerable age verging on forty-six years; hurrah on thy beard and moustache!" In regard to Sauda-i-Khāṣ the Emperor wrote the following across the news-letter, and putting his own signature returned it: "What propriety is there in

¹ Aurangzeb's pen was as much dreaded as his sword. As a writer of caustic and terse letters full of withering sarcasms, few Persian writers surpass Aurangzeb. He was in the habit of constantly writing D.-O. letters to his officers, in order to keep them straight. The reader who wishes to have a taste of Aurangzeb's caustic sarcasm, might turn to the original Persian, as I am afraid I have not been able to convey its full relish in this English dressing. I quote the original Persian:—

چیزم زعفرانی بر سر و حلقه از دهنی در بر سر شریف چهل و شش - کنون

برین ریش و نش -

calling public oppression *Sauda-i-Khāṣ*, and what connection has *Sauda-i-Khāṣ* with *Sauda-i-'Am*?

Those who purchase—sell;

We neither purchase nor sell."

And by way of censure, to serve as a deterrent, the Emperor reduced the Prince's manṣab by 500. The meanings of *Sauda-i-Khāṣ* and *Sauda-i-'Am* are as follows: "All the goods which arrived on board the mercantile ships at the port of Chittagong (Chittagong), &c., were bought up on behalf of the Prince,¹ and were styled *Sauda-i-Khāṣ*; afterwards these very goods were re-sold to the merchants of this country, when they were called *Sauda-i-'Am*. When the news-letter containing the Emperor's signature came to be perused by the Prince, the latter abandoned the afore-said trade. The Emperor Aurangzeb appointed Mirza Hadi to the office of Diwān of the Province of Bengal, after bestowing on him the title of Kār Talab Khān. The Mirza was a sagacious man, and an officer of honesty and integrity. He had already held the office of Diwān of the Šābah of Orissa. In several *Mahals* pertaining to Orissa he had effected retrenchments in expenditure, and had thus become prominent amongst the Imperial officials. He was held matchless in probity and rectitude of purpose. Rendering eminent services, in periods of siege and war, he had got into the good graces of Emperor Aurangzeb. At that period, the reins of the administration of Financial and Revenue affairs, the power over the assessment and collection of revenue, and payments into and disbursements from the Imperial Treasury lay in the hands of the Diwān of the Šābah. The Nazim had jurisdiction over the Procedure and Administration of Political affairs, such as the repression and chastisement of the refractory and the disobedient, and the extirpation of rebels and tyrants. Except with regard to the *Jagirs* attached to the Nizāmat and personal Manṣabs and presents, the Nazim had no power to

¹ The reader might note that there is a pun here on the word 'sauda,' which in Persian means both 'trade' and 'madness.'

² "Asim-ah-Rān was lazy and covetous. He was ready to concede anything for a sufficient bribe." In July 1698, for the sum of Rs. 16,000, the English were permitted by the Prince to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanuti, and Gobindpur. (See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 139).

meddle with the Imperial revenue. Both the Nazim and the Diwan were guided in the administration of the affairs of the Subah by a Procedure Code¹ that was issued year after year by the Emperor, and they were not permitted to deviate from, or infringe, them by a hair-breadth. Kar-Talab Khān, being appointed by Emperor to be Diwan of the Subah of Bengal, arrived at Jahangirnagar (Dacca). After waiting on the Prince, he devoted himself to the administration of the fiscal affairs. And the remittances into, and disbursements from, the Treasury being in charge of the above-mentioned Khān, the Prince's control over the income and expenditure ceased. The abovementioned Khān, finding that the country was without thorns, and fertile and rich, commenced re-assessment, and deputed sagacious and thrifty Collectors to every *Parganah* and *Chaklah* and *Sarkār*. And after assessing accurately the Imperial revenue and *sair* taxes, he remitted one *Kror* of rupees to the Emperor, and prepared a complete Revenue-roll of the *Khalsah* mahals (crown lands) and of the *Jagirs*. In former times, owing to the badness of the climate of Bengal, the higher officers did not care to seek for service in this Province, as they fancied it not only fatal to human lives, but as actual haunts of demons. Therefore, the Chief Imperial Diwān, by way of inducement, conferred numerous *Jagirs* in Bengal on the Bengal Manṣadars. In consequence of this policy, very few *Khalsah* mahals were left in Bengal, so that the revenue of the mahals of this Subah did not suffice to meet either the pay of the soldiers under the Prince, or that of the *naqdi* troops. Therefore, their pay had to be provided for from revenues of other Subahs. The aforesaid Khān submitted a scheme to the Emperor suggesting allotment of lands in Orissa on account of *Jagirs* to the Bengal Manṣadars;²

(1) The Procedure Code or Manual, containing set rules and regulations on all revenue and administrative affairs, was called in Persian *Dastur-ul-'Amal*. It was issued to all Provincial Governors, Administrators, and officials after being personally approved by the Emperor himself, and every year modifications or additions were made to it with the Emperor's approval. No provincial Administrators, whether Nazims or Diwāns, had authority to deviate from the set rules contained in the *Dastur-ul-'Amal*. *Badauni* (Vol. I, pp. 384-385) states that in the time of Salim Shah, son of Sher Shah, the *Dastur-ul-'Amal* was so comprehensive and explicit that even on Ecclesiastical matters (not to speak of Fiscal or Administrative matters), no reference to Qazis or Muftis was necessary.)

(2) The Manṣadars were the higher officers under the Mughal Emperors;

and this scheme met with the Emperor's approval. The Khān¹ thereon resumed all *Jagirs* in Bengal, together with their *sair* revenues, save and except such as pertained to the Nizamat and the Diwānī,² and allotted in lieu thereof *Jagirs* to the Bengal mansabdars in Orissa, the soil whereof was comparatively worse, poorer, more sterile, and less fertile. By this ingenious stroke of policy, the Khān effected a big surplus in the Bengal revenue to the credit of the Emperor, and squeezed out the profits from the Bengal Zamindars and Jagirdars. And by minute attention to details, he effected considerable retrenchments under the several Heads of the Public Expenditure. Year after year, he enhanced the Revenue-assessments of the Subah, and thus became the recipient of Imperial favours. When the Prince ('Azim-ah-Shāh) found his control over the Bengal revenue diminished, he was constantly in a bad humour. Besides, the rewards which the Khān received for his good services from the Emperor weighed as thorns of envy on the heart of the Prince, and kindled the fire of his jealousy. The Prince schemed to kill the Khān, but failed in his aim. The Prince won over to his side the Commander of Nagdi troops

the term, however, was also used in the times of Sher Shah. The leading Mansabdars were either Provincial Governors or Generals in the Army, whilst other Mansabdars held *Jagirs*. These Mansabdars sometimes held Mansab (or office) in one Province or Subah, and *Jagir* lands in another. (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 241-242, Blochmann's trans.)

(¹ Revenue from land was called *Khira*. *Jizyah* was capitation tax levied from non-Moslem subjects in exchange for protection afforded, at the rate of "48 derhams for persons of condition, 24 derhams for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class." Over and above the land-revenue, taxes on property were called "Dangha." Imports on manufactures of respectable kinds were called *Jihat*, and the remainder *Sair Jihat*. *Sair* in its original purport, means "walking," "moving," or "sustable," and so came to denote all sustainable sources of state revenue (barring land-revenue or *Khira*) which was stable), such as customs, transit duties, market-tax. (See Vol. II, pp. 37 and 58 and p. 63, *Ain-i-Akbari*, for a list of *Sair* taxes abolished by Emperor Akbar.)

(² *Jagirs* were conferred on Mansabdars for military service, and on others they were conferred without requiring military service. Before Mughal times the word "Iqta" corresponding to "Jagir" is frequently met with in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* as well as in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. But in histories of the Mughal period, the word 'Iqta' is seldom met with, and is replaced by the word *Jagir*. In Akbar's time, an officer called Diwan-i-Jagir or Superintendent of *Jagirs* was maintained. (See *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 261.)

named Abdal Wāhed and the *Napli* Contingent under the latter, by holding out promises of rewards and increase in pay. These *naqdi* troops were old Imperial servants. From pride of their strength and from confidence in their number, they did not truckle to the Nāzim or Diwan of Dacca, and much less to others. From their conceit of being dexterous swordsmen, they fancied others no match for themselves. For their nonchalance and *bravado*,¹ they were widely known. These *naqdi* troops were incited to waylay the Khān when opportunity might offer, under the pretext of demand of pay, and to kill him. This wicked Contingent at the instigation of the Prince were on the look-out for an opportunity to kill the Khān. The Khān adopting precautionary measures, always carried in his retinue an escort of armed troops, and never failed to be on the alert whilst going to and from the *Darbar*. One day, however, early of a morning, he rode out unattended to wait on the Prince. On the way, a corps of *naqdīs*, under pretext of demanding pay, raised a tumult, and crowded in round the Khān. The latter, displaying great nerve, faced them and drove them away. Ascertaining that the originator of this disturbance was the Prince, he in fury and rage proceeded to the latter. Discarding all official decorum, in an avenging mood, he placed his hand on his dagger, and set knee to knee with the Prince, and added: "This riot was due to your instigation, desist from this course, or else at this moment I will take your life and give mine." The Prince saw no way of escape, and from fear of the Emperor's resentment he trembled like the aspen. Summoning Abdal Wāhed with his corps, the Prince publicly forbade him from creating tumult and disturbance, and set about soothing the Khān by display of courtesy and affability. The Khān, being freed from anxiety arising from the hostility of his enemies, proceeded to the Diwan-i-Am, demanded the account of *naqdi* troops, levied their pay from Zamīndars, and paying them off cashiered them. And he sent the Emperor an account of their meeting, embodying the same both in the

¹ These *naqdi* troops appear to be a class of *Ahadi* troops who received their pay in cash from the Imperial treasury, and were reckoned immediate servants of the Emperor. They constituted an Imperial Contingent of troops maintained in Provincial capitals, and were thoroughly independent of the local authorities, and were thus dignified by their independence. (See *As-i-Ahṣar*, Vol. I, pp. 249 and 251.)

Court-Record, as well as in the News-sheet.¹ He also submitted to the Emperor a Proceeding signed by the leaders of the riot, together with his own Report. Fearing the ill-humour of the Prince, the Khān resolved to keep himself aloof from the former, and to stay at a safe distance from him. After much deliberation and consultation, he fixed on the excellent site of Makhnāsābad, where news of all the four quarters of the Subah could be easily procurable, and which, like the pupil of the eye, was situate in the centre of the important places of the Subah. It had on the north-west the *chaklāh* of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) and the passes of Sakrigali and Tiliagadhi, the 'Key' to Bengal, on the south-west, Birbhūm, Pachit and Bishanpur, the road to Jharkand, and the forests and hilly passes for the ingress and egress of free-booters and armies from the Dakkhin and Hindustān, on the south-east, the *chaklāh* of Bardwan, the road to Orissa, and Hughli and Hiji (ports for the arrival of ships of Christian and other traders), and the *chaklāhs* of Jamar (Jessore) and Bhūsnah, and on the east the *chaklāh* of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), which then constituted the Viceregal Capital of this Subah, and to which pertained frontier outposts like those of Islamābād or Chittagong, and Sīlhat and Rangāmātī, and on the north, the *chaklāhs* of Qhorāghāt and Rangpur and Kuch Behar. The above mentioned Khān, without taking permission from the Prince, migrated to Makhnāsabad with the officers of Zamindars and Qanūngos and Revenue officials in charge of crown-lands, and settled down there. But when the news of the disturbance created by the *nogdīs* reached the Emperor in the Dakkhin through the

¹ The terms used are "Waqlah" and "Sawanih." The Mughal Emperors maintained a Special Intelligence Department. In every Provincial capital and important centre, two special functionaries were maintained by the Mughal Emperors, one called "Sawanih-navis," and the other "Waqlah-navis." These were Imperial servants, quite independent of the local officials. The duties of both these functionaries were to daily record and send news to the Emperor of all that transpired in local centres, and as they worked independently of one another, the report of intelligence sent by one checked that of the other. The "Waqlah-navis" was an official Court-Recorder, whilst the "Sawanih-navis" was an official General Intelligence-giver. (See *As-i-Albārī*, Vol. I, pp. 238 and 259.) The object in keeping up these functionaries was that the Emperor at Delhi might "be informed daily of all that transpired throughout his Empire, and also that active servants might work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check."

medium of News-letters and Court-records, and through the Report of Kar Talab Khān containing denunciation of the Prince, an Imperial edict couched in threatening language was addressed to the Prince to the following effect: "Kar Talab Khān is an officer of the Emperor; in case a hair-breadth injury, in person or property, happens to him, I will avenge myself on you, my boy." And peremptory orders were also passed by the Emperor to the effect that the Prince should quit Bengal and withdraw to Behar. Leaving Sarbaland Khān¹ with Sultān Farakh-sir as his Deputy in Bengal, the Prince with Sultān Karīm-ud-dīn, his household attendants and bodyguard set out from Jahangirnagar, and reached Mungir (Monghyr). Finding there the elegant white and black marble edifices² built by Shāh Shujā to be in a dilapidated condition, and seeing that a heavy outlay would be needed to set them in order, he did not like to fix his quarters there. And preferring the climate of Patna, which is on the bank of the river Ganges, the Prince fixed his quarters there. With the Emperor's sanction, he improved that city, named it 'Azimabad after himself, and built there a fort with a strong rampart. (Kar Talab Khān, at Makhnabad, after the lapse of a year, prepared the Annual Abstract Accounts, and started for the Imperial Camp.³ And preparing the Revenue-Assessment papers, the Revenue-Roll, the estate ledgers, and the Cash-Account of Receipts and Disbursements of the Subah, he desired Darab Narain, the Qanūngo of the Subah of Bengal, to sign them. Taking advantage of the system then in force that the Accounts relating to the financial and internal administration of the country were not passed by the Imperial Central Diwan, unless they bore the signatures of Qanūngos, that mischievous and shortsighted fool refused to sign the papers, unless his demand for three *laks* of rupees on account of his losses as a Qanūngo were satisfied. The Khān under stress of necessity promised to

¹ Subsequently in 1700, this Sarbaland Khān, whilst in temporary charge of Bengal, received a bribe of Rs. 45,000 from the English merchants, and granted them freedom of trade in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. (See Wilson's *Journals*, Vol. I, p. 183).

² No traces of these ruined white and black marble edifices was found by me at Mungir (Monghyr) when I was there in the years 1803, 1804, or subsequently.

³ Emperor Aurangzeb was at this time in the Dakhn busy warring against the Musalman Kingdoms of Golkondah, Ahmednagar and Bijapur, and

pay one *lak* of rupees on his return from the Emperor, but Darab Narnin would not accept this arrangement, and withhold his signature. But Jinarain Qanūngo, who was a Joint-Qanūngo¹ with Darab Narnin, using foresight, signed the Accounts. Regardless of the hostility of the Prince, and regardless of the refusal of Darab Narnin to sign the Account-papers, the Khān started for the Imperial Camp, presented gifts and tributes of Bengal to the Emperor and to the Vizier and other Imperial Ministers, and also paid to the Emperor the Revenue-balances and profits of the *Jagirs*. And making over the Account-papers of the Subah to the Mastauf² and to the Diwan-i-

also against the Mahratta free-booters. Aurangzeb, with all his political sagacity, committed a grievous mistake of policy by supplanting these Musselman States, as these had hitherto effectually curbed Mahratta and other outside ambition, and kept in order all disturbing elements in the Dakhin. Their political effacement resulted in letting loose a number of Mahratta free-booters and other adventurers that had hitherto had no political existence, and hastened the growth of the Mahratta Confederacy that later on in a great measure, coupled with other forces, distracted the Great Moghal Empire. By use of a liberal and statesman-like policy, Aurangzeb might have federated these Musselman States in the South into Imperial feudatories, and thus converted them into strong and loyal bulwarks of the Moghal Empire. But fanaticism in this matter (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, which explains that this policy of repression was adopted by Aurangzeb, by reason of certain religious innovations that were in force in these States) fatally clouded the otherwise clear political vision of this Great Moghal Emperor, to the lasting detriment of the Indo-Musselm Common-wealth.

(1 The Qanūngo "was an officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment was usually hereditary. He received reports from the *patwaris* (land-stewards) of new cases of allusion and dilations, sales, leases, gifts of land," etc. (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 47 n).)

Over the district Qanūngos, there was a Provincial Qanūngo as the text indicates. (See also p. 66, Vol. II, *Ain-i-Akbari*, which sets forth functions and emoluments of *Patwaris*, Qanūngos, *Shiqdar*, *Karkuna*, and *Amils*.)

(In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Vol. II, p. 49) it is stated that it was the duty of the *Batikhi* or Accountant, "at the year's end, when the time of revenue-collections had closed, to record the balances due, and deliver the record to the Collector, and forward a copy to the Royal Court." It would seem from the text the same duty in regard to the entire Subah had to be performed by the Provincial Diwan and the Provincial Qanūngo.)

(2 These important functionaries are frequently mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Their function was to check, overhaul and audit important State

Kal,¹ and proving his good and faithful services, the Khān became the recipient of further Imperial favours, and was appointed by the Emperor Deputy to the Prince in the Nizamat of the Subah of Bengal and Orissa, in addition to the office of Diwān. He was also given the title of Murshid Qāh Khān, and further received a valuable *Khilat*, with a standard and a kettle-drum. His *mangab* was also raised.

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(BESTOWAL OF THE NIZAMAT OF BENGAL ON NAWAB
JĀFAR KHĀN, AS DEPUTY TO PRINCE
AZIMU-SH-SHĀN.)

(When Murshid Qāh Khān¹ being invested according to the former usage with the *Khilat* of the offices of Deputy Nazim of Bengal Diwān of Bengal and Odisha (Orissa), reached the Subah, he appointed Syed Akram Khān to be his Deputy Diwān in Bengal, and Shujau-d-din Muhammad Khān, his son-in-law, to be his Deputy Diwān in Odisha (Orissa). After his arrival at

papers, such as Royal grants, payment-orders, *amāda*, *farmāna*, state-accounts, etc. and then to sign and seal them. (See *As-i-Althar*, Vol. I, pp. 262, 263, 264.)

(The *Diwan-i-Kal* was the Central Imperial Diwān-in-Chief. It would appear the keen administrative genius of the Moghal Rulers of India evolved and organised a perfect system of Accounts as well as of Audit. Two independent systems of Account and Audit (each checking the other) were maintained. The *patwaris* kept one independent set of accounts, and the *Hikabchis*, (Accountants) another. The first submitted their accounts to local or district *Qasabgos*, who submitted their Consolidated Accounts to the Provincial *Qasabgos*. The second submitted their accounts to District Collectors as well as copies direct to the Royal Court; and the several District Collectors submitted their consolidated Accounts to the Provincial *Diwāns* who collected them, and compared them with the Consolidated Accounts (independently prepared) in the hands of the Provincial *Qasabgos*. Then both the Provincial *Diwāns* and the Provincial *Qasabgos* signed after comparison one General Detailed Consolidated Account together with an Abstract Account, and forwarded it to Court, where it was first audited by the Central *Mustafā* and next received regularly in the Royal Courts from district *Hikabchis* or Accountants, and lastly approved and passed by the Emperor himself. Thus, few loop-holes were left for defalcations in accounts. (See the text, and the *As-i-Althar*.)

¹ Murshid Qāh Khān was son of a Brahmin and eminent Islam. Haji Shafi Isphahani purchased him, and named him Muhammad Hadi, treated him

Makhasabad, he improved that town, and named it after himself Murshidabad, and founded a mint¹ there. And separating the *chaklat* of Midnapur² from the *Ṣabah* of Odisha (Orissa) he annexed it to Bengal. (And imprisoning the defaulting zamindars of the *Ṣabah*, and deputing experienced and honest Collectors of Revenue to their *mahals*, he attached the rents, and realised the outstanding Imperial revenues. And putting a complete stop to the authority of zamindars over the collection and disbursement of the Imperial Revenue, he limited their source of income to profits of *Nankar*³ tenures. And the 'Amils' (Collectors of revenue) under

like a son, and took him to Persia. On Shah's death, Muhammad Hadi came to the Dakhla, and entered the service of Hajj Abdullah *Khurasani*, Diwan of *Ṣabah* Barar. He subsequently entered Imperial service, and received the title of Kar Talab *Khān*, and was employed in the Dakhla. He rose there to be Diwan of Haidarabad—and then to be Diwan of Bengal (on the transfer of Ziaullah *Khān*), with the title of Murshid Qāli *Khān*. Previous to this, he was Diwan of Orissa (*Mausil-i-Alamgiri*, p. 493), in the 48th year of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign. When Farrukh-sir ascended the throne, by payment of large sums as presents to the Emperor, he became *Sābadar* of Bengal and received a *Mansab* of *Hajf* *ḥisari*. His advancement is an eloquent testimony to the Islamic toleration (even under the much-almused Aurangzeb) that made no distinction between converts and born Muslims in matters of official preferments. He died in 1138 A.H. at Murshidabad, which he had founded as the new *Viceroyal* capital of Bengal, in place of Dacca or Jahangirnagar. He was a good financier, an able accountant, and a strong and sagacious administrator. He built a dungeon full of filth, named it 'Baikant' or 'Paradise,' and confined in it zamindars who defaulted in payment of revenue. He re-surveyed and re-assessed Bengal, divided it into *Chaklas*, and prepared a new Perfect Revenue-Roll. [See *Mausil-i-Alamgiri*, p. 493, and *Mausil-ul-Umari*, p. 761, Vol. III (Pers. text)].

¹ A list of mint-towns in Hindustan in Akbar's time is given in the *Jis-i-Alberi*, Vol. I, p. 21. It appears that in Bengal, minting of gold coins was restricted to the Provincial capital (which in Akbar's time was partly Gaur and partly Tandah), and that minting of silver and copper coins took place in Bengal in Tandah.

² In Akbar's Rent-Roll, Midnapur is shown as a city with two forts (one, Khundait) under Sarkar Jalauar of *Ṣabah* Orissa. It continued to form a part of the Orissa *Ṣabah*, until it was transferred from Orissa to Bengal by Murshid Qāli *Khān*.

³ The term 'Nankars' is still prevalent in several parts of Bengal and Behar. "Nankars" were "service-tenures," that is, "tenures of land conferred free of revenue, in consideration of services tendered." In those days, the zamindars amongst other duties would appear to have performed police

his orders, sent *Shiqdars* and *Amils* to every village of the *Parganahs*, measured the cultivated and waste-lands, and leased them back to tenants, plot by plot, and advanced agricultural loans (*Taqavi*) to the poorer tenantry, and put forth exertions for increase in the produce of the lands. Thus in all the *mahals* *Murshid Qâli* effected not only increase in revenue, but also increase in their areas.)

(*Murshid Qâli* prepared a perfect Revenue-Roll, collected the rents in kind, season by season, and also the land-revenue, *caric* taxes, and fees from agricultural lands. And effecting retrenchment in the Public Expenditure, he remitted revenue, double the former amount, into the Imperial¹ Treasury. The *zamindars* of *Birbham*

distric, and were held responsible for maintenance of peace in their *mahals*—the village *chamberlains* or *watchmen* being directly under them. They were also in charge of village ferries, village ponds, and village roads in their *mahals*, and performed more or less the duties of "justices of the peace." They were more or less quasi-official functionaries, and received *sanads* on appointment, and were liable to removal for gross misconduct. Their *mahals* were not liable to auction-sale for arrears of revenue, but liable to attachment by the Crown for realisation of revenue, and defaulting *zamindars* were liable to punishment. They were quasi-state functionaries or quasi-official landed Aristocracy maintained by Musalman sovereigns for State purposes. They were quite a different species from the Bengal *zamindars* of to-day. (See *Alamgirnamah*, *Muzim-i-Alamgiri*, *Ala-i-Akhbari* and the text.)

(As has been remarked before, *Murshid Qâli Khân* was an able financier, and prepared a perfect actual Revenue-Roll of Bengal, after carefully re-surveying lands in all the *mahals* in Bengal, and re-measuring them on the basis of increase in actual areas as ascertained by measurement, and of increase in the actual produce of the soil. He sent out for this purpose *Amils* (or Surveyors) together with *Shiqdars* (or Supervisors of revenue) to each village, under the immediate superintendence of honest, experienced and capable Collectors of Revenue or *Amils*. He helped the poorer tenants with agricultural loans or advances (*taqavi* or *taccavi*), and encouraged them to till their lands and improve agriculture. *Murshid Qâli Khân* was no believer in Permanent Settlements. He preferred the Ryotwari Settlement system to the Farming system. Islamic Revenue systems recognise the soil as State property and allot a portion of its profit or produce to the actual tiller of the soil for his labour on it.)

(¹ A *Shiqdar* meant an officer appointed to collect revenue from a certain division of land under the Mughal Government.)

(The constitution of the Surveying party, their pay, their duties, with the process of measurement and testing in Mughal times, are set forth in the *Ala-i-Akhbari*, Vol. II, p. 45, which shows that the measurement of lands and

and Bihānpur, being protected by dense forests, mountains and hills, did not personally appear before the Nawab, but deputed instead their agents to carry on transactions on their behalf, and through them used to pay in the usual tributes, presents, and gifts. In consideration of the fact that Asadullah, zamindar of Birbhūm, was a pious and saintly person and had bestowed half of his property as *Masūd-i-māsh* grants on learned, pious and saintly persons, and had fixed daily doles of charity for the poor and the indigent, the Khān refrained from molesting him. He directed his attention, however, to the chastisement of the zamindar of Bihānpur, whose items of expenditure were heavy, and whose collections of rents from mahals were low. The Rajahs of Tipra, Koch Behar, and Assam called themselves *chāhar dhārī* and ruling chiefs, and did not bend their heads in submission to the Emperor of Hindustan, and minted coins after their own names. On hearing, however, of the vigorous administration of the Khān, the Rajah of Assam presented to the Khān chairs and palkis of ivory, *saaz*, musical instruments, feathers, fans of peacock feathers, etc., and offered his submission. Similarly the Rajah of Koch Behar offered presents and tribute to the Khān. The above-mentioned Khān sent *Khilāts* for them; and this practice was observed year after year. The Khān, having introduced order in the financial condition of the Mahals of Bengal, devoted his attention to the improvement of other administrative and internal affairs. His administration was so vigorous and successful that there was no foreign incursion nor internal disturbance, and consequently the military expenditure was nearly abolished. He kept up only 2,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry, and with these he governed the Province. Through Nazir Ahmad, who was a peon, he used to collect the revenue of Bengal. And the Khān was so powerful a personality and his commands were so overawing, that his peons sufficed to keep peace in the country, and to overawe the refractory. And fear of his personality was so deeply impressed on the hearts of all, both the high and the low, that the courage of lion-hearted persons quailed in his presence. The Khān did not allow petty zamindars access to his presence. And the mutasaddis and amils and leading zamindars had not the heart to sit down

the assessment of revenue were based on thoroughly scientific principles, quite analogous to the existing Settlement Procedure in India.)

in his presence; on the contrary, they remained standing breathless like statues. Hindu zamindars were forbidden to ride on *palkis*, but were permitted use of *Jawalaks*. The *mutaquadis*, in his presence, did not¹ ride on horseback; whilst the *Mansabdars* attended at State functions in their military uniforms. In his presence one could not salute another; and if anything opposed to etiquette occurred on the part of anyone, he was immediately censured. Every week he held court on two days to listen to complaints, and used to mete out justice to the complainants. Amongst his deeds of justice, it may be mentioned, that to avenge the wrong done to another, obeying the sacred Islamic law, he executed his own son.² In administration of justice, in administration of the political affairs of the country, and in maintenance of the respect due to his Sovereign, he spared no one. (And he reposed no confidence in the *mutaquadis*, and used daily to inspect the collection and disbursement papers and the estate ledgers, and to sign them. At the close of each month, he used to seize all the agreements of *Khālshah* (crown lands) and *Jagirs*. Till the dues on account of these agreements were paid up into the Imperial Treasury, he caused *mutaquadis*, *amilas*, zamindars, *qanungos* and other officers to remain in duress in the *Dar-ul-Khana* of the *Chahel Satān* Palace. Setting collecting peons to realise the dues, he did not allow the defaulters leave for eating or drinking or for answering calls of nature, and posted spies over the peons, so that none of the latter, owing to temptations of bribe, might supply a drop of water to the thirsty defaulters. Week after week they had to pass without food and drink, and at the same time he had them suspended, head downwards, to triangles off the ground, and had their feet rubbed against stones, and had them whipped; and in beating with sticks he shewed no quarter. And he converted³ to the Muhammadan religion the *amilas* of zamindars with their wives and children, who, in spite of being scourged with

¹ In the text apparently, "die" has been by mistake dropped.

² Murchid Qali Khan's uprightness in administration of justice (regarding all family ties of attachment) is remarkable. But his severity in ill-treating and torturing defaulting zamindars throws a shade on his otherwise bright personality.

³ The only instances of forcible conversions of Hindus in Bengal to the Islamic religion, as would appear from these pages, were on the part of two

sticks, failed to pay up the State revenue-collections that they had misappropriated. Amongst these, Andinarain, zamindar of the Chaklah of Rajshahi, who was the descendant of a Hindustani, and who was both capable and efficient, held charge of the revenue-collections of the Khalsah (crown lands). With him were in league Ghulam Muhammad and Kalia Jamindar with two hundred troopers. Andinarain demurred to the payment of the demand, and prepared to fight. Murshid Quli Khān sent his officer, Muhammad Jān, with a force to chastise him.) Close to Rajbari,¹ the contending forces approached each other, and a battle ensued. Ghulam Muhammad Jamadar was killed, whilst Andinarain from fear of Murshid Quli Khān's anger slew himself, and his zamindari was transferred to two Bengal zamindars on the northern side of the Ganges, named Ram-Jivan² and Kali Kunwar, who were punctual in payments of revenue. (When that year came to a close, and the new year commenced, in the month of Farwardī (corresponding to Āsar) weighing the treasures³ Murshid Quli remitted to the Emperor one *lakh* and three *laks* of rupees on account of the Imperial revenue, loading the same on two hundred waggons,

non-Moslems, that is, by Hindus themselves who had embraced the Islamic religion, namely (1) by Jada alias King Jallal-ud-din, son of Rajah Kana and (2) by Murshid Quli Khān, who was himself the son of a Brahmin. I fail to come across in Bengal history any instance of forcible conversion of Hindus in Bengal to the Islamic religion, on the part of any born Mussalman ruler or king. Proselytes and converts, under all systems of the world's religions, are generally more zealous and bigoted than those born and brought up within their pale. The general insinuation, therefore, against Mussalman sovereigns and rulers of Bengal that they forcibly converted the Hindus to the Islamic religion, seems to be as unfounded as ungenerous. No doubt, the superior moral influence of Mussalman saints, like Nūr Quth Aḥm and others, naturally told on Hindu society (disorganised and demoralised by the caste-systems of the later days, and shorn of the old Vedantic purity) and induced portions of its ranks to flock spontaneously to the Moslem creed, with its simpler doctrine of Monotheism.

¹ Probably, Rajbari on the E.B. Railway, near the Goalundo station.

² This Ram-Jivan, I believe was the founder of the present Satore Raj-house. I do not know of which family Kali Kunwar was the founder.

³ In the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Vol. II, p. 49), it is explained under the term 'Potdar' or the 'Treasurer,' that the term *potā* (not, *potāh*) is applied in Arabic to cloths used as waist wrappers. A *podār* meant 'a banker, a money-keeper, or an officer in public establishments for weighing money or bullion.

conveyed by six hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry) Over and above this amount, he remitted the profits derived from *Jagirs*, together with other fees. (And also at the beginning of each year he sent to the Emperor elephants, *Tungan* horses, buffaloes, domesticated deer, and game dressed specially at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), wolf-leather shields, *sital pati* mats mounted in gold, and mosquito curtains¹ made of *Gunga jali*² cloth of Sylhet, through which serpents could not penetrate, together with other rarities, such as ivory, musk, musical instruments, and European manufactures and presents received from Christians, &c. At the time of sending the remittance, he used to accompany it on horseback together with his staff up to the Suburbs of the City, and used to have the fact recorded in the Court-Record as well as in the News-sheet. And the procedure for despatch of remittances was the following. When the waggons, loaded with treasure, passed into the limits of another *Subah*, the *Subadar* of that place sending his own men had the waggons of treasure brought into his fort, and relieving the waggons and their escorts reloaded the treasure into fresh waggons, conveyed by fresh escorts furnished by himself. And the same procedure was adopted by succeeding *Subadars*, till the treasures with the presents reached the Emperor Aurangzeb. (And when the *Khan's* efficient administration met with the approbation of the Emperor, the former received fresh favours from the Emperor, who raised his rank and bestowed on him the title of *Muhtamam-ul-Mulk* *Alau-d-daulah* *Jafar Khan Nasiri Nâsir Jang*. He was also rewarded with the personal *Manâab* of a *Haft Hazari* together with the Insignia of the *Mahi* Order, and was raised to a higher class of the Peerage.) No appointments to offices in Bengal were made without his advice. And Imperial *Manâabdars* hearing that the country of Bengal had been turned into a fertile garden without thorns, sought for offices in Bengal. Nawab Jafar Khan appointed the applicants to offices under him. One

Therefore *پونہ کوبہ* would seem to mean 'weighing the coins' or 'testing and counting them,' or "putting them in cloth bags."

¹ Here we get a glimpse of some of the old industries and arts of Bengal.

² *Gaspajal* was a kind of cotton-stuff manufactured in Bengal in the times of the Mughals. See *Asi-i-Akhari*, Vol. I, p. 24 (Hockmann's trans.)

of these was Nawab Saif Khan¹ whose application for appointment being received through the Emperor, Nawab Jāfar Khan conferred an office on him. A short account of Saif Khan's career is mentioned in the body of this History. Nawab Saif Khan was alive till the period of the Nizamat of Nawab Mahabat Jang. As he was the scion of a very noble family, he never visited Nawab Mahabat Jang.² Although the latter sought for an interview, Nawab Saif Khan did not visit him. Whenever Nawab Mahabat Jang whilst out on a hunting excursion went towards Purneah, Nawab Saif Khan advanced with his troops and blocked his progress. But whenever Nawab Mahabat Jang had need of auxiliaries, Saif Khan furnished efficient contingents. After Saif Khan's death, his son, the Khan Bahadar, succeeded to the office of Faujdar of the tract of Purneah and its environs. Nawab Mahabat Jang gave in marriage the daughter of Nawab Said Ahmad Khan Bahadur Saulat Jang, his nephew, to the Khan Bahadur,³ but that lady died four days after the wedding. On account of this, confiscating the treasures and effects of the Khan Bahadur, Nawab Mahabat Jang kept the latter under surveillance. The Khan Bahadur of necessity was obliged to mount a horse and escape to Shah Jahānshād (Delhi). Nawab Mahabat Jang bestowed the tract of Purneah on Saulat Jang. The latter proceeding there with a large force, devoted himself to its administration, and held away. After Saulat Jang's death, his son, Shaukat Jang, succeeded him. Nawab Siraj-u-d-daulah, who was the latter's cousin, during the period of his Nizamat, killed Shaukat Jang in battle, and deputing Diwan Mohan Lal, confiscated Shaukat's treasures and effects.

What was I saying? and to what have I digressed?

Where lay the horse? and where have I galloped away?

I now return to my story. (Nawab Jāfar Khan was seeking

¹ He received the office of Faujdar of Purneah, held the rank of a *Haft kumari*, and was a son of 'Umata-I-mulk' Amir Khan, Bahadar of Kabul. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 574.

² 'Mahabat Jang' was a title of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan; his actual name was Mirza Muhammad Ali. See *Seir ul Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 470 Pers. text.

³ In *Seir ul Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 552, the name of Saif Khan's son is mentioned as Fakhruddin Humais Khan.

an opportunity to avenge himself on Darab Narain Qanungo, who, during the Nawab's incumbency of the office of Diwān, had declined to sign the accounts. Inasmuch as the office of Qanungo corresponded to the office of Registrar of the Conquered dominions, and the Diwān's Statements of Account and Revenue-roll without the Qanungo's signature were not accepted by the Central Imperial Diwān, the Nawab sought for an opportunity to tarnish Darab Narain's reputation, by doubling the sphere of Darab Narain's authority over the affairs of administration. With this object in view, the Nawab entrusted to him control over the affairs of the Khalsah (crown lands). And when Diwān Bhupat Rai, who had come with the Nawab from the Imperial Camp, died, and his son, Gulab Rai, could not satisfactorily discharge the duties of the office of Diwān, the office of *Peikhar* of the Khalsah was also bestowed on Darab Narain. And leaving to his control the Assessment and Collection of the revenue and other Financial and Internal affairs, the Nawab made him supreme. Although the abovementioned Qanungo by minute attention to details raised the Revenue of the Khalsah (crown lands) to one *honor* and fifty lakhs, made Revenue Collections, and under every Head of Income shewed considerable increase, and presented a Budget with a larger Surplus of Imperial Revenue than before, still the Nawab, gradually wresting authority from him, imprisoned him together with the Statements of Accounts and Estate-ledgers, and employing various tortures killed him. And he allotted ten annas of the Qanungo-ship to Darab Narain's son, Sheo Narain, and six annas thereof to Jai Narain, who at the period of the Nawab's Diwāni, when the Nawab was setting out for the Imperial Camp, had shewn good-will, and had signed the Nawab's Statements of Accounts.) And disseminating Zia-d-din Khān, Faujdar of Hughli,¹ he with the Emperor's sanction brought the Faujdari of that Port under his immediate autho-

¹ The office of Faujdar of Hughli was hitherto directly under the Emperor, and was independent of the *Sadar* of Bengal. Murshid Quli Khān succeeded in reducing the Faujdar of Hughli to the position of his own immediate subordinate. For Murshid Quli's relations with the English merchants, see Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 301, 330, 398, 397, 390, 368. The English merchants secured a great patron in Zia-d-din, who was appointed by Shah Alam in 1710 to be Faujdar of Hughli and Admiral of all the ships on the coast of Coromandel. See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 185 and

rity as an appendage to the Nizamat, and appointed Wali Beg on his own authority as Faujdar of that place. The above-mentioned Khān, on the arrival of Wali Beg, relinquishing the fort, came out of the town to set out for the Imperial Capital. Wali Beg summoned to himself Kankar Sen Bengali, who was Peshkar of the dismissed Faujdar, for submission of papers relating to receipts of revenue and the office-records, together with the clerks and subordinate officers of the office of Faujdar. Ziau-d-din Khān turned to Kankar Sen's assistance; and thereon Wali Beg opposed the Khān's march. In consequence, between Ziau-d-din Khān and Wali Beg a quarrel ensued. The above-mentioned Khān with his army, on the field of Chaudanagar (Chandanagore) between Chinsurah and French Chaudanagar, with the help of the Christian Dutch and French, constructed redoubts, and prepared to fight. Wali Beg also on the field of the 'Idgāh,¹ on the bank of the tank of Debī Dās, to a distance of one and a half *krah*, drew up his forces, constructed entrenchments, and transmitted an account of the state of affairs to Nawab Jāfar Khān. And both the *quondam* and the new Faujdars were busy fighting from behind their respective entrenchments, and reviewing their forces. Mulla Jarsam Jūranī, Deputy of Ziau-d-din Khān, and Kankar Sen, secretly obtaining help of guns, gunpowder, and armaments from the Dutch and French, advanced to the battle-field, and assumed the offensive. Wali Beg, waiting for auxiliaries, assumed the defensive. At this juncture, Dalip Singh *Hazori* with a force of cavalry and infantry came from Nawab Jāfar Khān to the assistance of Wali Beg, and also brought a mandate containing threats addressed to the Christians. Ziau-d-din Khān, on the advice of the Christians, opened negotiations of peace with Dalip Singh, and put him off his guard. Early in the morning, sending by way of a *ruse* a false message to Dalip Singh through an agent, Ziau-d-din Khān instructed the latter to hand the message to Dalip Singh and to get back the reply, and placing one red *shawl* for recognition on the head of the agent despatched the latter on

332, 333, 341. Marhūm Qāfi got Ziau-d-din promptly dismissed in 1711. (See Wilson's *Annals*, pp. 22 and 123, Vol. II, p. 28).

¹ I found the *Idgāh* existing when I was at Haghli in 1837 to 1839. An *Idgāh* is a place where the 'Id prayer is offered.

his errand. And an English gunner whose aim was merrily directed a large bronze¹ gun (the range whereof extended over one and a half *kroś*) towards Dalip Singh's camp, and by means of a telescope kept in view the agent's *shawl*. Arriving at a time when Dalip Singh was bareheaded and barebodied and was engaged in rubbing oil in order to bathe, the agent handed the message to Dalip Singh. Then the gunner directing his aim at the *shawl* fired his gun, and the cannon-ball hit Dalip Singh on the chest and scattered his body to the air. Praise is due to that merrily magician, for no harm ensued to the agent. Zian-d-din Khān rewarding the gunner attacked the enemy's entrenchment.

When Dalip Singh was killed without delay,
Zian-d-din rushed to fight.
Like the tumultuous river, his army moved,
And flight ensued in the ranks of the other side.
Not only were the soldiers killed,
But the entrenchment was also stormed.
Wali Beg fled from that place,
And in an anxious mood took refuge in the Fort.

Zian-d-din Khān, free from all anxiety, set out for the Imperial Capital, and after arrival at Delhi died. After his death, Kankar Bengali, who was the root of all this disturbance, and had his residence at Hughli, returning from the Imperial Capital, arrived in Murshidābād, and fearlessly waited on Nawab Jāfar Khān, and with the left hand saluted the latter, wishing to convey that with the hand that he had saluted the Emperor, to salute Jāfar Khān would be profane. Nawab Jāfar Khān retorted by saying: "Kankar is under the shoe." And *Kankar*² with *fatah* on both the *ś* and the *ekśa* of the *ś* and *ś* in Hindustani means "a gravel." (Nawab Jāfar Khān, feigning forgetfulness of

¹ It would appear the French, Dutch, and English were all backing up the disarmed Faujdar Zian-d-din Khān against the new Faujdar, Wali Beg. See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, pp. 65, 72, 75, 79, 81, 82. The skirmishes between Zian-d-din Khān and Wali Beg occurred in 1712 A.C.

² "Kankar" means a "pebble" or a "gravel" or a "brick-bat." Murshid Quli Khān was punning on the Hindu Nait's name of 'Kankar.' So, it would seem that Murshid Quli Khān, the stern iron-man, could now and then subvert himself and receive humorous dashes.

Kankar's past and present misconduct, and outwardly showing reconciliation, appointed him to the office of *Chakladar* of Hughli. At the close of the year, at the time of auditing the Annual Abstract Accounts, the Nawab put him in prison on charges of misappropriation of the current and arrear revenue collections and air duties, and put this cat into breeches, and forced him to swallow some laxative, and set on him a harsh collector of revenue. In the breeches continually easing himself, Kankar died. (At that time Syed Akram Khān who held the office of Diwān of Bengal died, and Syed Razi Khān, husband of Nafisah Khanam, a daughter of Shajān-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, (Nawab Nazim of the Subah of Orissa and son-in-law of Nawab Jāfar Khān,) who was the scion of a leading Syed family of Arabia, was appointed Diwān of Bengal. And he¹ was a bigoted and short-tempered man, and in collection of dues was extremely strict, and by adopting harsh measures collected the revenue. It is said he prepared a Reservoir full of filth, and as in the language of the Hindus Paradise is called 'Baikant,' he sneeringly named this Reservoir "Baikant." He used to thrust into this Reservoir the defaulting Zamindars and defaulting Collectors of Revenue. After torturing them in various ways, and making them undergo various privations, he used to collect in entirety the arrears.) In that year, news of the insurrection of Sitaram Zamindar, and of the murder of Mir Abū Tārāb, Faujdār of the *Chaklāh* of Bhushnāb, in the Sarkar of Mahmūdābād, was received. The details of this affair are as follows:—Sitārām,² zamindar of Parganāh Mahmūdābād, being sheltered by forests and rivers, had placed the list of

¹ The text is ambiguous. This sentence refers probably to Murehīd Quī Khān.

² Sitaram had his residence at Mahmūdābād or Mahmūdpur, at the junction of the Barasia and Madhumati rivers, in Jessore District. See Westland's History of Jessore. Mahmūdābād is now a police circle. Ruins of his tanks still exist there. Bhona lies near Bonwaldish (formerly in Jessore now in Faridpur district), an old Mussalman colony, on the Chaudama river. Ruins of a fort lie at Bhona. Close to Mahmūdābād or Mahmūdpur, lies an old Mussalman colony at Shigmon, on the Barasia river. See also Wilson's Annals, Vol. II, pp. 166, 167, 168. Sitaram was 'executed for murder and rebellion' by Murehīd Quī's order. Sitaram's family and children who had taken refuge in Calcutta, were in 1718 surrendered by the English to Mir Nāzir, Faujdār of Hughli, for being made over to Murehīd Quī Khān.

revolt on the head of vanity. Not submitting to the Viceroy, he declined to meet the Imperial officers, and closed against the latter all the avenues of access to his tract. He pillaged and raided the lands adjoining to his Zamindari, and also quarrelled with the Imperial garrisons and Faujdars. Mir Abu Turab, Faujdar of the *(Bakla)* of Bhuanah,¹ who was the scion of a leading Syed clan and was closely related to Prince Azimu-sh-shān and the Timūride Emperors, and who amongst his contemporaries and peers was renowned for his learning and ability, looked down upon Nawab Jāfar Khān. Mir Abū Tūrāb tried to capture Sitārām, but was not successful. At length, he detailed his General, Pir Khān, with 200 cavalry to chastise Sitārām. On being apprised of this, Sitaram concentrating his forces lay in ambush to attack the aforesaid General. One day, Mir Abu Tūrāb with a number of friends and followers went out for hunting, and in the heat of the chase alighted on Sitaram's frontiers. Pir Khān was not in Abū Tūrāb's company. The zamindar (Sitaram) on hearing of this, fancying Mir Abū Tūrāb to be Pir Khān, suddenly issued out from the forest with his forces and attacked Mir Abū Tūrāb from the rear. Although the latter with a loud voice announced his name, Sitaram not heeding it inflicted wounds on Abū Tūrāb with bamboo-clubs, and felled him from his horse. When this news reached Nawab Jāfar Khān, his body trembled from fear of the Emperor's resentment. Appointing Hasan Ali Khān who had married Nawab Jāfar Khān's wife's sister and was descended from a noble family to be Faujdār of Bhūanāh, and supporting him with an efficient force, Nawab Jāfar Khān directed him to capture that troublesome villain (Sitaram). The Nawab issued mandates to the Zamindars of the environs insisting on their not suffering Sitaram to escape across their frontiers, and also threatening that should the latter effect his escape across the frontiers of any one, not only he would be ousted from his Zamindari, but be punished. The Zamindars from all sides hemmed him in, when Hasan Ali Khān arrived and captured Sitaram together with his women and

¹ It was formerly in the Jessore district, but is now included in the modern district of Faridpur. Close to Bhūanāh, on the banks of the Ghanda-na river, lie several other ancient colonies of Syeds or Mirs, such as those at Bannaldih and Dakshinbari, etc.

children, confederates and adherents, and sent them with chains round their necks and hands to Nawab Jāfār Khān. The Nawab enclosing Sitaram's face in cow-hide had him drawn to the gallows in the eastern suburbs of Mūrshidābād on the high-way leading to Jahangirnagar and Mahmūdābād, and imprisoned for life Sitaram's women and children and companions. Bestowing his Zamīndārī on Rām Jivān, the Nawab confiscated to the State Sitaram's treasures and effects, and extirpating his family, root and branch, he sent an account of the affair to the Emperor. As the Emperor¹ Aurangzeb 'Alamgir had died in the Dakhn on Friday, 28th of Zilqādh 1119 A.H., Muḥammad Mu'azzam Shāh 'Alim Bahadūr Shāh² ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi. Nawab Jāfār Khān sent presents with the tribute of Bengal, and received an Imperial Patent confirming him in the Viceroyalty of Bengal. The Nawab was also honoured with the gift of a *Khillat* including a fringed palanquin. Prince Azim-*sh*-Shān, leaving Sar-bland Khān as his Deputy at Azimabad, set out for the Imperial Capital. And that very year Sultān Farrukh-sir, prior to the accession of Bahadūr Shāh, came to Mūrshidābād from Jahangirnagar (Dacca) at the invitation of Nawab Jāfār Khān, and put up at the L'āl Bāgh palace. The above-mentioned Nawab, paying proper deference to the princely rank of his guest, rendered him due services, and defrayed the expenses of the Prince and his household; whilst according to the established practice he remitted the Revenue with the tribute to the Emperor Bahadūr Shāh. After a reign of five years and one month, in the year 1124 A.H., Emperor Bahadūr Shāh died, and his eldest son, Sultān Māzū-d-dīn, under the title of Jahāndār Shāh,³ became Emperor, and in concert with his two younger brothers

¹ Emperor Aurangzeb died in the 52nd year of his reign, at the age of ninety-one, in 1115 A.H. or 1707 A.C. at Ahmadnagar, and was buried at Aurangabad. See *Seir* Vol. II, p. 376, and *Khas Khān*. He left the following sons:—Muḥammad Muazzam (at Kabul), 2. Muḥammad Azam (at Malwah) 3. Kam Baksh (at Bijapur.)

² Muḥammad Muazzam alias Shāh 'Alam the eldest son became Emperor in 1707 with the title of Bahadūr Shāh, after defeating and killing his two brothers. He died in 1712.—See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 378-379, and history of *Khas Khān*.

³ The great Timuride House was at this time torn asunder by factions and was badly served by venal ministers and officers. The Syed brothers

killed Prince 'Azimu-sh-Shān.¹ After removing the causes of anxiety, and with the exertions and help of Asad Khān the Prime Minister and Amīr-i-Umarā Zā-i-faqār Khān, the new Emperor killed his other two brothers.² Indeed, after Bahādur Shāh's death, within the space of eight days, he killed almost every one of the Imperial sons numbering more than thirty persons, and after torture and imprisonment of those who escaped the sword, Jahandar Shāh mounted the throne. He appointed the 'Amīr-i-Umarā who was Pay-Master-General of the Army to the office of Grand Vizir and Amīr-i-Umarā's father 'Asāfu-d-daulāh 'Asad Khān to the office of *Vakil-i-Kul* or Supreme Regent of the Empire. According to the established practice, the new Emperor sent message of confirmation to Nawab Jāfar Khān. The aforesaid Khān, shewing submission, remitted presents and tribute to the Emperor. In order to assert his claim to the Imperial throne, Sultān Farrukh-sir, the second son of Prince 'Azimu-sh-Shān, who resided in the Province of Bengal as Deputy Nazim of the Subah resolved to fight with Sultān Māzu-d-din, planned to start for Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), and demanded money and troops from Nawab Jāfar Khān. The latter gave the following straightforward answer: "I as an Imperial servant am subject to the Crown and Throne of the Sovereign of the Imperial Capital. To submit to any one save and except the person who descended from the Timūride House sits on the Throne of the Empire of Delhi, would be an act of treachery. Since M'Asā-d-din, your uncle, is in possession of the Crown and the Throne, the Imperial revenues cannot be paid to you." Despairing of obtaining the treasures and troops of Bengal, but remembering the injunction in the Quran "I put my trust in my Lord God" Farrukh-sir took heart,³ and marched out with a small force of old and new comrades who were in his company, on an

were heads of one faction, and their ascendancy and their selfish policy are fully related in the *Seir-ul-Mutakkerin*.

¹ See *Seir* and Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I.A.S. for 1896.

² *i.e.*, Jahan Shāh and Rafiq Shāh.

³ Farrukh-sir's mother, Sahib-un-Niam, was a brave and resourceful lady, and when Farrukh-sir contemplated flight across the sea, she inspired her son with a noble ideal by addressing him thus: "If thy flight must needs be across the sea, let it be the sea out of waters but of blood." Encouraged by his noble mother's inspiration, Farrukh-sir at length defeated Jahandar Shāh, at the end of 1712, and became Emperor.

expedition against *Sultān M'azzā-d-dīn*. Summoning his own army and artillery from *Jahāngirnagar*, *Farrukh-sir* set out for *Shāhjahānābād*, and by the time he arrived at '*Azimābād* (*Patna*) a large army collected under him. Levying money in the way of tax from the bankers of that town, he reduced the *Subah* of *Behar* to his subjection. Collecting paraphernalia of royalty, he mounted the throne, and unfurling the Imperial Umbrella he whirled it over his head. Raising the standard of march from *Patna* with Royal pomp and splendour, he cast the shadow of peace and tranquillity on the residents of *Banaras*. And raising a loan of one *kroṣ* of rupees on the security of the Empire from *Nagar Set* and other leading bankers of *Banares*, he raised a levy of efficient troops. *Syed Abdullāh Khān* and *Syed Hussain Ali Khān*,¹ the two *Syed* brothers of *Barhā*, who were *Nazims* of the *Subāhs* of *Oudh* and *Allahābād* and were matchless in courage and heroism had been dismissed by *Sultān M'azzā-d-dīn*, and consequently were smarting under a sense of wrong. They, therefore, espoused the cause of *Sultān Farrukh-sir*, and tied the girdle of devotion and self-sacrifice to the waists of their hearts. And intercepting the treasure from *Bengal* remitted by *Nawab Jāfar Khān*, which owing to the revolution in government *Shūjan-d-dīn Māhāmmād Khān*, *Darogha* of *Allahābād* (unyoking the bullocks in the garden of the town) guarded with 300 troops, *Farrukh-sir* detailed a large force to guard it. Having satisfied himself about the security of the treasure and the efficiency of the force which he had detached to guard it, *Farrukh-sir* bestowed the office of *Vizarat* on *Syed Hussain Ali Khān*, and had the *Khutbah* of sovereignty recited after his own name. "When God wills a thing, the conditions for its accomplishment are also provided." As *Farrukh-sir* was displeased with *Jāfar Khān*, he appointed *Rashid Khān*,² elder brother of *Afrasiāb Khān Mirzai-Ajmīri*, who was the scion of an ancient and noble family of *Bengal* and was brought up in the Imperial household, and who in physical prowess was equal to a *Rustam* or an *Istāndiār*, and who used to hurl down rogue elephants—to supersede *Jāfar Khān* in the *Subahdārī* of *Bengal*. It is said that when *Sultān Farrukh-sir* set out from *Akbarnagar* (*Rajmahal*) towards '*Azimābād*

¹ See *Sir*, Vol. II, p. 391.

² See *Wilson's Annals*, Vol. II, p. 60. This was in 1712.

(Patna), the cannon of Malik Maidan¹ which required a maund weight of cannon-ball and 150 bullocks and two elephants to move it, was stuck in the mud in a hollow ditch near Sakrigali. Although an attempt was made to drag it out with the help of bullocks and elephants, it could not be moved. Farrakh-sir himself going up to the cannon brought into requisition the ingenuity of Christian gunners, but even that was of no avail. Mirza-i-Ajmiri making his obeisance, said: "If ordered, thy slave might try his strength." The Sultān gave permission. Mirza-i-Ajmiri, tying the hem of his garment round his waist and putting both of his hands beneath the cannon-frame, lifted up the cannon together with its frame on his chest, and said "wherever ordered, I will put it." The Sultān ordered it to be placed on a high ground. The Mirza removed the cannon from the ditch to a high ground. From the strain of his physical power, drops of blood were about to ooze out from his eyes. The Sultān applauded him whilst the assembly, sent up shouts of praise and choruses of applause to the skies. The Mirza at that very moment was rewarded with the *manāb* of a *Sik̄ hazāri* together with the title of Afrasiāb Khān. Rashid Khān set out with a large army for Bengal, and entered it *via* the passes of Tillāgadhi and Sakrigali. On hearing the news of his entry, Jāfar Khān shewed no signs of anxiety. Besides the regular war-establishment of the Subah he mobilised no extra troops. Rashid Khān reaching three *kroḥ* distant from Murshidābād arrayed his troops for battle. Next morning, Nawāb Jāfar Khān detailed Mir Bangali and Syed Anwar Jaunpuri with two thousand cavalry and infantry to encounter Rashid Khān, whilst the Nawab himself, according to his daily practice, set to copying the Qurān. When the two forces encountered each other, a battle ensued. Syed Anwar, in the thick of the fight, was killed, but Mir Bangali, with a small force, bravely stood his ground on the battle-field, till the army of Rashid Khān surrounded him from all sides. Although these tidings reached Nawab Jāfar Khān, the latter remained unconcerned and quietly went on with his work of copying the Qurān. At last the news of Mir Bangali's retreat arrived. It was then that the Nawab detached his special disciple, Muhammad Khān, who was Fanjdar of Murshidabad and

¹ He was apparently a Turk, as the title Malik would indicate, but I cannot trace who this notable was.

an Officer of the Army, to reinforce Mir Bangali. The former with the swiftness of lightning and breeze joined Mir Bangali, and threw in the auxiliaries. Subsequently, Nawab Jafar Khān, after having finished his work of copying the Qurān, recited the *Fatiha-i-Khāir* and armed himself for battle. And mounting an elephant, with a force of cavalry and a retinue consisting of kinsmen and Turkish, Georgian and Abyssinian servants he encountered Rashid Khān on the field of Karimābād outside the City, and commenced chanting the *Duā-i-Saif*.¹ It is said that he had so persistently practised the *Duā-i-Saif*, that when he commenced chanting it his sword of itself unsheathed itself from its scabbard, and through invisible help he vanquished the enemy. On the arrival of Jafar Khān, the courage and boldness of Mir Bangali and his army increased ten-fold and hundred-fold. With his clamorous force Mir Bangali attacked the centre of the enemy. Rashid Khān, who considered Jafar Khān no match for himself, swaggering of swordmanship and his capacity to easily rout the enemy, mounted a rogue elephant, and charged Mir Bangali who was in the van. The aforesaid Mir who was an unerring marksman

Placed a wooden arrow in his bow-string,
And stretched his bow, and extended his arm-pit.
When the arrow-notch came up to his ear,
He shot the arrow straight at the struggling enemy.
As luck would have it, the arrow hit the enemy on the
forehead,
And pierced right through the hind-head.
That leader of the heroes was pierced by the arrow:
That brave lion rolled on the elephant.
At that juncture, the troops forming a solid column,
Made one united rush at the enemy.
The ground was trodden down into furrows by horses' hoofs,
The sky was cut to pieces by cannons and spears,
With swords, daggers, iron-maces and spears,
They charged the enemy.

¹ This *duā* or prayer, meaning literally the "prayer of the sword" is said to have been uttered by the Prophet at the battle of Badr, when it is related angels descended to fight in his ranks, and turned disaster into victory.

Owing to profuse shedding of blood on that battle-field,
 The whole face of the earth looked crimson.
 A whole world was consigned to destruction,
 If any one survived, he was imprisoned,
 The enemy's treasures and effects were looted,
 Jafar Khān won a glorious victory.

Nawab Jafar Khān returning triumphant caused the music of victory to be struck up, entered the Fort, and ordered that a minaret should be raised entombing the heads of the slain on the highway leading towards Hindustan, so that it might serve as a warning to others. The prisoners of Rashid Khān's army said that on the advance of Jafar Khān green-dressed soldiers with drawn swords descended from the clouds, attacked the force of Rashid Khān, and afterwards vanished. Sultān Farrukh-sir who had not yet finished settling his accounts with Sultān M'azu-d-din, on the way receiving news of Jafar Khān's victory and Rashid Khān's defeat was depressed. In short, when near Akbarābād (Agra) a battle¹ ensued between Farrukh-sir and Sultān M'azu-d-din Jahāndār Shāh, the Syeds of Barha,² on the side of Muḥammad Farrukh-sir, displaying self-sacrifice, exhibited heroic valour. On the side of M'azu-d-din, Khān Jahān Bahadur Kokaltagh Khān, who was the Pay-Master General of the Army, was killed, owing to the carelessness of the Amīr-ul-Umara Zu-l-fuqār Khān.³ And M'azu-d-din's other noblemen, especially the Mughal noblemen, being in conspiracy with the noblemen of Farrukh-sir, exhibited treachery during the battle. In consequence, great confusion arose in the army of M'azu-d-din Jahāndār Shāh. Becoming depressed by observing the fate of Khān Jahān Bahadur, Jahāndār

¹ See description of the battle in December 1712 in *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 392.

² The Syed brothers of Barha were Syed Husain Ali Khān, Nazim of the Subah of Patna and Syed Abdullāh Khān, Nazim of the Subah of Allahabad. The *Seir-ul-Mutakherin* (Vol. II, pp. 387, 388, 391, 392), gives a detailed account as to how these Syed brothers helped Farrukh-sir in the war of succession. These Syed brothers subsequently fell out with Farrukh-sir, and imprisoned him and had him killed (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 419). For a life of Syed Husain Ali Khān, see *Musir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 321.

³ He was a son of Asad Khān, the Prime Minister of Aurangzeb. His name was Muhammad Ismail, and his titles were 'Zu-l-fuqār Khān Amīr-ul-Umara Najrat Jang.' See *Musir-ul-Umara*, p. 99, Vol. II, for his life.

Shah fled straight to Shāhjahānābād to the house of 'Aẓad Khān Āṣif-u-d-daulah,¹ the Chief Minister of the Empire. Immediately after, Amīru-l-Umarā, son of Āṣif-u-d-daulah, presented himself before his father, and counselled the latter to shelter the Emperor. The father, not considering it expedient to throw in his lot with Jahānḍār Shāh, kept the latter under surveillance. Then Sulṭān Muḥammad Farrukh-sir, without encountering any further opposition, ascended the Imperial throne at Akbarābād (Agra), towards the end of the year 1124 A. H. From Akbarābād (Agra), Farrukh-sir swiftly marched to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), where he slew Jahānḍār Shāh and the Amīru-l-Umarā.²

ACCESSION OF SULTAN FARRUKH-SIR TO THE THRONE OF DELHI.

On hearing of the accession of Emperor Farrukh-sir, Nawāb Jafar Khān sent presents and tribute, and remitted the entire balance of the Imperial revenue. In return, the Nawāb received patents confirming him in the united offices³ of the Nizāmat and Dawāni of the three Ṣubahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The Nawāb was also recipient of a rich Khilat. The Nawāb's representations to the new Emperor continued to receive attentive consideration, as during former régimes. (The Nawāb became an object of envy to his contemporaries and peers. For instance, on Jafar Khān's representation to the Emperor, Nagar Set's uncle

¹ His name was Muḥammad Ibrahim, and his titles were Āṣif-u-d-daulah Jamāl-ul-Mulk Āṣad Khān. He was related by marriage to Emīru-d-daulah Āṣaf Khān, and became Prime Minister under Emperor Aurangzeb. (See his life in *Muntakhab-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 310, and in *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 406.) He was a statesman of eminence and sagacity. On his son, Zulfiqar Khān's assassination, he composed the following pathetic epitaph:—

هاتف شام تریبان یا دو چشم خرقشان
گفت برائیم اسمعیل واقربان نمود

² See *Seir-ul-Munkherin*, Vol. II, p. 395 (Pers. text). The corpse of Jahānḍār Shāh was placed on an elephant, and the corpse of Zulfiqar Khān was tied to its tail.

³ This was a very unwise departure from the old Mughal policy of keeping the two offices distinct, in that it encouraged later on the growth of disloyal intrigues against the Central Authority in Delhi.

and agent, Fateh Qand Sahu, whose services had won the good graces of the Khān, was invested with the title of Jagat Set, and appointed to the office of Treasurer-General of Bengal. Syed Husain 'Ali Khān, the Paymaster-General, who was a brother of Qutb-ul-Mulk 'Abdullāh Khān Vazir, aspired after the title of Nasirjang, which title Jafar Khān held. (As it was not consonant with the Imperial regulations that two persons should simultaneously hold one title, an Imperial mandate was issued to Jafar Khān, suggesting an exchange of titles.) Although the Syed brothers were personages of immense influence and power, Jafar Khān resented their impudence, declined to exchange his title, and sent the following unuly reply to the Emperor: "This old servant has no hawking after names or titles; but the title which it pleased the late Emperor 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb) to confer on him, he declines to barter." (When Syed Razi Khān died, at the desire of Jafar Khān, Emperor Farrukh-sir conferred the Diwāni of the Subah of Bengal on Mirza Asadu-l-lāh, son of Shujā'u-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, Nazim of Orissa, by the daughter of Jafar Khān, bestowing at the same time on the Mirzā the title of Sarfarāz Khān. As Jafar Khān had no son, and Sarfarāz Khān was his maternal grandson, shewing foresight, he purchased from the income of his personal jagir the zamindāri of Qismat Chunahkhali in Parganah Kholhar-bah in the district of Murshidābad from Muhammad Amān, the Taluqdar of the aforesaid Qismat, in the name of Mirzā Asadu-l-lāh Sarfarāz Khān, named the said zamindari Asadnagar, and caused it to be entered in the Imperial and Provincial Qānūngō's registers. This estate came to be known as Khān Taluq, so that after his death it might afford subsistence to his descendants, and after the payment of revenue from its income its surplus might be at their disposal. And in the same year, the Deputy Governorship of Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on Mirzā Lutfu-l-lāh, a son-in-law of Shujā'u-d-dīn Muhammad Khān. The Mirzā at the same time received the title of Murshid Quli Khān. In that on the 9th Rabi-ul-Sani 1131 A.H. the Emperor Farrukh-sir was slain,¹

¹ Between Farrukh-sir and the Syed brothers, ill-feeling broke out through the instigation of one Mir Jussu (who possessed great influence over Farrukh-sir, having been Qazi of Dacca, when Farrukh-sir was there as Deputy Nazim). This ill-feeling was fanned by Ratan Qand, the crafty Diwan of the Vazir Qutb-ul-Mulk Syed Abdullāh, brother of Syed Husain 'Ali Khān. This ill-feeling which not only paralysed the Administration,

through the treachery of 'Abdullāh Khān the Vizir and Husain 'Alī Khān, the Paymaster-General, the Syeds of Barha raised Sultān Raṣṣ'u-d-darajāt,¹ son of Prince Raṣṣ'u-ṣṣ-ṣṣhān, son of Bahādur Shāh, to the throne. For four or five months, ruling nominally, this Emperor died of consumption. After this, Raṣṣ'u-d-darajāt's second brother, named Sultān Raṣṣ'u-d-daulāh,² was brought out from captivity, and placed on the throne, and was styled Shāh Jahān the Second. The latter also, like his elder brother, for five or six months sat nominally on the throne. At the time when the Imperial army was engaged in repelling Sultān Neko Sir, son of Sultān Akbar, and grandson of Emperor Alamgir, who had invaded Akbarābād (Agra), Shāh Jahān the Second also died. And the Syeds of Barha and other Imperial noblemen, at the end of the year 1131 A.H., bringing out Sultān Raushan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh, from the citadel of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), and marching with him day and night, reached Akbarābād (Agra), and in the beginning of 1132 A.H. they placed him on the Imperial throne, and styled him Abu-l-Fattāḥ Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Ghazī.³ A poet has said:—

روشن اختر بود - اکنون ماه شد
یوسف از زندان برآمد شاه شد

"He was a bright star, now he has waxed into a moon,
Joseph has returned from captivity, and has become a king."

Nawāb Jafar Khān, hearing of the accession of Muḥammad Shāh to the Imperial throne, sent presents and tribute, and received

but undermined for ever the prestige of the old illustrious Timuride House is detailed in the *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, pp. 407, 409, 416, 418, 419, and 420. The Syed brothers, to the detriment of the State and to their own lasting dishonour, made the Imperial Mughal throne of Delhi, at this time, a football for their own selfish aims and personal ambitions. (See extracts from Khān Khān's history at p. 430, Vol. II, *Seir*).

¹ In *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 419, it is related the Syed brothers raised to the throne Ḥamam-u-d-dīn Abul Barkat Raṣṣ'u-d-darajāt, son of Raṣṣ'u-l-Qadr, and grandson of Bahādur Shāh, at the age of twenty, in 1131 A.H.

² See *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 421. The ambitious Syed brothers now virtually ruled over the Mughal Empire in India.

³ See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 422, 423. At this time Ratan Ghand was the evil genius of Qaṭṭ-ul-Mulk Syed Abdullāh the Vizir, and had the impudence of nominating persons to even the Quishiqs, for which he was once snubbed by his master.

to return patents confirming him in his former offices, and adding thereto the *Ṣahāḥārī* of Orissa. In short, owing to the undue influence exercised over the administration by Syeds Husain 'Alī Khān and 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān from the reign of Farrukh-sir till that period, the affairs of the Empire had suffered much in *celat*, and owing to constant changes in Emperors the administration of the country had fallen into chaos. The people of Bengal were, however, free from the troubles incidental to revolutions in the kingly office, as Jafar Khān ruled over that Province with great vigour. In his time no harm ensued to Bengal at the hands of the Mahrattas. The Christian Danes who had no factory in Bengal, and carried on commercial transactions through the agency of the French, with the advice of the latter, offering *nazar*, applied for permission to erect a factory at Bangihāsār.¹ Obtaining *sanad* from Nawāb Jafar Khān, they erected mud-walled houses, established themselves there, and laid the foundation of a factory with strong towers, surrounded by a deep and broad moat, into which the river water flowed, and wherein sloop could move about. Working day and night, and spending much money, they set about building the same. Placing obliquely the cap of vanity on the head of pride, they gave themselves airs at the expense of other Christian nationalities, and bragged they would sell woollen-stuffs, velvet, and silk-stuffs² at the rate of gunny-cloth.³ The English and Dutch Christians, seeing the loss in their own markets,

¹ This place is marked between Ichapur and Ghank, on the map in Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 130.

² **مشجر** is a silk-stuff with figures of leaves and branches woven on it. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann's tr., pp. 82–93) gives a list of the gold-stuffs, cotton-fabrics, and woollen-stuffs current in India in Akbar's time. It would appear therefrom that out of 28 gold-stuffs only two were imported from Europe, out of 39 silk-stuffs only seven were imported from Europe, out of 29 cotton-stuffs all was imported from Europe; whilst out of 26 woollen-stuffs only one was imported from Europe, all the rest being either manufactured in India, or imported from Asiatic countries, like Arabia, Persia, China, &c.

³ Richardson's Dictionary does not seem to give the word **پالی**, but it occurs in the following charming lines of the great Persian poet, Omar Khayyām:—

در چشم مستقان چه زیبا چه زشت
منزلت عاشقان چه دوزخ چه بهشت

conspired to have the former's factory closed, intrigued with the Mughal merchants, and undertook to pay themselves their *nazars*. Relating to Ahsann-l-lah Khān, Faujdār of the Port of Hooghly, tales of their bloodshed and oppression in Europe and also exaggerated accounts of their having erected forts and towers with moats at Baugibāzār, and of their past misdeeds in the Emperor's dominions, they induced Ahsann-l-lah Khān to write to Nawāb Jafar Khān, and themselves petitioned the latter to issue mandates in the name of the above Faujdār to close the factory of the Danes. Although Ahsann-l-lah Khān sent agents to close the factory, the Danes not relying on their message, failed to close their factory; at length the Faujdār deputed his own Deputy, named Mir Jafar, to the Danes. The Chief of the Danes, who was styled a General, mounted cannons on the heights of the ramparts, and prepared to fight. The aforesaid Mir, erecting entrenchments facing the ramparts, commenced fighting with cannons, rockets, arrows, and muskets. But the soldiers of the Mir could not approach the factory, owing to constant shower of cannon-balls and rockets. And the ways for the ingress and egress of the vessels of merchants in the river became closed. The Christian French secretly leagued with the Danes and assisted the latter with supplies of shot, powder, and armaments. The Danes captured, with the secret help of the French, Khwājah Muḥammad Kamil, eldest son of Khwājah Muḥammad Fazal, who happened to pass and repass the river by boat. Owing to this, all the Mughal, Armenian, and other merchants made great exertions to effect his release, and fearing lest he might be slain, for two or three days a truce was arranged. The aforesaid Khwājah, agreeing to pay a large ransom, and also promising to bring about peace, was released from the custody of the Danes. Then the Christian French, dreading the resentment of the Faujdār, deserted the Danes. Mir Jafar, advancing his entrenchments, with volleys of cannon-balls, rockets, arrows, and musket-balls, reduced the garrison to straits, and cut off all supplies both by land and by water. When the garrison were reduced to starvation, their Indian servants all fled, and the General alone with thirteen Danes remained in the factory. Though reduced to such straits and numbers,

پیشین بدلان چه اطمینان چه بلای
زیر سر عاتقان چه بالین چه خشت

they with their own hands kept up a perpetual shower of cannon-balls and rockets, and allowed no opportunity to the attacking force to lift up their heads, and far less to advance out of their entrenchments or to assault the factory. For some time the fighting continued in this wise. By chance, a cannon-ball discharged from Mir Jafar's entrenchment hit the Danish General on the right arm, and broke it, and his hand became in consequence useless. The General¹ was obliged, in consequence, at dead of night, to scuttle out of the factory, and, embarking on board a vessel, he set sail for his own native country. Next morning, the factory was captured; but save and except some cannon-balls, nothing of value was found. Mir Jafar, raising the gateway and the tower of the factory, returned victorious and triumphant. About that time, news arrived that the *Afghans*, Shuj'ait Khan and Nijāt Khān, zamindars of Tonki Sarābpūr,² in the Sarkar of Maḥmūdābād, who were notorious for their lawlessness, had plundered the revenue of Maḥmūdābād amounting to sixty thousand rupees, whilst on its way to Murshidābād. Nawāb Jafar Khān, who thirsted for the blood of thieves and robbers, hearing this news, appointed a Superintendent of Dacoity with spies under him, and after ascertaining the reality and origin of this affair, he issued an order to Aḥsānu-l-lāh Khān, Faujdār of the Chaklāh of Hnghli, directing their arrest. The aforesaid Khān, ostensibly marching out on a hunting expedition, like a sudden calamity, surprised their stronghold, arrested and captured all the brigands, put them in chains and fetters, mutilated their hands and feet, tied them strongly and securely with pieces of stirrup-leather, and sent them to Nawāb Jafar Khān. The Nawāb imprisoned them for life, and confiscated their treasures. After they were thus banished and extirpated,³ the Nawab settled their aforesaid *zamidāri* with Rām Jivan. Levying indemnity equal to the plundered revenue from the landholders of the neighbourhood, the Nawab credited it to the Imperial treasury. During the Nawāb's administration, the names of free-booters, night-marauders, and assassins were blotted out from the annals of the Bengal Satrapy, and the dwellers, both of

¹ The Danish Chief's name appears to be Mr. Attrup (See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 200). This happened in 1714.

² This is a place about five miles from Jessore head-quarters.

³ There is still a Pathan family in Sarābpūr, though impoverished.

towns and villages, lived in perfect peace and comfort. The *Thanahs* of Katwah and Murshidganj, on the highway leading to Bardwān, were established by the Nawāb, in the early part of his Nizāmat, whilst he held the title of Murshid Quli Khān. He established these *Thanahs* for guarding the above highway, and their control and administration was entrusted by the Nawāb to his special disciple, Muhammad Jān. In that, in the environs of Panachor, which is on the highway leading from Nadiā to Hughli, in the plantain groves thefts took place in broad daylight, Muhammad Jān established an outpost at Pūpthal, subordinate to the *Thana* of Katwah. Capturing the thieves and robbers, and chopping them into bits, Muhammad Jān hanged them on the trees of the highway, to serve as warnings to others. As in his retinue, hatchet-men used to go ahead, he became known as Muhammad Jān *Kolharāh*. Thieves and robbers used to tremble on hearing of his name. As a propagator of Muhammadan religion, as a strict observer of the religious injunctions, as a friend of scions of good family, as a reliever of the distressed, and as an exterminator of oppressors, Nawāb Jafar Khān was a second Amīr-i-Umarā Shāista Khān. He was strict in the enforcement of his orders, and faithful in the fulfilment of his engagements. He never neglected saying his daily prayers five times, and fasted for three months in the year, and used to completely recite the Qorān. On the 12th and 13th of the lunar months, he used to fast, and on Thursday nights he was vigilant in his prayers. Many nights he used to pass in reciting certain select portions of the Qorān, and he slept little. From morning to midday, he devoted himself daily to transcribing the Qorān. And he used to send, every year, copies of the Qorān transcribed by his hand, together with votive offerings and gifts, through the headmen of the pilgrims and other caravans bound for pilgrimage, to Mecca, Medinah, Najaf, Karballa, Baghdād, Khorāsān, Jidāh, Basrah, and other holy places, like Ajmir, Panduah, &c. For each of these places, he allotted votive offerings, endowments, and reciters of the Qorān. The humble author of this History has seen a torn copy of the Qorān, every chapter of which was detached, in the shrine of Hazrat Makhdūm Akhī Sirāja-d-din, at Sadu-l-lahpur,¹ written in large characters in the handwriting

¹ I do not know if that copy is still there. See also *note ante*.

of Nawāb Jafar Khān. The Nawāb had in his employ 2,500 reciters of the Qurān, who completely recited the Qurān daily, and corrected what the Nawāb transcribed from the Qurān; and their meals were supplied twice daily from the Nawāb's own kitchen, and comprised game, birds, and other animals. He shewed a great predilection for the company of Syeds, *Shaikhs*, the scholarly, and the pious, and he deemed it meritorious to serve them. And from the 1st to the 12th of the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal, which is the anniversary of the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him!), daily he used to feed the excellent and the venerable *Shaikhs*, the Ulama, the pious saints, and inviting them from the environs of Murshidābād, he used to receive them with great respect at his banquets, and till they finished their dinners, he used to stand before them in a respectful posture, and to serve them. And every night during that period, from Māhinagar to Lālāgh, on the banks of the river, he used to arrange illuminations with *chirāghs*, in an elegant fashion, so that from the brightness of the illumination, the altars of the mosques and the pulpits, with the inscriptions of the Qurān engraved thereon, could be read from the other side of the river by spectators, to their great amazement. It is said that he employed more than one lak of labourers to light the *chirāghs* under the supervision of Nāzir Ahmad. After sunset, as soon as the gun was fired to signal that the illumination should commence, all the *chirāghs* were simultaneously lit up in one instant, producing an illusion as if a sheet of light had been unrolled, or as if the earth had become a sky studded with stars. And he constantly consecrated his life to seek the approbation of his Creator and to seek the well-being of his subjects, and to redress the grievances of the oppressed. He used to sign his name with the *Shangarī* pen. (He exerted himself to render the prices of food-grains cheap, and did not allow rich people to hoard up stocks of grains. Every week, he had the price-current reports of food-grains prepared, and compared them with the prices actually paid by the poor people. If these latter were charged one *dām* over the prices stated in the price-current reports, he had the dealers, *malakidars*, and weighmen punished in various forms, and had them patrolled through the city, placed upon asses. During his administration, the ruling price of rice was 5 or 6 maunds (of the standard market

weight) per rupee, and other articles were similarly cheap, so much so that by spending one rupee in a month, people ate *pośā* and *galiaś* daily.¹ Owing to this cheapness, the poor lived in ease and comfort. And the captains of ships were not permitted to export on their vessels food-grains beyond those needed for actual consumption by those on board the ships. At the period of disembarkation of ships, the Faujdār of the port of Hugli deputed to the harbour a Preventive Officer for the inspection and attachment of the food-grains, in order that no food-grains beyond what were needed for actual consumption on board the ships might be exported.) And the Nawab had so much reverence for the Imperial authority, that he never travelled on any of the Imperial flotilla of boats. In the rainy seasons, when the Imperial war-vessels came for review from Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) he used to go up to receive them, and turning his face towards the Imperial Capital he used to offer his salute and presents. And in obedience of the Sacred Law he never indulged in intoxicating liquors, and eschewed things prohibited by the sacred law, neither he saw dances nor heard singings. In his whole lifetime, besides his one wedded wife, he kept no mistress, and never bestowed his attention on any other woman. Owing to his extremely nice sense of honour, he did not allow eunuchs and women who cannot be lawfully seen to enter his harem. If a female slave went out of his harem once, he did not allow her access to the harem again. In every branch of learning, art, and science he had great proficiency. He abstained from delicious and luxurious dishes; nor did he taste anything of luxury except ice-water and ice-preserves. And Khair Khān, Deputy of Nāzīr Muḥammad, was deputed for four months in winter to the mountains of Akbarnagar for storing ice. The Nawab had stores of ice full for twelve months, used ice daily and received his supplies of ice from Akbarnagar. Similarly, in the season of mango-fruit, which is the best of the fruits² of Bengal, the Superintendent of mango-supplies was posted in the

1. This would indicate wonderful economic and agricultural prosperity in Bengal during the Viceroyalty of Mir Shāh Qulī Khān. *Pośā* and *Galīāś* are rich Hindustani dishes. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bloch's Tr., Vol. I, pp. 59 and 62) for a list of Hindustani meats, and also for statistics of prices of certain articles in Akbar's time.

2. For a detailed description of the Fructory in India, in Akbar's time, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bloch's Tr., p. 64.)

Chaklah of Akbarnagar, and he, counting the mangoes of the Khās trees, entered them in the accounts, and shewed their collection and disposal, and the watchmen and carriers, levying the expenses of carriage from the zamindars, sent the sweet and delicious mangoes from Maldāh, Katwāh, Hazainpur, Akbarnagar, and other places. And the zamindārs had no power to cut down the Khās mango-trees; on the contrary, the mangoes of all the gardens of the aforesaid Chaklah were attached. And this practice was more rigorously observed in the times of previous Nāzims of Bengal. Even at present,¹ when the administration of Bengal is virtually in the hands of the Christian English, and only the nominal Nizāmat rests with Nawāb Mubāraku-d-daulah, son of Nawāb J'āfar Ali Khān,² in the mango-season the Superintendent of the Khās mangoes proceeds to Maldāh on behalf of the aforesaid Nawāb Mubāraku-d-daulah, attaches the mangoes of the Khās trees, and sends them to the Nawāb, and the zamindārs do not go near the Khās mango-trees. But the Superintendent no longer obtains the carriage expense from the Zamindars, nor does he enjoy his former prestige and respect. The roots of oppression were so thoroughly extirpated in the time of Nawāb J'āfar Khān, that the agents of zamindars used to loiter about—from the Naqār Khānah to the Chahāl satun,³ in quest of the oppressed and of complainants. Wherever they came across an oppressed man or a complainant, they amicably settled matters with him, and did not leave him to complain to the Nawab. And if the officers of the Courts of justice shewed partiality towards the oppressors, and if the oppressed carried their complaints to the Nawab, the latter instantly redressed their grievances. In administering justice, he did not allow consideration and partiality to be shown to anyone; he weighed the high and the low evenly in the scale of justice. For instance, it is well known that to avenge the death of an oppressed man, he executed his own son,⁴ and obtained the title of "*Adalat Gostar*" (or Justice-Strewer). He used to dispense justice, basing his orders

¹ i.e., when this history was written (1788.)

² i.e., Mir Jafar Ali Khān.

³ The Chahāl Satun was a Public Audience Hall built by Murshid Quli Khān, at Murshidabad.

⁴ This incident of stern and blind justice recalls to memory the glorious career of another Mussulman sovereign in the far West—that is, of Abdur Rahman, the Khālifa of Spain. (See Amir Ali's History of the Saracens, p. 310).

on the injunction of the Qorān, and on the expounding of the law by Qāzi Muḥammad Shārf, who had been appointed to the office of Qāzi by Emperor Aurangzeb, and who was an upright judge and a great scholar, free from hypocrisy. It is related that a mendicant at Chunākhalī begged for alms from Bindrahan, the *Talqadar*. The latter got annoyed, and turned him out from his house. The mendicant on his (Bindrahan's) route of passage collected some bricks, laid them one over the other like the foundation of a wall, and named it a mosque, and shouted out the call to prayer, and whenever the palanquin of Bindrahan passed that way, he shouted out still more loudly the call to prayer. Bindrahan, becoming annoyed by this, threw down some brickbats from that foundation, and abusing the mendicant drove the latter from that place. The mendicant lodged a complaint at the Court of justice of Nawāb Jāfar Khān. Qāzi Muḥammad Shārf, with the concurrence of other Ulama, acting on the injunction of the sacred Law, ordered the execution of Bindrahan. Jāfar Khān, not acquiescing in the sentence of execution, enquired thus from the Qāzi as to whether he could be let off: 'Can in any way this Hindu be saved from the death-sentence?' The Qāzi replied: "Only so much interval may be allowed in the execution of his death-sentence as may be taken up in the execution of his interceder; after that, he must be executed." Prince 'Azim-*sh-shān* also interceded for Bindrahan; but that, too, was of no avail. The Qāzi killed him by shooting him with an arrow with his own hand. Azim-*sh-shān* wrote to Emperor Aurangzeb as follows: "Qāzi Muḥammad Shārf has turned mad; for nothing he has killed Bindrahan with his own hand." The Emperor remarked on the report of the Prince thus: "This is a gross¹ calumny; the Qāzi is on

¹ A wonderfully upright and fearless Judge Qāzi Muḥammad Shārf must have been.

² Mark the pun on the word "Azim" in the text. "Azim" means 'great' as well as it may refer to the name 'Azimushāhan'. So it may mean "it is a great or gross calumny" and also "it is a calumny on the part of Azim (Azimushāhan)." Aurangzeb, even whilst angry, was not free from dashes of wit (often sarcastic wit) in his epistles. As I am afraid, in this English garb, the reader may miss the relish of the original, I give the original in Aurangzeb's language:—

مذا بہتان عظیم . قاضی خدا کی طرف

the side of God." Till the close of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, Qāzi Sharf continued to hold the office of Qāzi. On the death of the Emperor, the Qāzi resigned his office; though J'afar Khān pressed him to continue, he did not. And during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb and during the Nizāmāt of J'afar Khān, only the nobility, the scholars, the learned, and the excellent who passed examinations were appointed to the office of Qāzi, which was never bestowed on the illiterate or the low. No changes or transfers in the offices of the pious and hereditary Qāzis existed, nor was any tax levied from them; in fact, they were subordinates to no superiors, nor answerable to any.¹ For instance, Ahsan-i-lāh Khān, Faujdār of the port of Hughli, grandson of Bāqir Khān, the Senior (after whom a kind of Indian bread has acquired the name of *Bāqir Khāni*), was a *protégé* of Nawāb J'afar Khān, and he possessed great influence with the Nawāb. During his administration, Imama-d-din, Kotwāl (Police Superintendent) of the port of Hughli, who had acquired a high position and much influence, enticed away the daughter of a Mughal from the latter's house. The aforesaid Ahsan-i-lāh Khān, conniving at this offence, showed partiality towards his Kotwāl, and stood surety for his future good behaviour. The Maghals carried their complaint to Nawāb J'afar Khān. The Nawab, according to the injunctions of the Holy Book, had the Kotwāl stoned to death, and did not listen to the intercession of Ahsan-i-lāh Khān for the offender. Towards the close of his career, on the eastern plain of the city of Murshidābād, on the grounds of his Khas Taluq, the Nawab erected a Treasury, a *Kutrah*, a Cathedral mosque, a monument, a Reservoir, and also sank a large well, and under the staircase of the mosque, he located his own tomb, so that it might be safe from damage, and might also, owing to the proximity of the mosque, be blessed with perpetual benedictions for his soul. When his life drew to its close, finding that he had no son, he proclaimed Sarfarāz Khān, who was his maternal grandson, and who had been brought up by him, as his heir and successor, and he entrusted to him charge of the treasures

¹ Emperor Aurangzeb, though rather a bigot in some points, had scrupulous regard for the majesty of the *Shari'ah* or Law, and took considerable pains to improve the administration of Justice. The Qāzis, or Magistrates and Judges, were exclusively recruited from the ranks of eminent scholars, and they were not subordinate to any except the Law itself, and their offices carried great prestige.

and effects and the control of both the Nizāmat and the Imperial offices. In 1139 A.H. he died. From the following Miṣr'a, the date of his death is obtained :—

ز داور الخانات جوار افتاد

(Translation) From the Imperial Capital, the rampart has fallen.

When the numerical value of the word جوار is deducted from the word داور الخانات the date of his death is obtained.

He spurred on his steed of march towards eternity;

He has passed away, but his good name survives.

Aye, what better can anyone aspire to than this? :

That after he has passed away, his many virtues might survive.¹

NIẒAMAT OF NAWĀB SHUJ'A-UD-DĪN² MUHAMMAD KHĀN WHO WAS ALREADY NAẒIM OF THE SUBAH OF ODĪSĀ (ORISSA).

When Nawāb J'afar Khān passed to the regions of eternity, Sarfaraz Khān³ following the Nawāb's dying wish, laid the former in the tomb under the staircase of the *Katra* mosque, and himself ascended the *mansab* of Nizamat as his successor. And conciliating the Nizamat and Imperial officials, like Nawāb J'afar Khān he administered fiscal and administrative affairs. Save and except the Public Funds and Imperial treasures, he removed to his private residence the private treasures and effects of J'afar Khān. He reported J'afar Khān's death to Emperor Muḥammad Shāh

¹ These beautiful lines, I suspect, are borrowed from Saadi, the great Persian Moralist and Poet of Shiraz.

² He was called "Mirza Dakni," and he hailed from Burhanpur. His father's name was Nur-d-din, who came originally from *Khorasan*. He was son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khān, and was Naẓim of Orissa, when Murshid Quli Khān became Subādar of Bengal. He received the title of Mutaman-ul-Mulk, Shujau-d-daulah Asad Khān (See *Masir*, Vol. 3, p. 953, and *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. 2, p. 409).

³ His name was Mirza Asadu-d-din, and his titles were Alan-d-daulah Sarfaraz Khān Haidar Jang'. He was a son of Shujau-d-din Khān, and a maternal grandson of Murshid Quli Khān. (See *Masir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 754, and *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. 2, p. 409).

and to Qamru-d-din Husain Khān Bahadur.¹ He also communicated the intelligence to his father, Shuja'u-d-din Muhammad Khān, who was Naxim of Orissa. The latter on hearing the news said:—


“The sky has turned towards the fulfilment of my aim,
And has minted coins of the kingdom after my name.”

Since Shuja'u-d-din was very anxious to obtain the Niqamat of Bengal with its honours, treasures, and privileges, he shelved all paternal and filial attachments, and left his son, Muhammad Taqī Khān, who was matchless in bravery and liberality, in charge of the Niqamat of Orissa in the City of Katak.

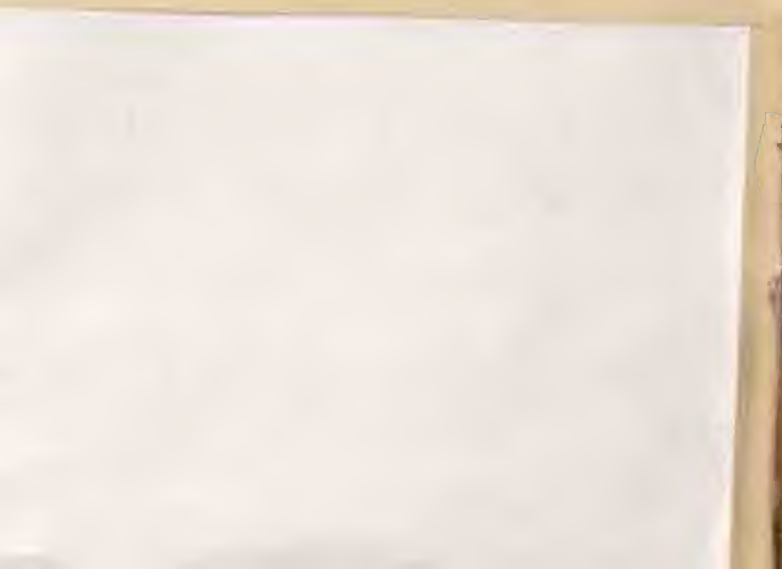


END OF Fasc. 3.

¹ His name was Mir Muhammad Fazil, and his title was Itimadu-d-daulah Qamruddin Khān Bahadur. He was a son of Itimadu-d-daulah Muhammad Amin Khān. On Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah resigning the office of Vazir, Qamruddin Khān became Vazir of Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1137 A.H. He was liberal, affable, and polished. (See *Mausir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 358, and *Seir-ul-Mutakberin*, Vol. 2, p. 457).

 A list of contents with an Index will appear in another volume.

A. SALAM.



PART. IV.

Shajān-d-dīn marched with a large army towards Bengal. In order to obtain the Imperial Sanad of the *Nizāmat* of Bengal, and in order to secure the support of the Imperial Ministers, he sent a message to Rai Balkishan, agent of Nawab Ja'far Khān, at the Imperial Court, who enjoyed more confidence and eminence than Ja'far Khān's other agents. He also sent messages to other agents of his own.

Emperor Muḥammad Shāh,¹ on receiving news of Nawab Ja'far Khān's death, had conferred the *Subādārī* of Bengal on Amīn-l-Umarā Saṃsāmū-d-daulah Khān-i-Daurān² Khān Bahādur, Chief Pay-Master-General of the Army. The latter was Emperor's loyal friend and intimate associate both in social gaieties as well as in State deliberations, and was his comrade, companion, and councillor in matters pertaining to feasts, as well as to wars. The Amīn-l-Umarā misled by the intrigues of the aforesaid agent, sent the patent and Khilā't of the Deputy Nizāmat of Bengal in the name of Shajān-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān. Shajān-d-dīn Khān had reached this side of Medinipur, when the patent addressed to his name arrived, and viewing this event as a good omen, he named that place "Mubarak-Mansil" or "the Auspicious place," and ordered a *Katrāh* (a Tower) and a masonry-built *Caravanserai* to be erected there. When news of the approach of his father reached

¹ Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was raised to the Imperial throne of Delhi by the Syed brothers in 1131 A.H. See *Seir-ul-Malakkarin*, Vol. II, p. 422.

² His name was Khwajah Asam. His ancestors had come from Badakhshan to India, and settled at Agra. He held a small *Mansab* in the beginning under Prince Azim-ul-Shan, and was in the latter's company in Bengal at Dacca. When the Prince in obedience to the summons of his father, Muḥammad Muazzam (afterwards Emperor Bahādur Shāh), on the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, left Bengal to join his father at Agra, he left Khwajah Asam in the company of his son Farrukh Sir, who remained in Bengal on behalf of his father. He soon made himself a person *pro te* to Prince Farrukh Sir, and exercised considerable influence over his conduct and policy. Farrukh Sir conferred on him the title of 'Ashraf Khān,' and on accession to the throne conferred on him the further titles of "Saṃsāmū-d-daulah Khān Daurān," and created him a *Haft hazari*, and second *Rokhsbi*. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, on the fall of Syed Hussain Ali Khān, he received the title of 'Amīn-l-Umarā' and also became the Supreme *Rokhsbi* or Generalissimo, or Paymaster-General of the Army. He fell during the war against Nadir Shāh who had invaded India in 1151 A.H. See *Musir-l-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 819.

Sarfarāz Khān, owing to recklessness of youth, the latter intended marching to Katwah, in order to oppose his father's advance. The Dowager Begam of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, who was a very wise and sagacious lady, and who regarded Sarfarāz Khān as dearer than her own life, dissuaded the latter, and with soft and sweet words of counsel set his mind at ease. She said to Sarfarāz Khān: "Your father is old; after him, the Subahdārī as well as the country with its treasures would devolve on you. To fight against one's own father, is cause of loss both in this world and in the next, as well as of ignominy. It is meet that till the lifetime of your father, you should remain contented with the *Diyān* of Bengal." Sarfarāz Khān, who never acted against the advice of his grand-mother, acquiesced in her counsel. Advancing, he received Shujāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, and escorted him to Murshidābād. Making over to his father the Fort and the offices of the Nizāmat, Sarfarāz Khān retired to his private residence at Nakṣakhāl. From there he used to attend daily on his father, and spend his time according to the latter's wishes. Retaining in his own service the Qorān-readers, hymn-reciters, and scholars belonging to Nawab Ja'far Khān's household, Sarfarāz Khān employed them on devotions and on recitations of the Qorān, as was the practice under Nawab Ja'far Khān. He further consecrated his life to winning the hearts of people, and also sought for help and blessings from saints and hermits.

Shujāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān,¹ who in point of bravery and

¹ The author of the *Seir-i-Mulakḥḥar* also pays a glowing tribute to the memory of Nawab Shujāu-d-dīn Khān, and styles him a second Naushīrwan in justice and liberality. He treated all his officers, high and low, including soldiers and household servants, with affability and consideration, and at the time of his death, begged their forgiveness, and gave them all two months' pay in advance. In the administration of justice, he was very impartial and made no difference between his own son and his humblest subject. He appreciated talent, and during his administration, people possessed of the east talent flocked into Bengal from all parts of Hindustan, and found a ready friend and helper in him. Bengal which enjoyed the title of 'Jannat-i-Bilād' or 'Paradise of Provinces,' now literally became so, under Shujāu-d-dīn Khān's wise and beneficent administration. His charities were unostentatious and catholic, and his liberality was unlimited. His subjects, during his administration, enjoyed perfect peace and happiness. See *Seir-i-Mulakḥḥar*, Vol. II, pp. 472 and 488 (Pers. text).

By the way, the general immunity from civil wars and disturbances

courage was unique in his day, and who in point of liberality and generosity was matchless in his time, was born at Burhānpur.¹ As he ascended the *masnad* of the *Nigāmat* of Bengal in his old age, he felt compassion for the condition of the Bengal Zamindars, who being in duress from the time of Nawāb Ja'far Khān had never, even in dreams, beheld the faces of their wives and children. He set them at large, and permitted them to return to their homes, after levying from them *Nazars* over and above the amounts of revenue assessed by Nawāb Ja'far Khān. By this stroke of policy, over and above the profits of *Jāgirs* and fees on ware-houses and factories, he easily raised one *kror* and fifty *laks* of rupees, which he remitted to the Imperial Treasury through the Banking Agency of Jagat Seth Fatih Qānd. And selling off at fancy prices to Zamindars the jaded horses, cattle, and other live-stock, as well as damaged carpets and curtains belonging to the private estate of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, he sent another forty *laks* of rupees, besides elephants, to Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. And after the Abstract Balance-sheet of the Annual Accounts was prepared, he remitted to the Imperial Capital the stipulated annual tributes of the *Nigāmat*, besides the Imperial Revenue, according to the established usage. And sending to the Emperor, at their proper seasons, elephants, *Tāngas* horses, special cotton-fabrics,² and *qāshkhāna*³ and

enjoyed by Bengal during the vigorous régime of Marhūm Qutb Khān and his successor, Shujāu-d-dīn Khān (whilst the whole of Upper India was convulsed and torn by fratricidal wars and foreign invasions which converted these fair regions into human shambles), would in a large measure account for the existence of a comparatively large Musalman population in Bengal, contrasted with that in Upper India, without having recourse to theories of a more or less fanciful character, for which there appears little or no historical warrant.

¹ Burhānpur is described in the *Āin* (see Vol. II, p. 223) as "a large city, three *kos* distant from the Tapī, in Subah Daudes or Khundes. It was embellished with many gardens, inhabited by people of all countries, and handicraftsmen plied a thriving trade."

² *Khush* is mentioned in the list of cotton-fabrics manufactured in India. See *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 24, for a list of cotton, silk and woollen manufactures of India, in Akbar's time. Emperor Akbar took great pains to improve all indigenous manufactures. "Skillful masters and workmen were settled in India to

³ قوش means "small-bodied (man)." I do not exactly understand what قوشخانه signifies. It was apparently some sort of cotton or silk-stuff manufactured in Bengal, with human figures woven thereon.

other manufactures, he attested thereby his loyalty to the Imperial throne, and was in consequence invested with the titles of *Mahmūd-i-Mulk*, *Shuja'-d-daulah*, *Shuja'-d-din* Muhammad Khān Bahādur Amul Jang. He also received the personal *Munsh* of a *Haji Hazari*, with seven thousand troopers, besides a fringed Palki, together with the insignia of the *Mah* Order, and a *khilat* consisting of six pieces of robes, precious stones, a jewel-mounted sword, and a Royal elephant with a horse. He was further confirmed in the office of *Nazim* of Bengal. He surpassed his predecessors in office in paraphernalia of royalty and armaments, and though his prime of life had passed, he did not scorn life's pleasures. Dismantling the public buildings erected by Nawab Ja'fur Khān, as they seemed too small according to his lofty ideals, he built instead a grand and spacious Palace, an Arsenal, a lofty Gateway, a Revenue Court,¹ a Public Audience-Hall,² a Private Office,³ a *Boudoir* for Ladies, a Reception-Hall,⁴ a Court of Chancery⁵ and a Court of Justice.⁶ He lived in magnificent splendour, and used to ride out in right regal state. He attended constantly to the well-being of his Army, and to the happiness of his subjects. On his officers, he lavished largesses amounting to no less than one thousand or five hundred rupees in each case. Constantly animated by a scrupulous regard for justice, and always inspired by fear of

to teach people an improved system of manufacture. The Imperial workshops, the towns of Lahore, Agra, Patna, Ahmadabad, Gujrat, turn out many master-pieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns and knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade, and on account of the care bestowed on them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection, and the Imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries...." See *As-i-Jahāri*, Blochmann's translation, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88.

¹ 'The *Divan Khana*' is a building containing the office of *Dewan* or Finance Minister.

² A '*Chihil Satun*' means literally 'forty-pillared.' It was a large building, intended as a Public Audience-Hall.

³ '*Khawāt Khana*' means a 'Private Chamber.'

⁴ '*Tulsi-Khana*' means "Office-room or building."

⁵ '*Khatib Khana*' means the "Court of Exchequer," or the Revenue Court or Revenue Board in respect of Crown-land Affairs.

⁶ '*Farmanbāri*' means a 'Court of Justice.'

God, he uprooted from his realm the foundations of oppressions and tyrannies. Executing Nāzīr Ahmad and Murād Farrāsh, the employes of Nawab Ja'far Khān, who were notorious for their high-handedness, he confiscated their effects. Nāzīr Ahmad had laid the foundation of a Mosque with a garden at Dehpara on the banks of the river Bhāgirati. Shujā'a-d-daulah, after executing him, finished the mosque and garden, and named them after himself. And he tastefully embellished the garden by building therein grand palaces with reservoirs, canals and numerous fountains. It was a splendid garden, compared with which the spring-houses of Kash-nir paled like withering autumn-gardens; nay, the garden of Iram¹ itself seemed to draw its inspiration of freshness and sweetness from it. Shujā'a-d-daulah used frequently to resort for promenades and picnics to that paradise-like garden, and held there pleasure-parties and other entertainments. Every year in that beautiful garden, he used to give a State Banquet to the educated section² of his State Officers. It is said that owing to the superb charmfulness of that garden, Fairies used to come down there for picnics and walks, and to bathe in its tanks. The guards on getting scent of this, informed Shujā'a-d-daulah. Dreading mischief from the genii, the Nawab filled up the tanks with earth, and discontinued his picnics in that garden.

Being fond of ease and pleasures, Nawab Shujā'a-d-daulah entrusted the duties of the Nizāmat to a Council,³ composed of Hājī

¹ 'Iram' or *ʿIrām* is the celebrated but fabulous garden said to have been anciently laid out in Arabia Felix by a king named Shadad-bin-i-Ad or Iram bin-i-ʿAmr. Frequent mention of these gardens is made by the Eastern poets, who describe them as a perfect model of Paradise.

² It is significant that even in these declining years of the Mughal regime, towards the first quarter of the eighteenth century, scholarship and intellectual attainments had not ceased to command esteem amongst the Mughal Pro-Councils.

³ See slightly varied account in the '*Sairat-Mutakhirin*,' which shows that Mirza Ali Yardi Khān was the leading spirit in Shojau-d-din's Council or Cabinet. See *Sairat-Mutakhirin*, Vol. II, p. 373 Pers. text. On ascending the gadi of Nizamat, Shojau-d-din Khān constituted a Cabinet of Advisers or Council of State, consisting of (1) Mirza Muhammad Ali Yardi Khān alias Mirza Bandi, (2) Hājī Ahmad, brother of No. 1, (3) Hājī Rāḥim 'Alam Qand (formerly Shujāu-d-din's Diwan in Orissa), (4) Jagatset Fatch Qand, the banker. In all important matters, he used to consult them before passing orders. His first measure was to release the Bengal Zamindars who had been imprisoned by Ja'far Khān. This measure brought him not only

Ahmad, Rāi Ā'lamchānd Diwān, and Jagat-Set Fatehchānd, whilst the Nawab himself indulged in pleasures.¹ Rāi Ā'lamchānd Mukhlār,²

popularity but also an increase to the revenue (as Nasar was toried), and at the same time contributed to the fertility of Bengal, the *Jinnah-i-Bilad*. (See *Sair-i-Mutakhirin*, Vol. II, p. 473). For purposes of administration, he maintained his son Surfaraz Khān as the nominal Diwān of Bengal, conferred the Subādhari of Orissa on his son (by another wife), named Muhammad Taqī Khān, the Deputy Nizam of Jahangirnagar or Dacca on his son-in-law Murshid Quli Khān II, the Fajdars of Rangpur on Sayid Ahmad Khān (nephew of Ali Vardi Khān), the Fajdar of Rajmahal or Akbarnagar on Zainu-d-din Ahmad (another nephew and son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khān), Nawāish Mhd. Khān (another nephew of Ali Vardi) was created Generalissimo of the Army. See *Sair-i-Mutakhirin*, Vol. II, p. 472.

¹ This preference of personal pleasures to the performance of public duties by the later Mughal pro-consuls and sovereigns of the 18th century, marks a moral collapse, and was one of the causes that hastened the downfall of the Great Mughal Empire in India. Preferring their own personal ease and pleasures, these later Mughal Satraps and Emperors delegated the unchecked control of their State concerns into the hands of ministers, who often proved unscrupulous, venal and treacherous, and scrupled not to barter them to intriguers for the sake of what they deemed to be their individual and personal self-aggrandisement. It was a falling which stood out in jarring contrast to the noble traditions and examples of a Babar, a Sher Shah, an Akbar, and an Aurangzeb, each of whom 'scented delights and lived laborious days.' As bearing on the same point, I may also quote from Bernier's *Travels* pp. 129-130 the weighty words of Aurangzeb, whilst admonishing one of his Omrah who had ventured to express his fears lest the Emperor's incessant occupations might be productive of injury to his health. Thus burst forth the Great Monarch in the following noble strain:—"There can surely be but one opinion among you learned men as to the obligations imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his charge. And yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night, nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him, I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health, and chiefly to study what may best minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. No doubt, he would have me abandon the government of this vast kingdom to some Vizier: he seems not to consider that, being born the son

² The *Sair-i-Mutakhirin* describes Alamchānd as having formerly held the office of Diwān under Shuja'u-d-din Khān, when the latter held the office of Nāim of Orissa. *Sair*, Vol. II, p. 473, Pers. text. It is worthy of note that in Kattak (Cutlack) town, there is still a quarter or *Mahalla* known as 'Alamchānd Bazar.'

in the period of *Shujā'ud-daulah's* Nizāmat of Orissa, was a *Mahār* attached to the latter's household. At this time, he was invested with the Deputy Diwānī of the *Sibah* of Bengal, and being appointed Superintendent-General of the Affairs of the Nizāmat and the Diwānī, he effected considerable retrenchments in the public expenditure, and received the personal *Manāsh* of a *Hazāri* with the title of *Rāi Rāiān*—a title which until that time no officer of the Bengal Nizāmat or Diwānī had enjoyed. And *Hājī Ahmad*¹ and *Mirzā Bandi* were sons of *Mirzā Muḥammad*, who was a cup-bearer of *Ā'zzam Shāh*, a son of Emperor Aurangzeb *Ā'lamgīr*. *Hājī Ahmad*, on the death of his father, was appointed Cup-bearer and Superintendent of the jewellery-stores of *Salṭān Muḥammad Ā'zzam Shāh*. As *Ā'zzam Shāh*² fell in the struggle for the Em-

of a king, and placed on a throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are there to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State. This man cannot penetrate into the consequence of the inartness he recommends, and he is ignorant of the evils that attend upon delegated power. It was not without reason that our great Saadi emphatically exclaimed:—'Cease to be kings; Oh, cease to be kings; or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves....' Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence; we need no such officious counsellors. Our wives too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury." What a noble ideal of kingly duty!, and what a sad falling-off in later Moslem times!

¹ In *Seir-ul-Mutakherin* and Stewart's History of Bengal, it is stated that *Mirzā Muḥammad's* eldest son was *Hājī Ahmad*, and his second son was *Mirzā Muḥammad Ali* (the latter received the title of *Muḥammad Ā'li Vardī Khān*, through the favour of *Shujā'ud-dīn Khān*, whilst the latter was *Nadīm* of Orissa). See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 470.

² *Ā'zzam Shāh*, surnamed Prince *Muḥammad Ā'zzam*, was the second son of Emperor Aurangzeb, his eldest brother being Prince *Muḥammad Muḥṣin*, afterwards surnamed Emperor *Bahādur Shāh*. On Emperor Aurangzeb's death, there was a fratricidal struggle for the Empire between the above two brothers, with the result that at the sanguinary battle of *Jajo*, near *Agra*, in 1119 A.H., *Ā'zzam Shāh*, or Prince *Muḥammad Ā'zzam*, was killed, and *Bahādur Shāh* became victorious. See description of this sanguinary battle with the slaughter of several Princes Royal in the *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 377. Emperor Aurangzeb's third son, Prince *Kam Bakshah*, similarly fell shortly after in 1120 A.H., near *Haidarabad*, in a similar fratricidal struggle with

pire, at the time of this Revolution, the two brothers leaving the Imperial Capital proceeded to the Dakhin and thence to Odisha (Orissa), and entered there the service of Shujā'ū-d-daulah. Adopting a policy of tact and prudence which "is a friend, and like water, takes to every hue," these two brothers got into the good graces of Shujā'ū-d-daulah. When Shujā'ū-d-daulah acquired the Nizāmat of the Subah of Bengal, Hājī Ahmad became his intimate associate and councillor in all affairs of the Nizāmat; whilst Mirzā Bandi was invested with the Manāb and title of Ā'li Vardi Khān, and appointed Faujdar of the Thaklah of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). Similarly, the Hājī's eldest son, named Muhammad Riza,² received the office of Dāraghah or Superintendent of the Bajutrah of Murshidābād; his second son, Agā Muhammad Sa'id, was appointed Deputy Faujdar of Bangpūr; whilst his youngest son, Mirzā Muhammad Hashim, was invested with the Manāb and title of Hashim Ā'li Khān. Pir Khān, who during Shujā'ū-d-daulah's stay at Burhānpūr had rendered faithful services, and who from his youth to old age had passed his days in his company, was at this time invested with the Manāb and title of Shuja' Quli Khān, and given the Faujdarī of the Port of Hugli, on the transfer of Ahsanul-lah Khān.

Merit is no passport to worldly advancement,

When times are propitious, failings seem accomplishments.

The new Faujdar of Hugli commenced exactions and oppressions. The Port of Hugli from his rapacity was ruined; and he commenced quarrelling with the European merchants. On the pretext of collecting the customs-duties of the Imperial Customs-

Bahadur Shah. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 379. It ought to be noted that these fratricidal struggles did more to weaken the great Timurid Dynasty, than the ravages of Mahratta freebooters or the incursions of Sadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani.

¹ Mirzā Bandi was another surname of Mirzā Muhammad Ā'li (subsequently styled Muhammad Ā'li Vardi Khān). In Seir it is stated that he formed the leading spirit in the Council or Cabinet of advisers of Sawāh Shujā'ū-d-din Khān, and that the Faujdarship of Akbarnagar or Rajmahal was bestowed by Shujā'ū-d-din Khān on Ā'li Vardi Khān's nephew and son-in-law named Zain-oddin Ahmad. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 472.

² During the Nizāmat of Ā'li Vardi Khān, Muhammad Riza received the title of 'Nawabshah Muhammad Khān,' and was advanced to the office of Diwan of Bengal. I do not quite understand what the word 'Bajutrah' in the text means. It probably signifies "Miscellaneous Revenue."

House, he requisitioned troops from the Emperor, commenced hostility with the English, Dutch, and French, and levied *Nazars* and taxes. It is said that once unloading from English vessels bales of silk and cotton-stuffs, and placing these below the fort, he confiscated them. The English troops advancing from Calcutta, arrived near the fort. Shujā' Qulī Khān finding himself an unequal match for them climbed down, when the English troops carried off their goods. The aforesaid Khān writing to Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah requisitioned troops to attack the English, and by cutting off supplies of Qāsimbāzār and Calcutta, he reduced them to straits. The Chief of the English Factory at Qāsimbāzār was compelled in consequence to arrange terms of peace, by agreeing to pay three lacs of rupees as *nazar* to Shujā'u-d-daulah. The Chief of the English Factory in Calcutta, borrowing the *nazarana* money from the Calcutta bankers, remitted it to Shujā'u-d-daulah.

In short, as the good services of Shujā'u-d-daulah came to the notice of the Emperor through the medium of Khān Daurān Khān, in recognition thereof, the Nizāmat of the Sūbah of Behar on the transfer of Fakhr-u-d-daulah, brother of Rauḥan-u-d-daulah Turābbāz Khān, was also conferred by the Emperor on Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah. The aforesaid Nawāb considering Muḥammad A'li Vardī Khān to be a person of capacity and tact, appointed him to be his Deputy Governor of Behar, and sent him to Aḡmābād (Patna) with five thousand cavalry and infantry. A'li Vardī Khān, arriving in the Sūbah of Behar, associated with himself, in the administration, General Abdul Karīm

¹ Fakhr-u-d-daulah was Shibdar of Behar from 1140 A.H. for about five years. He was given to ease and pleasures, and ill-treated not only his minister, Shaiḡh Abdullah, who enjoyed the confidence of the public, but also insulted Khawajāh Ma'tasam (brother of Amir-ul-Umara Saḡamu-d-daulah Khān Daurān Khawajāh Aḡam). The latter in consequence left Patna, went to Delhi, and complained to his brother, who held great influence at the court of the Emperor. Muḥammad Shāh-Fakhr-u-d-daulah was at once recalled, and Behar was added to the Bengal satrapy under Nawāb Shujā'u-d-din Khān. The latter appointed Muḥammad A'li Vardī Khān as his Deputy in the Nizāmat of Behar, conferring on him (with the sanction of the Emperor) the title of Mahabat Jung, and promoting him to the rank of a Parganari. A'li Vardī ruled over Behar vigorously. See Seir-ul-Mulūk, Vol. II, pp. 469, 472. For Rauḥan-u-d-daulah see page 462, Vol. II, *Seir*.

Khān,¹ Chief of the Afghāns of Dārbhanga, and raised a levy of efficient troops. Entrusting the reins of authority over administrative and revenue affairs to the hands of Abdul Karīm Khān, Ā'li Vardī Khān sent the former on an expedition against the *Banjarah* tribe, who were a class of marauders and murderers, and who in the guise of traders and travellers used to plunder the imperial domains and treasures. Abdul Karīm Khān, subduing the *Banjarah* tribe, gained a large booty. Muḥammad Ā'li Vardī, by chastising the *Banjarah*² tribe, achieved a high reputation. And being aided by the Afghāns, Ā'li Vardī advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājās of Bitiah and Bhawārah,³ who were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nāgins, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any of the former Śūbahdārs. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting with them incessantly, Ā'li Vardī Khān became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ā'li Vardī Khān carried off a large booty, amounting to several *laks*, in specie and other effects. And settling with the Rājās the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiery also were enriched by the booty, and the strength of Ā'li Vardī's administration increased. And drawing his forces against the Chakwar tribe, who had acquired a world-wide notoriety for their marauding propensities, Ā'li Vardī also extirpated them. Invading the tracts of the refractory and turbulent Zamindar of Bhojpūr,⁴ and of Rājā Sundar Singhi, Zamindar of Tikari, and of Nandār Khān Ma'n,⁵ who, sheltered by dense forests and rocks,

¹ Abdul Karīm Khān was a Rohilla Afghan; he was very brave and powerful, and had a large Afghan following. See *Seir* Vol. II, p. 473.

² *Banjarah* is described as a zamindari with 100 houses and 1000 feet, under Subah Berar in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 230. The tribe of *Banjarah* were Rajputs in caste.

³ Bhawarah or Bhawarah is mentioned as a Mahal under Sarkar Tirhut, in Subah Behar. See *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 155. Stewart inaccurately calls it Phulwarah. Phulwari is a Mahal under Sarkar Behar.

⁴ Bhojpūr, a pargana in Sarkar Rohiss, Bihar, west of Arrah and north of Sasaram. The Rājās of Bhojpūr called themselves Ujjainiah Rājās, as they claimed descent from the ancient Rājās of Ujjain in Malwah. See *Ain Bloch, Jr.*, Vol. I, p. 513 a.

⁵ I cannot trace of which place in Bihar he was a local chieftain.

had not cared for former *Nāgims*, and had neglected to discharge loyal duties, and without coercion had never paid the Imperial revenue, Ali Vardi set about chastising every one of them, subdued their tracts thoroughly, levied the revenues from them to the fullest extent, and reduced them to thorough subjection. And similarly punishing other insolent rebels, Ali Vardi *Khān* placed the ring of submission on their ears. And in a short period becoming master of immense treasures and a large army, Ali Vardi's power and prestige grew enormously. As 'Abdal Karīm *Khān* held control over all the State affairs, he exercised absolute sway, and ignored Muḥammad Ali Vardi *Khān*. Hence the latter becoming suspicious of the former, inveigled him by some device into his own house, and slaying him raised the standard of triumph. And through the agency of Muḥammad Ishāq *Khān*,¹ *Dīwān* of the Imperial *Khalīfah*, Ali Vardi *Khān* opened negotiations with Qamru-d-dīn *Khān*,² the Imperial Vizier, and also with other Imperial Ministers, and succeeded in obtaining directly from the Emperor the title of Mahabat Jang³ Bahadur, without Shujā'a-d-daulah's recommendation. Shujā'a-d-daulah, who reposed full confidence in Hājī Ahmad and Ali Vardi *Khān*, viewed without misgivings this elevation of Ali Vardi's rank; but his son, Sarfarāz *Khān*, felt misgivings about it. On account of this difference in views, between the father and the son a coolness set in. Another son of Shujā'a-d-daulah by a different wife was Muḥammad Taqī *Khān*. He was Deputy *Nāgim* of Orissa, and was not only brave and bold but was also popular with the Army. Hājī Ahmad and Ali Vardi *Khān* basing their intrigue on his rivalry contrived to bring about a rupture, advantageous to themselves, between the two brothers. When the plan of this intrigue was matured, Hājī Ahmad secured the adhesion of Rāi Rāiān 'Alam Qhānd and Jagatsat Fateh Qhānd; and the

¹ For Ishāq *Khān*, see *Scir*, Vol. II, p. 459. He enjoyed Emperor Muḥammad *Shāh*'s confidence.

² When Nizam-i-Mulk Asaf Jah resigned the Imperial Vizirate, Ptām-d-daulah Qamru-d-dīn *Khān*, son of Muḥammad Amin *Khān*, succeeded him as Imperial Vizier of Emperor Muḥammad *Shāh*. See Vol. II, p. 457, *Scir-i-Mutakhirin*. Pers. text.

³ The *Scir-i-Mutakhirin*, however, (see n. ante) states that Shujā'a-d-dīn *Khān* secured from Emperor Muḥammad *Shāh* the title of 'Mahabat Jang' for his favourite and protégé, Ali Vardi *Khān*.

Triumvirate now waited for the development of their conspiracy. Shujā'u-d-daulah, by the advice of the Triumvirate, was induced not to entrust the control of any affair to Sarfarāz Khān. When the fibres of mistrust thus sown took root in the soil of the hearts of the son and the father, as well as of the two brothers, and these were about to germinate, Muhammad Taqi Khān, ascertaining the real origin of this misunderstanding, proceeded from Orissa to Bengal, to personally interview his father and brother. The Councillors of Shujā'u-d-daulah, finding the odds of the times evenly balanced, fanned strifes and fomented jealousies between the two brothers, so much so that both the latter prepared to fight. Muhammad Taqi Khān with his army rode out, and arrayed his force on a sandy plain, opposite to the Murahidabad Fort, on the other side of the river Bhāgirathi. Thence he advanced to interview his father, but did not plunder the City. And the army of Sarfarāz Khān was arranged in battle-array from Naktakhāl to Shāhnagar, and was ready to kindle the fire of war and slaughter. Secretly tempting by offers of bribe the commanders and officers of Muhammad Taqi's army, Sarfarāz Khān won them over to his side, and sending messages for Muhammad Taqi's capture, waited for the enemy, in the hope that when the two contending hosts would face each other in battle-array, his own officers would capture Muhammad Taqi and bring him in. Muhammad Taqi Khān, who in bravery was the *Rustam*¹ of his day, did not care for the enemy. The negotiations for peace and war passed and re-passed between the two brothers. When Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah saw that affairs had taken a grave turn, he intervened, reconciled the brothers, and prevented their fighting. And out of regard for the feelings of Sarfarāz Khān and the Begams, rebuking several times Muhammad Taqi Khān, Shujā'u-d-daulah prohibited the latter from coming to see and salute him. At length, at the intercession of Sarfarāz Khān's mother, he pardoned Muhammad Taqi Khān, and permitted him to go back to the *Sābah* of Orissa. But on arrival in Orissa, in the year 1147 A.H., owing to the witchcraft of the enemy, he² died. On this, Murāhid Quli Khān, surnamed *Majbur*,³ who was a son-in-law

¹ The Persian Hercules. His dauntless bravery and splendid heroism has been immortalised in the *Shahnamah* of Ferdusi, the Persian Homer.

² In *Maasiru-i-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 844, "*Maklūm*," which seems to be correct.

³ Muhammad Taqi Khān, the *Nāim* of Orissa and a son of Nawāb Shujā'u-

of Shujā'a-d-daulah and was already Deputy Nāzim of Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca), and was a son of a merchant of the Port of Sūrat, and who in his writings and compositions, and in his poetical productions and calligraphy, enjoyed great excellence, was appointed Deputy Nāzim of the Subah of Orissa.

During the Viceroyalty of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, whilst the abovementioned Murshīd Qalī Khān¹ stayed at Murshīdābād, a person named Mir Hābib, a native of Shirāz, spoke Persian very fluently, though he was not read in that language. By chance, Mir Hābib arrived in the Port of Hūgli, where he earned his livelihood by retailing the wares of Mughal merchants. Owing to his kindred mercantile pursuits, and also owing to his conversational powers, Mir Hābib quickly ingratiated himself with Murshīd Qalī Khān, and entered the latter's service. When Nawāb Ja'far Khān conferred the Governorship of Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca) on Murshīd Qalī Khān, Mir Hābib also went in the latter's company to Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca), and was attached to the latter as his Deputy. By personally attending to minute details, and by adopting a policy of economy, Mir Hābib curtailed the State expenditure on account of the Nawāh (war-vessels), the artillery, and

d-din Khān, lies buried in the Qadim Rasul building at Cuttack, which had been erected by Nawāb Shujā'a-d-din Khān, when the latter was Nāzim of Orissa. The tomb of Mohammad Taqī Khān is now in a dilapidated condition. On it I found still the following inscription: تاریخ وفات نواب مرحوم چه

حالی رفت ۱۱۴۷. I may add that the Sciru-i-Mutakkerin (Pers. text, p. 534), makes mention of this Katak Qadam Rasul building, and of the Deputy Governor, Abdul Nabī Khān (father of Abdur Rasul Khān, another Deputy Governor of Orissa), being entombed there. In this connection, I may point out there is a historical anachronism in the Qadam Rasul building inscription which states "it was erected by Shujā'a-d-din Khān in the time of Alauvir II." Shujā'a-d-din was not a contemporary of Alauvir II at all, he was a contemporary of Alauvir I whilst at Katak, and of Emperor Muhammad Shah, whilst Nāzim of Bengal.

¹ The reader must not confound this Murshīd Qalī Khān (son-in-law of Shujā'a-d-daulah whose real name was Mirza Latifullah) with Nawāb Ja'far Khān, who had formerly held the title of 'Murshīd Qalī Khān.' On reference to the account of Ja'far Khān in the text, it would appear that 'Ja'far Khān' received several titles in succession; first he received the title of 'Kutlah Khān,' next that of 'Murshīd Qalī Khān,' and lastly that of 'Mutaman-ul-Mulk Alan-d-daulah Ja'far Khān Nasir Jang,' his original name having been Mirza Hadi.

the army, and thus rendered good services, and in consequence, shortly after, his official rank was raised. Finding the tract of Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca) to be fertile, profit-yielding, and suited for trading business, he revived the system of *Sanda-i-khas* current during the Viceroyalty of Prince Āzīm-sh-Shān, and by means of other exactions, both he and his Chief amassed wealth. On the pretext of collecting the Imperial revenue, he induced Nūru-l-lah, Zamindar of Parganaḥ Jalālpūr,¹ who was the leading Zamindar, together with other Zamindars, to attend his *Kachiri* (Court). Adroitly dismissing the other Zamindars, one after another, Mir Ḥabīb kept Nūru-l-lah under duress. At midnight, he permitted him to return home, escorted by a number of Afghāns. The latter, at the instigation of Mir Ḥabīb, slew Nūru-l-lah, in a narrow and dark alley. Next morning, Mir Ḥabīb announced that Nūru-l-lah had fled, sent a detachment to his house, confiscated his treasures and jewellery and effects and silk-stuffs, amounting in value to several *laks*, as well as his Abyssinian male and female slaves. Mir Ḥabīb possessed himself of the above, and thus acquired aristocratic paraphernalia.

Subsequently leaguering with Āqā Ṣadiq, Zamindār of Patpasūr,¹ who in artfulness and cunning was his match, Mir Ḥabīb sent him on an expedition against Tiprah. By chance the Āqā met the nephew of the Rājah of Tiprah, who having escaped from the con-

¹ On reference to the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Vol. II, pp. 132-133), I find two parganaḥs with the name of 'Jallapur,' one being Sawāil (apparently, Sarail), commonly called Jallapur (revenue, 1,557,230 *dams*) under Sarkar Pathabad, another being Dablat Jallapur (revenue, 1,200 *dams*) under Sarkar Mahmūdābād. The first Jallapur or Sarail is situated in the Brahmanbaria Sub-Division of the present Tiprah district, and when I was in charge of that sub-division in 1896, I found the head of the Musalman family there (who was still called a *Diwan*) in an impoverished condition. The second Jallapur parganaḥ is now in the modern Faridpur district, and is owned, I believe, by the present Musalman Zamindars of Habibganj in that district. It may be that 'Habibganj' owes its name to Mir Ḥabīb; specially as there was formerly a "Chakḥāb Habibganj."²

² I fail to find Patpasūr in the *Āin-i-Akbari*. I have not been able to trace where it is, nor know if any descendants of this family survive. I may, however, add here that local traditions prevalent in Tiprah mention that the *Diwans* of Horiatpur (another old family of Musalman Zamindars, now in an impoverished condition) had something to do with the old Tiprah Rājahs, and with their conquest by the Mughals. I am not sure if Āqā or Āga Ṣadiq of the text was connected with the above family.

trol of his uncle was wandering away from his native country, and who at this time happened to stay within the Imperial dominions. The aforesaid Āqā considering his company very lucky kept him in his company, promising to instal him in the Zamindārī. The Rājā's nephew, according to the saying,—

“The hare of that country can assuredly catch the dog of that tract,”—

guided the Āqā through the rocky defiles and river-fords, and led him to the country of Tiprah. The Rājā of Tiprah, who was careless and was unaware of the incursion of the Imperial army, was paralysed by this sudden on-rush of the Imperialists, and not having the capacity to fight fled to the summit of the hills. The tract of Tiprah, without any difficulty, fell into the hands of Mir Habib, who by fightings stormed the fort of Chaudigādah, which was the residence ¹ of the Rājā. Capturing numerous booty, Mir Habib brought the tract of Tiprah within the Imperial domains. After completing the settlement of this tract, Mir Habib ² appointed Āqā Šadiq as Faujdār of Tiprah, and the

¹ The present residence of the Rājā of Hill Tiprah is at Agartala. I do not know where Chaudigādah lies. It could not have been far away from Agartala. Tiprah or Comilla does not appear in Akbar's rent-roll of Bengal.

² A full account of Mir Habib is given in the *Seir-i-Mutakkerin*, Vol. II, Pers. text, pp. 593, 591, 590, &c. (also see *Maasira-i-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 844). He subsequently joined the Mahrattas, and induced the latter to invade Orissa and Bengal in order to have his revenge against Ali Yārī Khān for supplanting from the Governorship of Orissa his old master and benefactor, Murshid Qulī Khān (son-in-law of Shojā'ud-din Khān). He appears to have been a man of wonderful resourcefulness, bravery and tact, and gave no end of trouble to Ali Yārī, who at length had to patch up a peace with Mir Habib and the Mahrattas, by appointing Mir Habib as his Deputy Nazim in Orissa, the arrangement being that Mir Habib was to pay the Mahratta army of occupation from the revenue of Orissa, besides receiving from Ali Yārī an annual subsidy of twelve lacs. Mir Habib's signal services to the Mahrattas in the end were most abundantly requited by the latter, for Janoji, son of the Mahratta Raghaji Bhonsla, treacherously murdered him at Katak (see *Seir-i-Mutakkerin*, Vol. II, p. 592, Pers. text), after having invited him to a feast. But throughout their rise, treachery was their great weapon of offence and defence, and the Mahratta freebooters could not lay it down, even in the treatment of one, who, though distinct from them in race and religion, had given them the virtual mastery over the Province of Orissa.

Rājah's nephew as the Rājah,¹ whilst he himself returned to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) with treasures, valuables and elephants. Murshid Quli Khān sent to Nawāb Shujā'a-d-daulah an account of the conquest of Tiprah, together with the best specimens of the wares and silk-stuffs of that tract. The Nawāb named that tract (of Tiprah) Raughanābād,² and invested Murshid Quli Khān with the title of 'Bahādur,' and conferred on Mir Ḥabīb the title of 'Khān.'

In short, when the Deputy-Nizam of the Śubah of Odisah (Orissa) was bestowed on Murshid Quli Khān, the latter, on the recommendation of Nawāb Shujā'a-d-daulah, was given by the Emperor the title of Rustam-Jang. Observing the old age of his father, and fearing lest after the latter's death Rustam-Jang might fight against him, Sarfarāz Khān³ detained at Murshidābād as hostages Rustam-Jang's son, named Yahyā Khān, and his wife, named Durdanah Begam. Although this incident caused some bitterness of feeling to Murshid Quli Khān, the latter had no alternative but to endure it in silence. Murshid Quli Khān with his army arrived in the Śubah of Orissa, and appointed Mir Ḥabīb-l-lah Khān to be his Deputy there, in the same way as the latter had been his Deputy at Jahāngirnagar. By use of diplomacy, and by dint of statesmanship and energy, Mir Ḥabīb succeeded in chastising and reducing to order all refractory Zamindārs of Orissa. He neglected no step towards the perfect organisation and settlement of Orissa, and effected a surplus in its revenue. During the commotion in Muḥammad Taqī Khān's time, the Rājah of Parsutam⁴ had removed Jagannath, the Hīnda

¹ Evidently, the Rājah was no longer an independent Rājah, but was left more or less as a feudatory prince.

² When I was at Brahmanbaria in 1896, I found the Court ponies' badges still bearing the word "Chaklah Raughanabad." I do not know if they have been since changed.

³ Murshid Quli Khān II Rustam-Jang was a son-in-law of Nawāb Shujā'a-d-din Khān, having married Durdana Begam, step-sister of Sarfarāz Khān. Syed Razi Khān was another son-in-law of Shujā'a-d-din Khān, having married Nafisah Begam, uterine sister of Sarfarāz Khān.

⁴ He was hitherto only 'Mir Ḥabīb.' His name was changed to 'Mir Ḥabīb-l-lah Khān,' on his receiving the title of 'Khān' from Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, in recognition of his services in connection with the conquest of Tiprah. See note ante in regard to the title 'Khān' and its significance, under Mughal Emperors of India.

God, from the limits of the *Sūbah* of *Odishā* (*Orissa*), and had guarded it on the summit of a hill across the *Chilka* lake. In consequence of the removal of the idol, there was a falling-off to the tune of nine *laks* of *rupees* in the Imperial revenue, accruing from pilgrims. Establishing friendly relations with *Mir Hāshim-ul-lah Khān*, and paying *nazar* to the *Nazim* of the time, *Rājāh Daud Deo* brought back *Jagannāth* the Hindu God to *Parsūtam* (*Puri*), and re-established the worship of *Jagannāth* at *Puri*. An account of the worship of *Jagannāth* has been already given in the text of this History.

When the Deputy-Nizamat of *Odishā* (*Orissa*) was conferred on *Murshid Quli Khān Rustam-Jang*, the Deputy-Nizamat of the *Chaklah* of *Jahāngirnagar* (*Dacca*) was bestowed on *Sarfaraz Khān*.¹ The latter appointed as his Deputy-Governor *Ghalib Ali Khān* who was a scion of the Royal family of Persia, and deputed *Ghalib Ali Khān* to *Dacca*. (*Sarfaraz Khān* also appointed *Jasmat Rāi*, the late *Nawāb Jafar Khān*'s² Secretary, and his own tutor-

¹ 'Parsūtam' is another name for *Puri*. See Hunter's '*Orissa*.'

² It may be noted here there was a radical change in the administrative machinery of Bengal, during the latter part of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign. The offices of *Nazim* and *Diwan* had been hitherto kept quite distinct, but a retrograde step towards their eventual amalgamation was taken by Aurangzeb, when the latter appointed his favourite officer *Murshid Quli Khān I.* (afterwards *Nawāb Jafar Khān*) to the dual offices of *Diwan* of Bengal and *Orissa* and Deputy *Nazim* of Bengal and *Orissa*. *Murshid Quli Khān I.* could not personally perform the functions of these dual offices, and whilst himself personally holding the portfolio of Deputy Nizamat of Bengal (the Chief *Nazim* being still Prince *Asim-ud-din*), he delegated the office of *Diwan* in Bengal to *Syud Akram Khān* and, on the latter's death, to *Syud Razi Khān*, (son-in-law of *Shuja-ud-din Khān*), and that of Deputy *Nazim* and *Diwan* of *Orissa* to *Shuja-ud-din Khān* (his son-in-law). Emperor Farrukh Sir, on his accession to the throne of Delhi, further confirmed and accentuated the above administrative change by uniting in the person of *Nawāb Jafar Khān* the offices of *Nazim* of Bengal and *Orissa*, and of *Diwan* of those Provinces. This union of the two offices, whilst weakening the Imperial hold thereon, greatly added to the prestige of the Bengal Satrap, and gave him almost a semi-royal aspect. This royal aspect was further broadened by Emperor Mahamud Shah adding *Behar* to the Bengal Satrapy, whilst *Nawāb Shuja-ud-din* was the Bengal Viceroy. For purposes of administration, *Shuja-ud-din* appointed a State Council of three members to help him in the administration, and divided his entire Satrapy, consisting of three Provinces of Bengal, *Behar*, and *Orissa*, into four Political or Administrative Divisions, viz.: (1) Bengal Proper, comprising Western, Central, and a portion of Northern Bengal, (2) *Jahangir-nagar* or

guardian, to be the Diwān and Minister of that place, and sent him to Dacca, in company of Ghalib Ali Khān. And out of regard for Nafisah Begam, his sister, he bestowed the office of Superintendent of the *Nawarah* (war-vessels) on Murād A'li Khān,¹ son of Syed Razī Khān. (The control over Fiscal and Home affairs, and the management of Crown-lands, *Jāgirs*, war-vessels, artillery, Accounts and Customs-house were all entrusted to Munshi Jashnat Rāy.) In that the aforesaid Munshi had been trained up by Nawāb Ja'far Khān, by dint of honesty and integrity, by thorough attention to details and by ripe wisdom, he effected not only an increase in the State Revenue, but secured the happiness of the people. He completely abolished the system of *Saudā-i-Khas*, and banished the exactions and innovations introduced by Mir Habib, during the regime of Murshid Quli Khān.² (Putting forth laudable efforts to keep down the selling-rates of food-grains, and effecting cheapness in their prices, he threw open the western gate of the Fort of Jahangirnagar (or Dacca), which Nawāb Amīr-ul-Umarā Shāistah Khān had closed, inscribing on it a prohibition to the effect that no one should open it, until he succeeded in reducing

Dacca Division comprising Eastern and Southern Bengal, and a small portion of Northern Bengal, and including Sylhet and Chittagong, (3) Behar Division, (4) Orissa Division. Shuja'ud-din Khān directly administered the first Division, and appointed a Deputy Nazim or Deputy-Governor to hold charge of each of the other three Administrative Divisions, under his general control and supervision.)

¹ Murād A'li Khān was a son of Nafisah Begam, uterine sister of Sarfaraz Khān. Nafisah Begam was a daughter of Shuja'ud-din Khān, and was married to Syed Razī Khān, who was Diwān of Bengal, on the death of Syed Akram Khān, during the regime of Nawāb Ja'far Khān. On Syed Razī Khān's death, during the reign of Emperor Farrukh Sir, on the nomination of Nawāb Ja'far Khān (his maternal grandfather), Mirzā Asad-ul-Jah received the title of Sarfaraz Khān and was appointed Diwān of Bengal. Sarfaraz Khān continued to be the nominal Diwān of Bengal, whilst his father Shuja'ud-din Khān succeeded Nawāb Ja'far Khān as Nāzim of Bengal, being deprived, however, of all real power, which was transferred to the State Council, consisting of Hājī Ahtād (brother of A'li Yārli Khān), Diwān Ahmehād, and Fattehahd Jagat Set.

² Mirzā Luftullah, surnamed Murshid Quli Khān II, son-in-law of Shuja'ud-din Khān. He was first Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), and was subsequently transferred in the same capacity to Orissa. He should not be confounded with Nawāb Ja'far Khān who also held the title of Murshid Quli Khān.

the price of food-grains to one seer of the Bazar weight per *Dirham*,¹ as was current in the Nawab's time. From that time until now, no one else had been able to effect such cheapness in the rate of food-grains.) He rendered the tract of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) fertile, like the garden of *Iram*,² by sprinkling on it the waters of liberality, equity and justice; and in consequence, Sarfaraz Khān won a good name amongst all classes of his subjects. At the desire of Nafisah Bāgum³, Murād A'li Khān was married to a daughter of Sarfaraz Khān, and was appointed Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in the place of Ghālib A'li Khān. Murād A'li Khān now promoted Rāj Balah, a clerk attached to the Admiralty, to the office of Peshkāṛ thereof, and commenced oppressions.⁴ Mughl Jashnāt Rāi, who had acquired a good name amongst the people, apprehending that his reputation might be tarnished, resigned his office of Diwān, and the Province of Jahangirnagar or Dacca turned to desolation through the tyranny of the new oppressive Deputy Nāgim.

Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id, the second son of Hāfi Ahmad, who was on behalf of Sarfaraz Khān Faujdār of the Ghaklah of Ghorāghāt and Rangpūr and Kuch Bohār, desolated the Mahals of Rangpūr by his exactions and oppressions, and acquiring the treasures of

¹ See n. ante and the text with reference to Nawāb Shāhin Khān.

² See n. ante.

³ Nafisah Bāgum was a sister of Sarfaraz Khān, and Murād A'li Khān was a son of Nafisah Bāgum, by Syed Razi Khān, Sarfaraz Khān's predecessor in the office of Diwān of Bengal. Thus, Murād A'li Khān was a nephew of Sarfaraz Khān. He, hitherto, held the office of Superintendent of the *Nimourāh* (war-veasels) at Dacca, and on his marriage with Sarfaraz Khān's daughter, was promoted to the office of Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), in succession of Ghālib A'li Khān. It may be interesting to note that there is a place called Murādungar, near Dandkandi, in Commillah, which is associated with some former Nawābs of Dacca, and where some landed property is still, I believe, owned by the Bhiknapahari Nawābs of Patna, said to be descended from an extinct old Nawāb family of Dacca. I fancy, therefore, Murādungar owes its name and origin to this Murād A'li Khān.

⁴ Rajballah's son, Kishan Ballah, in the time of Nawāb Sirāj-u-d-daulah, fled from Dacca to Calcutta, and by his intrigues brought about a rupture between Sirāj-u-d-daulah and the English. See *Sorrah-Mutafferin*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 621. Rajballah was the evil genius of Murād A'li Khān, as Alamghar was the evil genius of Shuja'ud-din Khān, and Ratanghar that of the Syed brothers. See note ante. Rajballah subsequently ingratiated himself with the infamous Miran, son of Mir Ja'far.

those whom he oppressed, he mobilised an army. Requisitioning troops from the Emperor, he marched with his troops against the Rājās of Kuch Behār and Dīnāpūr. Those Rājās fancying they were masters of large armies, and also fancying that they were sheltered by numerous forests and rivers, had hitherto paid little heed to the authority of the Nāzim. By dint of diplomacy and by use of force, and by wars and battles, Mirzā Muhammad Sa'id conquered those tracts, and acquired possession of the treasures, buried hoards, jewelleries and effects of those Rājās. Owing to the immense treasure—indeed the treasure of a Croesus—that thus fell into his hands, he acquired much power. After the conquest of Kuch Bihār, by honouring Hājī Ahmad, on the recommendation of Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah and Sarfarāz Khān, Mirzā Muhammad Sa'id received the titles of 'Khān' and 'Bahādur.'

Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah, on the advice of his Triumvirate Council, deputed Sarfarāz Khān to chastise Badī'u-z-zamān, zamindār of Birbhām. Sheltered by rocks and forests and supported by numerous Afghāns, this zamindār did not bend his head in submission to the Nāzim, and failed to pay the revenue beyond the stipulated tribute. He had also diverted to dancing-parties and pleasures fourteen lakhs of revenue derived from the measured and cultivated lands, that had been endowed for the express purpose of helping the poor and the scholarly. The zamindār himself was plunged in dissipations and frivolities. On the ridges of Khubra Kandl and Lakra Khondah and of other hills and narrow rocky defiles, he had mounted strong guards, and cut off all ingress and egress of the Imperial troops and scouts, and he fancied the forest flanked by the hills to be a secure recess, in that no one could enter that tract without his passport. He had appointed his brother, Azam Khān, to administer his State, and his son, A'li Quli Khān, to command his army, and Naubat Khān to be his Diwān and Minister. Badī'u-z-zamān himself did no work, but wasted his time on flute-playing and on carousals. Sarfarāz Khān sent him a message, containing promises and rewards in the event of his submission to Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah, and embodying also threats and punishments in the event of his recalcitrance and disloyalty. Subsequently, Sarfarāz Khān despatched via Bardwān his special *confidantes*, Khwajah Basmat and Mir Sharfu-d-din, the second Paymaster-General, with a large army. Badī'u-z-zamān now prudently woke up from the slumber of vanity, and ten-

dered his homage and submission. Inducing the aforesaid Mir and the above *Khawājah* to become his interceders, he sent through the latter a petition expressive of submission and loyalty, and subsequently in the company of the former he set out for *Murshidabad*. And after waiting on *Sarfarāz Khān*, through the introduction of Mir *Sharfu-d-din*, *Badi'u-s-zamān* was granted an audience by *Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah*, who not only pardoned his past misdeemeanour, but generously bestowed on him *khilā'at*. *Badi'u-z-zamān* agreed to pay three *laks* of rupees annually on account of the Imperial revenue, consented to abide by the ordinary procedures for payment of land-revenue and for execution of orders, and furnished as his surety *Karatchānd*, ¹ *zamindār* of *Bardwān*. He was then allowed to return to *Birbhum*.

Towards the close of the year 1151 A.H., when *Nādir Shāh* invaded ² the Imperial Capital, and *Šamšām-u-d-daulah Khān-daurān* fell in the battle ³ against *Nādir Shāh*, *Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah* being ill and confined to bed permitted *Yahyā Khān* and *Dardānah Begam* (son and wife respectively of *Murshid Quli Khān*) to go to *Orissa*, and proclaimed *Sarfarāz Khān* as his heir. Earnestly exhorting the latter to confide in *Hāji Ahmad*, the *Bai Rāiān* ⁴ and *Jagatsēt*, and always to respect their feelings, and entrusting to him control over the offices of the *Nizāmat*, *Nawāb Shujā'u-d-din Khān* died on the 13th *Zilhaj* of the aforesaid year. After laying to rest *Shujā'u-d-daulah's* ⁵ corpse in the sepulchre which he (*Shujā'u-d-daulah*) had in his lifetime erected at *Dehpara*, opposite to the Fort and the City of *Murshidābād*, *Sarfarāz*

¹ *Badi'u-s-zamān Khān* of *Birbhum*, and *Karatchānd* of *Bardwān*, appear to have been the two principal *zamindārs* in Western Bengal at the time. I understand the descendants of *Badi'u-s-zamān* still survive at *Birbhum*, but are in an impoverished condition.

² A full description of *Nādir Shāh's* invasion will be found in all Indian histories, and also in *Seir-i-Mufaddariya*, Vol. II, p. 482.

³ This battle took place at *Karnal*, 4 stages (*manzūt*) distant from *Shah-jahanabad* or *Delhi*, in 1151 A.H. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 482.

⁴ That is, *Bai Alamghand*, *Shujā'u-d-din Khān's* *de facto* *Diwan*. He received the title of '*Bāi Rāiān*' from the Emperor, on the recommendation of his master, *Nawāb Shujā'u-d-din Khān*. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 471.

⁵ It should be noted that both "*Shujā'u-d-din Khān*" and "*Shujā'u-d-daulah*" signify one and the same person. These were his titles. This '*Shujā'u-d-daulah*,' better known as '*Shujā'u-d-din Khān*,' must not be confounded with the *Nawāb Vizier Shujā'u-d-daulah* of later history.

Khān mounted the *masnad* of the Nizāmat in the place of his father.

NIZĀMAT OF NAWĀB SARFARĀZ KHĀN.

When Nawāb Sarfārāz Khān mounted the *masnad* of the Nizāmat of Bengal, agreeably to the dying instructions of his father, he appointed Hājī Ahmad, the Rāi Rāiān and Jagatsat to be his Councillors in respect of Revenue and Administrative affairs. But these meddling more than before in State affairs ignored the old officers of Sarfārāz Khān who expected promotions and managab, and further intrigued to bring about their disgrace and overthrow. Although Nawāb Sarfārāz Khān and the Begams were anxious to promote their old officers, owing to the opposition of the Triumvirate Council, they could not do so. The Triumvirate Council, after secret vows and stipulations, plotted to call in Ali Vardi Khān with his army from 'Azimabad (Patna) under pretext of visiting the Nāzim, and then to instal him on the *masnad* of the Nizāmat in supercession of Sarfārāz Khān.¹ And in deliberations over this plot they passed days and nights, but failed to mature any plan. At this time, Nādir Shāh,² the king of Persia, had defeated Muḥammad Shāh, captured Nizāmu-l-Mulk, Burhānu-l-Mulk, Qamru-d-dīn Khān, and Muḥammad Khān Bangash, &c., who were the pillars of the Mughal Empire,³ and en-

¹ The author of the *Maasru-i-Umra* states that Sarfārāz Khān rendered himself unpopular by adopting a policy of rigid economy and retrenchment, and by reducing his army, and that this gave an opportunity to Ali Vardi Khān to intrigue, in concert with the latter's brother, Hājī Ahmad, who was Sarfārāz Khān's chief councillor. See p. 844, *Maasru-i-Umra*, Vol. II, p. 844. It should, however, be added in justice to Sarfārāz Khān's memory that this policy was inspired by the faithless Triumvirate Councillors, whom Sarfārāz Khān trusted owing to the dying exhortations of his father, and that it formed a part of the despicable trap they were cunningly laying to ruin and overthrow their benefactor's son. One feels sick to dwell on such tales of vile treachery, for Sarfārāz Khān from all accounts appears to have been an ideally noble and mild prince.

² Nādir Shāh was a soldier of fortune. After capturing Shāh Tahmasp, King of Persia, he held a Council of State, and got himself elected as King of Persia. See his life in *Namul Khawra* (p. 163), which also gives his portrait.

³ For details, see *Seimu-l-Mutakhirin*, p. 492 (Pers. text). It would appear, even at this crisis in the fate of the Empire, the venal Ministers of Emperor

tering Shāh-jahānābād (Delhi) ¹ with his Persian troops had plundered the palaces of both the Emperor and his nobles. In consequence, the whole Empire was shaken to its foundation. ² The Triumvirate Council persuaded Sarfarāz Khān to introduce in Bengal the coin and the Khaṭbah ³ of Nādir Shāh, and about the same time they remitted the confiscated treasures of Shujā'u-d-daulah and the Bengal tribute in charge of Murid Khān, who had arrived in Murshidābād on behalf of Qamru-d-din Khān ⁴ long before Nādir Shāh's invasion. Hājī Ahmad and Ali Vardi Khān intrigued with Murid Khān, and won him over to their side. On the withdrawal of Nādir Shāh, they carried tales of the introduction of the Nādir Shāhi coin and Khaṭbah to Nawāb Qamru-d-din Khān and to Nizāmu-l-Mulk, and laid various other charges against Sarfarāz Khān. Aided by the machinations of the Imperial ministers, ⁵ they secured a royal patent granting to them the Nizāmat of Bengal, and authorising the execution of Sarfarāz Khān, ⁶ on account of his treason in introducing the coin and Khaṭbah of Nādir Shāh. When the

Muhammad Shāh could not put aside personal feelings and classish jealousies—the great base of all Moslem races and the grave of so many Mussalman Empires,—nor could combine loyalty in one common and sacred cause to repel the enemy's invasion of India. Barhaun-l-Mulk was the greatest delinquent in this respect. Only Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qamru-d-din Khān appear in better light, and seem to have worthily maintained the high traditions of their great offices. For Nizāmu-l-Mulk Asif Jah, and Qamru-d-din Khān, see *Mausau-i-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 837, and Vol. I, p. 358.

¹ For some gruesome details of the sack of Delhi and the general massacre of its population, see *Seiru-i-Mutakherren*, Vol. II, p. 455.

² Nādir Shāh's invasion was one of the great external calamities that overtook the Mughal Empire and hastened its ruin.

³ Khaṭba was also recited after Nādir Shāh's name in all the mosques of Delhi on his entry there. See *Seir*.

⁴ He was at the time Chief Vizier or Prime Minister of Emperor Muhammad Shāh.

⁵ The principal Imperial Minister who sided with Hājī Ahmad and Ali Vardi Khān in their intrigue, was Mutamu-d-daulah Ishaq Khān. The latter exercised at the time great influence over Emperor Muhammad Shāh. See p. 459, *Seiru-i-Mutakherren*.

⁶ The Triumvirate Councillors were themselves responsible for this treason, which was a part of their atrociously-laid plot to overthrow Sarfarāz Khān, by subsequently denouncing the latter before the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. It is a pity Sarfarāz Khān the Good, owing to his guilelessness and lack of insight, could not see through their despicable game of villainy.

arrow of their efforts reached the butt of their aim, the Triumvirate Council represented to Sarfarāz Khān that the resources of the State were limited, whilst its expenditure was heavy, and thereby persuaded the Nawāb to reduce the strength of his Army. They at the same time secretly sent instructions to Ali Vardi Khān to mobilise troops and collect arms, in view of the invasion of Bengal. Whoever was cashiered from the army of Sarfarāz Khān was straightway enlisted by Hājī Ahmad in the service of Ali Vardi Khān, and sent off to Azimābād (Patna). Nearly one-half of Sarfarāz Khān's troops were in this way disbanded. Ali Vardi Khān, having completed preparations for war and mobilised a large army consisting of Afghāns, Rohilāhs, and Bhāllās, set out for Bengal; whilst Hājī Ahmad sent his and his sons' hoarded treasures amounting to several *laks* of rupees for the expenses of Ali Vardi's army. When Sarfarāz Khān, from the despatches of his Political Agents at the Court of the Emperor, and from informations of emissaries, came to be apprised of the machinations of the treacherous enemy, deeming it prudent to adopt remedy for the affair before it came to pass, he set himself to overthrow the traitors, and decided to bestow the Deputy-Governorship¹ of Azimābād (Patna) on his son-in-law, Syed Muḥammad Ḥasan, in supercession of Ali Vardi Khān, and the Faujdārī of Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) together with the command of Sakrigali and Tēliāgaḥī parganas on Mir Sharaf-ud-din Bakshī, in supercession of A'ḥsan-ʿAlah Khān, son-in-law of Hājī Ahmad. Sarfarāz Khān also determined to appoint Munshi Jauṇat Rāi as Diwan in the place of the Rāi Rāiṇ. But as yet this decision had not been put in force, when the members of the Triumvirate Council adroitly submitting a representation about their long services, the heavy outstandings of the Imperial Revenue, and their losses, persuaded Sarfarāz Khān to postpone their supercession and the installation of others in their places till their preparation of the Annual Balance-sheet, which fell due after three months.² Sarfarāz Khān, who owing to guilelessness of

¹ See slightly varied accounts in the *Sair-i-Mutakherin* (p. 489), which states that Sarfarāz Khān transferred the office of Diwan from Hājī Ahmad to Mir Murāsā, and contemplated transferring the Faujdārī of Rājmaḥal from Aḥsan-ʿAlah Khān to his son-in-law, Ḥasan Muḥammad Khān.

² This is the old story of gaining time. Sarfarāz Khān exhibited a lamentable lack of judgment in accepting this false representation of his faithless Councillors. His credulity, indecision, and generous impulsiveness cost him

his nature had already been victimised by the duplicity of the Triumvirate Council, once again suffered himself to be duped by their wiles. A'li Vardi Khān, utilising this short respite, secured the adhesion of *Mas'ūd Khān*, *Shamshār Khān*, *Sardār Khān*, *Umar Khān*, *Rahīm Khān*, *Karam Khān*, *Sirāndās Khān*, *Shāikh Ma'zūm*, *Shāikh Jahāngir Khān*, *Muhammad Zūlfagār Khān*, *Chidan Hachī* (*Bakhshi* of the *Bhalisha*), *Bakhtāwar Singh*, and other Generals and officers of the Army. Under the false pretext of waiting on *Sarfarāz Khān*, A'li Vardi Khān marched swiftly, crossed the passes of *Tillagadhi* and *Sakrigali*, and reached the frontiers of Bengal. At the instigation of *Hājī Ahmad*, *Ataullah Khān*, *Faujdar* of *Akharnagar* (*Rajmahal*), had taken steps to prevent all movements of messengers and spies, and to interdict all intercourse through news-ladders between *Azimābād* (*Patna*) and Bengal via the passes of *Tillagadhi* and *Sakrigali*, until A'li Vardi Khān had crossed through those passes. In consequence, no news of A'li Vardi Khān's movements had reached *Sarfarāz Khān*. It was only when the vanguard of A'li Vardi Khān's army had actually reached *Akharnagar* (*Rajmahal*), that all of a sudden the news of A'li Vardi Khān's movement reached *Sarfarāz Khān*. This news threw both the City of *Murshidabad* and its *Bazaar* into commotion. Perplexed by this news, *Sarfarāz Khān* instantly imprisoned *Hājī Ahmad*. Although the *Bāi Rāiān* treacherously explained that A'li Vardi's arrival was for the purpose of waiting on *Sarfarāz Khān*, this explanation had no reassuring effect. Detailing *Ghaz Khān* and *Mir Sharif-ud-din*, who were his old officers, to lead the vanguard, and leaving his son, *Hāfiz-ul-lah* surnamed *Mirzā Amān*, together with *Yāsīn Khān* *Faujdar*, to guard the Fort and the City, *Nawab Sarfarāz Khān* together with *Ghazanfar Hussain Khān* and a son of *Muhammad Taqi Khān*, (both of whom were his sons-in-law), and with *Mir Muhammad Baqir Khān*, *Mirza Muhammad Iraj Khān*, *Mir Karam*, *Mir Gadāl*, *Mir Haidar Shāh*, *Mir Diler Shāh*, *Bajā Singh*, *Rājah Ghandarab Singh*, *Shamshir Khān* *Qurishi*, (*Faujdar* of *Silhat*), *Shujā Quli Khān*, (*Faujdar* of the port of *Hughli*), *Mir Habib*, *Murshid Quli Khān* *Faujdar*, *Mardān A'li Khān* (the late *Shujā Khān's* *Bakhshi*) and other Generals and *Mansabdars* and *Zamīn-*

his throne and his life, and sounded the first faint but certain death-knell of the ancient Moslem Satrapy in Bengal, which became shorn of its semi-regal prestige with his fall.

dars of Bengal, marched out from the City with a large army and fire-pouring artillery, and encamped at Bahmaniah, which is two *Karah* distant from Murshidabad. Marching on the second day, the Nawab reached Sarai Diwan, and marching on the third day, he encamped at Khamrah, where he mustered his army and reviewed its strength and armaments. In that the officers of *Shuj'a Khān's* regime were in league with Hājī Ahmad, brick-bats instead of shells were discovered in the arsenal, and rubbish was found inside guns. Consequently, cashiering Shahriar Khān, the Hājī's brother, who was General Superintendent of the Artillery, and making him over to the custody of his retainers, Nawab Sarfaraz Khān appointed in his place Pancho, son of Antony the Portuguese, to be General Superintendent of the Artillery. The forces of Mahabat Jang were arranged in the form of a circle from Aurangabad, at the mouth of the Sūti (where the shrine of *Shah Murtaza' Hindi* exists) to the plain of Balkatali.

On the fourth day, when the silvery-crowned King (*i.e.*, the Sun) pranced on to the plain of the sky from his camp in the East darting forth daggers of radial lines, and the dusky Moon with thousands of its forces (*i.e.*, stars), not finding itself a match for that unique Cavalier, hid itself behind the hills, Nawab Sarfaraz Khān, selecting an auspicious moment according to astrologers, advanced to assault the enemy. By one single assault, the troops of Mahabat Jung were thrown into panic and confusion, were set a-reeling, and were nearly routed. The Rāi Rāian,¹ finding that the table was being turned, at this moment treacherously represented to Nawab Sarfaraz Khān that the Sun had moved right vertical to the head, and that at that sultry hour if fighting were continued, both horses and soldiers would perish, owing to excessive heat and thirst, and that therefore if that day farther fightings were postponed, next morning the bitter-palated enemy could be treated to a similar bitter soup (of death)—

Whence will thy enemy command the strength,
To fight with thee?
Owing to thy good luck,
The enemy's head shall be trampled upon by thy foot.

¹ This Rāi Rāian Diwan Alamghand, the protégé and favourite of Sarfaraz Khān's father, under the false mask of loyalty, did more damage to Sarfaraz Khān's cause, than even A'li Vardi Khān and his brother Hājī Ahmad. But it

Although astrologers despatched on the auspiciousness of that hour for fighting, and adduced arguments in proof of the incoming victory, and although his Generals insisted on continuing the battle, Sarfarāz Khān was unmoved, and forbade by use of threats farther fightings that day. Then Sarfarāz Khān encamped on the banks of the Geriah river. Meanwhile, a letter from Mahābat Jang came avowing his loyalty, and explaining that he had come simply to pay his respects to Sarfarāz Khān. Sarfarāz Khān, who was quite inexperienced, on perusal of the letter, became reassured, dispensed with all precautions, foolishly released Hājī Ahmad, who was the root of all the disturbance, and sent him to A'li Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang, in order to reassure the latter and to bring him over. He also sent in the Hājī's company Shujā Quli Khān and Khwājah Basant, his two special *confidantes*, with a view to ascertain exactly the prospects of peace and war, to gauge correctly the dispositions of A'li Vardi's Army, and then to apprise him accurately. The imprisonment of the Hājī with his other relatives had plunged Mahābat Jang into a whirlpool of confusion. He had apprehended that they would be slain, and had, therefore, hesitated to offer battle. Viewing the release of the Hājī to be auspicious, nay as the first augury of victory, Mahābat Jang (A'li Vardi) enclosed in a casket a brick, giving out it contained the Holy Qoran, held it in his hand, and swore by it that next morning he would with folded hands present himself before Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān, and would sue for pardon for his misconduct. At the same time he presented two hundred gold coins to Khwājah Basant. These idiots (Shujā Quli Khān and Khwājah Basant), not fathoming the water under the grass, returned happy and jolly, and describing to Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān the loyal disposition of A'li Vardi Khān cooled the fire of his wrath. Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān then ordered his butler to prepare dainty dishes for a banquet, sat re-assured on the bed of comfort, nay slumbered the sleep of insecurity on the bed of sleep (which is akin to death); and his soldiers, intoxicated by the inebriation of the wine-cup of peace, let go from their hands the reins of watch and alertness.

Aye! It is sheer folly to rely on the cajolery of thy enemy;
The seeming prostration of floods undermines walls!

It is due to Diwān Alamchand's memory to add that he was only one of the faithless out of a faithless herd.

After the withdrawal of Sarfarāz Khān's emissaries, A'li Vardi Khān soothed and won over his officers by promising them two months' pay in the event of his victory, and also by promising them the booty that might be captured. He thus incited and instigated them to fight, and distributed shells, gunpowder and armaments. The Generals of Sarfarāz Khān's army who from before were in league with A'li Vardi Khān, were all ready for treachery and regicide. The only exceptions were Muḥammad Qhaṣṣ Khān and Mir Sharfu-d-dīn, Commanders of the vanguard of Sarfarāz Khān's army, who were posted at the ford of the river Geriah. Ascertaining through messengers and spies the secret plot of treachery that was hatching, both the above Generals at midnight hastened to Sarfarāz Khān, apprised the latter of the fire of treachery that was fanning under a straw-covering, and offered by way of precaution to remove him that night to their own camp, and there to guard him, and next morning to sacrifice their lives by fighting gallantly round him. In that in matters of destiny, efforts are helpless, and the knot of Fate cannot be untied with the nail of Efforts, the will of Providence cast the quicksilver of heedlessness into the ear of Sarfarāz Khān. Placing no reliance on their loyal representation, Sarfarāz Khān treated those two Generals in a rude and threatening manner, and by way of censure added: "You opening a shop of self-aggrandisement desire that I should be involved in war against Mahābat Jang, who is my well-wisher." Those two Generals got up blushing with shame and humiliation, and returned to their own camps. Arming themselves, along with their forces, they passed the night in alertness; whilst Sarfarāz Khān, in the slumber of heedlessness, lay intoxicated with the wine of sleep. At the instigation of Ḥajī Ahmad, in the dead of night, under the pretext of visiting relations and friends, the officers and soldiers of Mahābat Jang's army, with their light baggages, by ones and twos, mingled with the army of Sarfarāz Khān, and forming rings round the Royal tent looked out for an opportunity to strike.

The officers of Shujā Khān's regime, upon whom Sarfarāz Khān placed great reliance, from the very beginning were in intrigue with the Ḥājī, and seeing and knowing all connived at and concealed the conspiracy; whilst the loyal adherents of Sarfarāz Khān held their tongue from fear of being snubbed. Whilst one hour of the night yet remained, A'li Vardi Khān and

Haji Ahmad divided their forces into two divisions. They detailed one division under the command of Nandial Jama'dār, together with the standard and the kettle-drum, and flags and elephants, to attack Ghang Khān and Mir Sharfa-d-din, whilst with another division, consisting of Afghan and Bhalliah troops, in the darkness of the night, under the guidance of the men of the Zamindārī of Ramakant, Zamindār of Rājshāhī, they themselves marched to deliver a night-attack against Sarfarāz Khān. And towards the day-break, whilst yet the darkness of the night continued, and friends could not be distinguished from foes, they suddenly, like death, attacked Sarfarāz Khān's troops who were inebriated with the wine of sleep, (which is akin to death), and fired their guns. The old *protégés* awoke Sarfarāz Khān from his slumber of neglect, and apprised him of the aspect of affairs. As fortune, however, had averted its face from him, even now Sarfarāz Khān refused to listen to them with the ear of credence, snubbed them, and again insisted on the quick preparation of viands for a banquet. Sarfarāz Khān¹ added, "A'li Vardi Khān is coming to visit me." At this moment, another cannon-shell fell; and by the time of the sunrise, the troops of Mahābat Jang exhibited themselves in battle-array. Guns and rockets, arrows and muskets flashing lightning, and showering destruction poured in. The troops of Sarfarāz Khān who were intoxicated by the wine of the morning sleep, harum-scarum sprang up from their beds of slumber, and girding up their loins fled; whilst others, not commanding the nerve to gird up their loins or to arm themselves, were butchered. Sarfarāz Khān's army was panic-stricken.

You might say, from dread of that warfare,
Earth itself had fled.

Only one solitary column consisting mostly of Sarfarāz Khān's old officers, impelled by sentiments of honour, and animated by a sense of loyalty, arrayed themselves on the battle-field, gallantly re-

¹ Sarfarāz Khān possessed a most guileless soul, and his guilelessness and his confidence in A'li Vardi cost him his throne. Sarfarāz Khān lacked insight into human character, which is one of the essential attributes of a wise ruler. Whilst noting this failing in Sarfarāz Khān, it must be added there is nothing to condone or extenuate the black ingratitude and treachery of A'li Vardi and the Triumvirate Counsellors, Dewan Alamghar, Huj Ahmad and Jagat-set, who were all *protégés* of Sarfarāz Khān's father.

solved to sacrifice their lives, and firmly stood their ground. Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān, after finishing his morning-prayer, also armed himself, seized the Holy Qoran with one hand, and mounted a swift elephant. Then letting loose the royal elephant in front of himself, he flung himself into the thick of the fight, and commenced shooting arrows. The Afghān generals of Mahābat Jang's army, covered by a squadron of *Bhallah* infantry, charged Sarfarāz Khān's army.

When on both sides, the troops stood in battle-array,
 You might say, the Day of Judgment had arrived.
 Owing to the thundering of guns, muskets and rockets,
 Aye, the Universe itself quaked.
 The twang of bow-strings and the cracking of arrows
 Resounded aloft their echo to the lofty sky.
 The spear, like Death with out-stretched hands,
 In the taking of life, chopped the breast into slips.
 In the hands of heroes, sharp steel made swords,
 In shedding blood of the enemy, leapt warmly:
 The heroes became warm in taking and in giving life;
 Aye, the world became emptied of heroes.

In this sword-charge, wherein the boisterous wind of Death threw down on the plain of annihilation corpses like leaves of trees, and the flood of blood raged tumultuously on every side, Mardān A'li Khān, the *Bakhshi* of Shujā Khān's *regime*, who was now the generalissimo of Sarfarāz Khān's army, and commanded the van, feeling himself incapable of continuing the contest any longer, fled. At the sight of this flight, Sarfarāz Khān's army was demoralised, and a general stampede ensued in its ranks.

Each one felt contented with saving himself,
 No one cared for another.

Save and except his Georgian and Abyssinian slaves and a few of his old comrades, not one out of the numerous mock-heroes remained to cover Sarfarāz Khān's elephant. The elephant-driver perceiving that victory had declared itself for the enemy, said to Sarfarāz Khān:—"If it be your Highness's pleasure, I shall carry you to Birkhūm to the Zamindār, Badī'u-z-zamān." Sarfarāz Khān, striking the elephant-driver a blow on the neck, retorted: "Tie the chain round the feet of the elephant, as I will not retreat before

these dogs." The elephant-driver was obliged to drive on his elephant. The *Bargāndāz* and the *Bhūṭiā* of the enemy's Army, who had from before ranged themselves like a ring round Sarfarāz Khān's tent, discharged from all sides cannon-shells on his elephant; and over and above, rockets and cannon-balls, arrows and muskets were showered incessantly by the hostile army. Mir Gadāi, who was a special favourite of Sarfarāz Khān, was shot down by a rocket. Mir Kāmil, brother of Mir Muhammad Bāqir surnamed Bāqir A'li Khān (nephew of Shujā'ud-daulah), and a young unmarried boy of Mirzā Muḥammad Irāj Khān Bakshī, and other personal attendants, including Bahrām, Sa'id and other slaves, who had not fled from the battle-field, were hit by rockets, cannon-shells and bullets, and fell right in front of Sarfarāz Khān's elephant. Mirzā Irāj Khān was also mortally wounded. Mir Diler A'li gallantly attacked the Afghan column of A'li Vardi Khān, exhibited feats of prowess and bravery, but receiving sword-cuts gallantly fell with a number of his comrades.

At this moment, Sarfarāz Khān himself was hit on the forehead by the bullet of a gun shot by a traitor from his own camp, and was felled on his elephant-litter,¹ and the bird of his soul flew to Heaven. As soon as they saw this mishap, Mir Habib, Muḥṣin Quli Khān, Shamsīr Khān Qurāshī (Faujdar of Silhat) and Rājā Ghaurab Singh, who with their forces stood aloof at a distance from the battle, and were silent spectators of the scene, took to their heels. Mir Haidar Shāh and Khwājāh Basant who clung to each other, and were hiding themselves in a *Rath*,² fled without even casting a glance at the corpse of their master.

Not one out of his companions remained,
To guard him for an instant.

In the cover of the darkness of the night, and deceived by the *rise* of the Royal Standard and the Elephant being displayed by the Division under Nandlal Jama'dār, Ghauṣ Khān and Mir

¹ Though exceptionally humane and forbearing in disposition, it is refreshing to note Sarfarāz Khān could fight and fall bravely like a hero.

² The word used is *میکہ ڈنبر* (Mikah Dambur), which means a royal litter, carried on elephants. It is called *Mik Dambur* (میک ڈنبر) in the *Scire-i-Mutakhirin* (p. 378) which explains its significance. It is possibly a Turkish word.

³ A four-wheeled carriage; whilst *Chakrab* is a two-wheeled carriage.

Sharfuddin mistook the latter for Mahābatjang, and commenced fighting. By means of Rastam-like onslaughts and brave assaults, they killed Nandāl, and cut him up with their swords. Routing those who escaped the sword, they captured the Standard, kettle-drum, elephants, camels, horses and armaments, and then they marched swiftly to enquire about Sarfarāz Khān. Though Sarfarāz Khān had fallen, on seeing those two brave Generals, Mahābat Jang did not stir from the field, but with his force which was more numerous than ants and locusts remained stationary and motionless on the battle-field. Those two Generals had yet received no tidings of the fall of Sarfarāz Khān, and, therefore, with a small force of veteran heroes comprising their sons, brothers, kinsmen and companions, they bravely spurred on their chargers, fiercely assaulted Ali Vardī Khān's army, broke through its ranks, and heroically dashed up to its centre. The army of Mahābat Jang was about to reel from the blows of those lions of the forest of warfare, when Ghang Khān received on the breast mortal wounds from the bullets of Qhidan Hazārī's musketeers, and fell. Ghang Khān's two sons, Qutb and Babar, who were veritable tigers of the forest of bravery, and who on hunting-grounds were wont to slay lions with swords, unsheathed their swords, and killed a large number of Afghāns and Bhālials.¹

They attacked no one whom they did not slay,
They struck no head which they did not hurl down.
On whomever they struck their long-piercing daggers,
His head came down rolling from the shoulder.

Qhidan Hazārī also received sword-cuts at their hands. After much slaughter and daring, being hit by the bullets of muskets, Qutb and Babar fell like brave martyrs, and joined their gallant father in his journey to Eternity. Mir Sharfu-d-din with seven brave cavaliers galloped right up to Mahābat Jang, and with great agility shot at the latter's breast a heart-piercing arrow, which, however, grazed against the bow of Mahābat Jang, and piercing through lodged itself in the latter's side-ribs. Mir Sharfu-d-din had pulled another arrow towards the bow-string, when Shāikh Jahān Yār and Muḥammad Zulfuqār, Mahābat Jang's Generals, who were old friends of the Mir, came forward and said: "Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān has fallen, what can you gain

¹ It would seem the race of heroes was not yet extinct in Moslem Bengal.

now by continuing the contest and sacrificing your life" ? The Mir bravely replied : " Hitherto, I fought from a sense of loyalty for the salt¹ I had eaten, and from a sense of comradeship, but now I fight to maintain my honour." These two Generals stood sureties for the security of his honour, and pulled him back. Then the Mir with his followers set out for Birbhūm. Notwithstanding that his gunners had run away, Pancho Ferengi,² Superintendent of Sarfarāz Khān's artillery, served his guns and bravely stuck to them, and kept up an incessant cannonade. After Mir Sharfu-d-din's withdrawal, the Afghāns in large numbers attacked Pancho, and killed him. Bāji Singh, a Rajput General, who with the rear-guard was at Khamrah, on receiving news of his master's fall, felt his sense of honour aroused. Alone spurring on his horse and placing his spear on his horse's right ear, by brave onslaughts, he dashed through the enemy's force to a point where Mahābat Jang stood. With one stroke of his sharp spear, Bāji Singh attempted to hurl the latter down from his elephant-saddle and to despatch him to the next world, to be a companion there of his fallen master. Mahābat Jang made him out on seeing his heroism and agility, and ordered Daur Quli Khān, superintendent of the artillery, to quickly oppose him. Daur Quli Khān encountering him shot a bullet through his breast, and Bāji Singh being mortally wounded fell on the ground.³ Zālim Singh, Bāji Singh's son, aged nine years, with that inherent bravery which is characteristic of the Rājput race, unsheathed his sword from the scabbard, and stood up to guard his father. People from all sides surrounded him like a ring. Nawāb Mahābat Jang, on seeing the daring of that boy, applauded him, and forbade the people from killing him,

¹ Such instances of isolated loyalty and heroism relieve, to some extent, the darkness of the picture of faithlessness and treachery that these events portray.

² "The ravenous hordes thus let loose on India made the race-name of Christian (*Ferengi*) a word of terror, until the strong rule of the Moghal Empire turned it into one of contempt."—Sir W. Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 134. The name '*Ferengi*' was, however, more especially applied to the Portuguese settlers in India, whilst the term '*Nasara*' (or *Nasareen*) was a generic term for all Christians.

³ It is an eloquent testimony to the goodness of Sarfarāz Khān, that even in these treacherous times, and in such a trying crisis, he could command the undying devotion and homage of his brave Rajput officers. This is another incident which relieves, in some measure, the darkness of the picture presented by these scenes.

and ordered them not to oppose the removal of his father's corpse. The artillery-men helped in the removal of Bājī Singh's corpse, and carried along with it Zālim Singh on their shoulders. During the fightings of *Ghaus Khān*, Mir Sharfa-d-din, Bājī Singh and Pancho Farugi, both the sons-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān, named Ghausfar Husain and Hasan Muhammad, together with other *Manpābidars* and vanquished soldiers, had fled from the battle-field, and had in one day marched back to Murshidābād. And the Rāi Rāian Alamchand, by way of retribution for his treachery, received an arrow-shot on the hand from a cross-bow, plunged into the river, and half-dead reached his house. Repenting of his disloyal treachery, he committed suicide¹ by swallowing diamond-slings. In short, when Sarfarāz Khān was felled on his elephant-litter, the elephant-driver carried his corpse swiftly to Murshidābād. Yasin Khān, Faujdār of Murshidābād, who together with Hāsiq-l-lah Khān, son of Sarfarāz Khān, had been left to guard the City, the Citadel and the Nawāb's family, hurried at midnight the corpse of Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān at Naktā²hall. Hāsiq-l-lah and Ghausfar Husain hurriedly threw up entrenchments, and prepared to fight. They, however, received no encouragement from the vanquished troops, and therefore abandoned their plan of fighting, and tendered their submission to Ali Vardi Khān. This Revolution in the Government threw the City, as well as the Army and the people of Bengal, into a general and deep convulsion. Hājī Ahmad first² entering the city of Murshidābād, proclaimed peace

¹ The Rāi Rāian Alamchand (the prototype and creature of Sarfarāz Khān's father Shujā'ud-din Khān) was after all a penitent sinner, and, therefore his character stands out in a less hideous light, than that of Hājī Ahmad and Jagat Set, who do not appear to have been similarly disturbed by qualms of conscience for their black ingratitude and treachery.

² Ali Vardi Khān himself entered the city of Murshidābād on the third day after his victory. He was a Machiavellian diplomatist, and therefore, the first step he took on his entry into the city, was to sue for pardon for his treachery from Nafisah Begam, a daughter of Shujā'ud-din Khān, and sister of Sarfarāz Khān. He next held a Darbar in the *Chahal Satra* palace of Shujā'ud-din Khān, and though at first he was detested by the people and the officers for his black ingratitude and treachery, he soon managed to conciliate them by bestowing on them rich largess. (See *Seira-i-Mutakhirin*, Pers. text, p. 496). He appointed in his place as Naib Nadim of Patna (Azimabad) his son-in-law, Zainud-din Khān Haibat Jang. (See p. 490, *Seira-i-Mutakhirin*).

and senrity on behalf of Ali Vardi Khān. Yāsin Khān Fanjdār, under the order of the Hājī, set guards on Sarfarāz Khān's treasury and family, officers and servants, as well as on his Seraglio, so that none could escape. This battle ¹ of Gheris took place in 1153 A.H.

NIZĀMAT OF NAWĀB ALI VARDI KHĀN MAHĀBAT JANG.

After obtaining victory, Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang, in order to overlook the sacking of the City and the loot of Sarfarāz Khān's treasures at the hands of Afghāns and Bhallahs, ² for three days encamped outside the City, on the banks of the river Gobrah. On the fourth day, with a sense of perfect security entering the Citadel, he seated himself with extended thighs on the *maṣād* of the Nizāmat of Bengal, and confiscated without any trouble Sarfarāz Khān's treasures which the past Nāsims with considerable self-denial had hoarded. In that Nawāb Mahābat Jang avoided the company of strange women, and did not care for this sort of pleasure, during his life he had only one wedded wife, and in fact, he often plumed himself on this circumstance. Hājī Ahmad and his sons and relations possessed themselves of Sarfarāz Khān's fifteen hundred pretty female dependants and slaves. Mahābat Jang banished to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) the wedded Begams of Sarfarāz Khān with their children, ³ and fixed small allowances for them from the income of the Khāṭ Ta'luqah.

¹ Compare the description of this battle with that given in the *Seir-i-Mutakābir*, pp. 402-403. The author of the *Seir*, though a strong partisan of Ali Vardi, and though anxious to gloss over his treachery and ingratitude, is forced to pay a glowing tribute to the bravery and devoted courage displayed by several officers of Sarfarāz Khān at this battle. *Rizvi's* account of this important battle seems much richer in details, as well as more graphic and more exact than that of the *Seir*. This important battle took place about 11 months after Nadir Shāh's return to Persia after the sack of Delhi, and about 14 months after Shujā'ud-din Khān's death.

² This fact which redounds to the discredit of Ali Vardi Khān is suppressed by the author of the *Seir-i-Mutakābir*, whose father was employed in a high capacity under Ali Vardi's son-in-law, Zaim-ud-din Khān, at Patna. The author of the *Rizvi*, not being a partisan, does not suppress it.

³ It may be interesting to enquire if any descendants of these still survive in the alleys of Dacca.

And Nafisah Begam, Sarfarāz Khān's sister, who had adopted as her child Aqā Bābā Kūchak who was her nephew, entered service as a governess in the Seraglio of Nawāzish Ahmad Khān,¹ the eldest son of Hājī Ahmad, and in this way supported her nephew.

When news of the fall of Sarfarāz Khān and of the succession of Ali Vardī Khān to the *Musnad* of the Nizāmat of Bengal reached Emperor Nāsiru-d-din Muḥammad Shāh, the latter wept and said: "Owing to Nādir Shāh, the whole of my Empire is convulsed and shattered."² But to mend the state of affairs was difficult, and so the Emperor kept quiet. Mahābat Jang, through Murād Khān,³ who was one of the associates of the Prime Minister, Nawāb Qamru-d-din Khān (about whom mention has been made before), intrigued with the Prime Minister and other Ministers. He remitted to the Emperor forty *laks* of rupees on account of Sarfarāz Khān's confiscated treasures and fourteen *laks* on account of tribute, over and above the usual fixed revenue. He also gave three *laks* of rupees to Qamru-d-din⁴ Khān Vazir, and one *lak* of rupees to Aqā Jah Nizāmu-l-Mulk. He similarly conciliated and bribed other Imperial Officers according to their ranks. Intriguing with Rājah Jugal Kishor, agent of Sarfarāz Khān, Mahābat Jang obtained in his own name the patent of the Nizāmat of all the three Sūbās of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, according to the usual practice. He then exacted double the usual

¹ He was then Deputy Nagib of Jahangirnagar or Dacca.

² Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was not quite fair to Nādir Shāh in his political diagnosis. He ought to have added, the glorious Timuride Empire in India had been shattered and undermined by the luxury and love of ease, and fratricidal jealousies and strifes of himself and his immediate predecessors, and principally by the vileness and corruption, joined to clannish jealousies and personal ambitions that had seized the later Mughal ministers and proconsuls. A moral paralysis had seized the heart of the Empire at Delhi, and it quickly extended to and affected its distant limbs in outlying Provinces. The Muslims in India had lost their Islamic virtues *first*, and *next* their Empire; whilst Nādir Shāh's terrible invasion operated only as an accelerating force towards its eventual dissolution.

³ He had been deputed by the Emperor to bring the attached treasures of Sarfarāz Khān, and the revenue of Bengal. See *Seir*, p. 496.

⁴ It is humiliating to observe that even ministers of the calibre and position of Qamru-d-din Khān and Nizāmu-l-Mulk Aqā Jah were, at this dark period of Indo-Muslim History, not above corruption.

amount of revenue, presents and tribute from the Zamindārs of Bengal.

For the purpose of overthrowing Murshid Quli Khān,¹ and for conquering the Sūbah of Odissah (Orissa), Mahābat Jang now girded up his loins, mobilised troops and collected armaments, and bestowed the office of Generalissimo on Mir Ja'far Khān Bahādur, who was Mahābat Jang's brother-in-law, and who in the war with Sarfarās Khān had rendered Mahābat Jang good services. Mahābat Jang bestowed on Mir Ja'far a corps of bodyguard, together with a *mansab*, a title, and a peerage. He bestowed the office of Diwān with the title of Rāi Rāiān on Ghin Rāi,² who was a clerk in charge of the Jāgirs of Ja'far Khān, and who was a person of probity and honesty. And he bestowed on Muḥammed Rizā Khān, the eldest son of Hājī Aḥmad, who had married Ghāsiti Khānum, daughter of Mahābat Jang, the title of Nāsira-l-Mulk Ibtishām-ud-daulah Nawāriḥ Muḥammed Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, together with the nominal office of Diwān of Bengal, and the Deputy Nizāmat of Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), including Chittagong, Raṣhanabād (Tipperah), and Silhat. And he bestowed on

¹ He was a son-in-law of Shujā'ud-dīn Khān, and had been appointed by the latter Deputy Nazim of Orissa, on the death of Muḥammad Taqī Khān (a son of Shujā'ud-dīn Khān). All Vardi and his unholy Hājī brother were resolved to spare no one amongst the capable male representatives of their late master and benefactor. A reign ushered in by such treachery and characterised by such vindictive posthumous courtesies was bound, under an Avenging Providence, to terminate ignominiously. The unholy Hājī brother quickly met with his proper deserts, by being tortured and hatched, along with his son Zainud-dīn Khān, by the Afghan ruffian who sacked Patna. All Vardi himself was continually distracted and harassed by Marhatta freebooters, who swooped down again and again on his fair provinces like armies of locusts, and harried and devastated them, and All Vardi's energy, courage, and prowess were of no avail against this visitation of God's curse. He at length had to conclude an inglorious peace with the Marhattas, and to practically cede to the latter the Province of Orissa. And not many months had rolled away since he had closed his eyes, when his favourite grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah, was tortured to death, and All Vardi's ill-gotten Satrapy dissolved for ever, and was transferred to other hands. Verily, Divine retribution was not slow in overtaking All Vardi Khān.

² Ghin Rai was the Peashkar under the Diwan Alam Qasim. Mahābat Jang, on Alam Qasim's death, appointed Ghin Rai as his Diwan. (See *Scir*, p. 405). Ghin Rai proved very honest, and was held in high esteem by Mahābat Jang. (See *Scir*, p. 575).

Hāshim Ali Khān, the youngest son of Hājī Ahmad, who had married the younger daughter of Mahābat Jang, named Amanah Khānum, the title of Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān Haibat Jang, together with the Deputy Nizāmat of the Province of Bihār and Azimābād (Patna). And he advanced to ranks, titles, and *Jagirs* his other relations¹ and connexions, according to their ranks and aspirations. But the Afghāns and the Bhalialis, who owing to their large numbers were haughty, meddled so much in all the affairs, that they did not care for Mahābat Jang, and deviated from the usual forms of etiquette. Shelving the canons of justice on the shelf of forgetfulness, they looted treasures, and killed and slaughtered the people, together with their women and children. And the conduct of ingratitude, which had subsisted in the times of the early Musalman Independent Kings of Bengal, reasserted itself afresh from the time of Mahābat Jang.²

¹ The following details of the administrative arrangements made by Ali Vardi Khān on his usurpation of the Nizāmat of Bengal, are summarized briefly from the *Sair-i-Mutakkerin*, p. 495. Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān, Ali Vardi's youngest son-in-law, was appointed Subdar of Behar and Patna. The Deputy Nizāmat of Jahangirnagar, including the Faujdari of Silhat, Chittagong, and Tipperah, was given to his eldest son-in-law, Nawazish Muhammad Khān. The Deputy Nizāmat of Orissa was bestowed on the second son-in-law, Sahi Ahmad Khān (after Murshid Quli Khān was defeated). The Superintendentship of the *Nawabah* or Imperial Fleet at Jahangirnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on his grandson, Mirza Muhammad (son of Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān) surnamed Siraja-d-daulah Shāh Quli Khān Bahadur. Siraja-d-daulah's brother was adopted as a son by Nawazish Muhammad Khān, and surnamed "Ikramu-d-daulah Fadelah Quli Khān Bahadur" with nominal command of the Jahangirnagar or Dacca army. Anwar-ulah Khān, a son-in-law of Hājī Ahmad (Ali Vardi's brother) was appointed Faujdar of Rajmahal (Akbarnagar) and Bhagalpur. Alah Yar Khān (stepbrother of Ali Vardi), Mir Jafar Khān (brother-in-law of Ali Vardi), and his other connexions like Faqir-ul-lah Beg Khān, Nural-lah Beg Khān and Mustafa Khān were given mansabs and parganas with titles and body-guards. Chin Rai (Peahlee under Diwan Alauddin) received the title of "Rai Raien," and was appointed Deputy Diwan of Bengal. Rajah Janaki Ram, who was the old household Diwan of Mahābat Jang, was appointed Diwan of Miscellaneous departments. The *Sair's* author's maternal uncle or Khaloo, Abdal Ali Khān (who was also a connexion of Ali Vardi), received a mansab, together with the parganas of Narhat Samai and Behar.

² For its revival, Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang was himself responsible. He re-inaugurated an era of force and fraud, and he and his successors were paid back in the same coin by others. It taught the lesson of ingrat-

Towards the commencement of the insurrection of Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang, Nawāb Sarfarūz Khān had asked for help from Murshid Quli Khān, the Governor of Odisha (Orissa), who was his brother-in-law; but the latter, owing to personal spite which has been referred to before, had delayed to march to his help. Whilst Murshid Quli was occupied with despatching a body of troops in the shape of an auxiliary force, he suddenly received news of Sarfarūz Khān's fall and of Ali Vardi Khān's mastery over the Śālah of Bengal. It was then that Murshid Quli Khān woke up from slumber, and was plunged into shame and sorrow.

General well-being follows mutual union,¹
General ruin follows disunion.

In short, from fear of Ali Vardi Khān, Murshid Quli Khān made preparations in self-defence, and exerted himself strenuously towards the mobilisation of an army, and deputed to Murshidābād Mukhālī Ali Khān, son-in-law of Hājī Ahmad, who from before was in his company, in order to arrange the basis of a treaty of peace. After the latter's arrival, Ali Vardi Khān and Hājī Ahmad sending a reassuring and diplomatic message to Murshid Quli Khān, set him at ease,² and sent back Mukhālī Khān, in order to sow treason secretly amongst the Officers of Murshid Quli Khān's army. Mukhālī Khān presenting himself before Murshid Quli Khān outwardly tried to humour and reassure him, but covertly by offer of allurements and temptations sowed sedition in Murshid Quli's army, and sent an account of his success in this direction to Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang. The latter, with a large army and an immense artillery, instantly marched towards the Province of Orissa. On receipt of this news, leaving his wife, Durdānah Begam, and his son, Yahyā Khān,

ruled by his own treacherous conduct, and no others took their cue from him.

¹ The Persian couplet is:—

دولت همه ز اتفاق خیزد
بدولتی از نفاق خیزد

² Ali Vardi and his worthy Hājī brother could never lay down their favourite weapon of treachery, and well were they, through their children, repaid in the same coin by Mir Jafar and others.

with his treasures in the fort of Barabhatti,¹ Marshid Quli Khān with an efficient force and requisite war-paraphernalia, together with his two sons-in-law, named Mirāz Muḥammad Bāqir² Khān, a Prince of Persia, and Alāo-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, marched out from Katak (Cutlack) in order to fight, and advanced to the port of Ballār (Balasore). At the ferry of Phulwār, from the rock of Tilgadhi³ to the river Jon,⁴ he threw up an entrenchment, and remained behind it waiting for the enemy.⁵ Unfortunately, Marshid Quli Khān was ignorant of the wiles of the traitor in his own camp in the person of Makhālīz Ali Khān, and had, therefore, failed to take any precautionary steps against that double-faced scoundrel, and had thus ignored the saying of Shaiḥ Sa'di⁶ :—

1 "The construction of Fort Barabati has been assigned to various monarchs with various dates. Starling thinks it was built by Rājā Anang Bhom Deva in the fourteenth century. The stonework has been taken by the Public Works Department to build lighthouses and hospitals, and to pave roads. The ditch of the fort, however, still remains, and so does the gate, which is still approached by a causeway . . . Rājā Mukund Deo built a palace here with nine courts . . . The palace was in time abandoned by the Mussalman Governors who preferred to live in the Lalbagh, on the south side of the city, (now Commissioner's Residence)"—Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 4, f. n.

2 There is still a mahalla or quarter in Katak, called 'Bakrabad,' named so, probably, after Bāqir Khān.

3 Tilgadhi in the text is apparently a mistake for the hill 'Tahirmunda' marked on the maps of Orissa, near Balasore.

4 'Jon' in the text is also obviously a mistake; I do not find any river of that name near Balasore or in Orissa. It is a mistake probably for the river near Balasore, called 'Sunajuri,' Balasore itself being situated on the Bura-lung river.

5 In *Siya-i-Mutallifin* (p. 497), it is stated Marshid Quli Khān passed through Balasore port, and encamped on the banks of its river, in the Mousa of Bhatwar. The encampment is described in the *Seir* as being flanked by dense forests on one side, and by deep rivulets on another. A ring with artillery was formed round this encampment. Ali Vardi Khān passing through Mednipur and Jalasore, took up a position on the north banks of the Burahalung river. The position taken up by Marshid Quli Khān is described as very impregnable, and he might not have been dislodged from it, but for the rash rally of his son-in-law, Mirza Baqir Ali Khān, and the treachery of his Afghan General, 'Abd Khān, who deserted Marshid Quli Khān, his old master and benefactor, and joined with his Afghan contingent Mustafa Khān, the Afghan General of Ali Vardi Khān. The crafty Ali Vardi Khān had by means of bribes sown treason amongst the Afghan troops of Marshid Quli Khān (497 *Seir*).

6 The well-known Persian poet and muralist.

'If thy relative be thy enemy, treat him outwardly a thy friend,

But never be heedless of his treachery.

For inside his heart, wound festers from thy enmity,

Whenever he thinks of the love-shackles of kinship.'

Advancing from Bengal by forced marches with a large army, which numbered more than one lak cavalry and infantry, All Vardi Khān reached Mednīpūr, secured the adhesion of the Zamīndārs of that district by bestowing on them Khilā'ts and gifts, and encamped at Jalisar (Jalasure), which was an Imperial outpost. On the banks of the river Sabaurikha,¹ at the ferry of Rājghāt, Rājah Jagardhar Bhanj, Zamīndār of Morbhauj,² had established a garrison of his Chawāns and Khandaits, and had erected entrenchments. To cross, therefore, at the ferry of Rājghāt which was protected by dense jungles and thorny trees, was found to be a difficult operation, and therefore, All Vardi Khān had to ask for help from the Rājah. The Rājah, however, was haughty owing to his command of a large army, and did not care for All Vardi Khān. He refused to aid with the latter, or to permit him to cross at the Rājghāt ferry. All Vardi Khān placing his artillery-waggons in front of the Rājghāt ferry, commenced bombarding it. The Rājah's army were unable to hold the ground in their entrenchment, and fled to the jungles. All Vardi Khān with troops and artillery crossed over at Rājghāt, and encamped at Rāmechundarpur which was at a distance of one and a half karoḥ from Murāhid Qalī Khān's encampment. Emissaries and envoys were busy for some days moving to and fro with messages of peace and war, and this sort of diplomatic parley lasted for one month. All this time Murāhid Qalī Khān³ did not advance across the ferry of Phulwār. Having

¹ This is an error in the text, or a misprint for 'Subarnarika' river, on which Jalaur or Jalasure is situated.

² This forms now one of the Tributary Mahals under the Commissioner of Orissa.

³ As another interesting and remarkable illustration of the potent influence in politics and society exerted by Mussalman ladies in Bengal, even towards the middle of the eighteenth century, it may be noted that Murāhid Qalī Khān himself was averse to fight with All Vardi Khān, owing to a sense of feebleness, but that his brave wife, Durdanah Begam, encouraged and inspired him to fight, in order to avenge her brother Sarfarāz Khān's fall, and threaten

regard to the wasteful expenditure on account of a huge army thus locked up, and viewing the dearth of provisions, and apprehending the approach of the rainy season as well as the raids of Mah-ratta freebooters, Ali Vardi Khān thought it expedient to patch up peace, and return. But Mustafā Khān, generalissimo of Ali Vardi's Afghān contingent, not acquiescing in peace, suggested entrenchments being thrown up during the rains. After a Council of War, it was decided after much deliberation to send a soothing message to Murshid Quli Khān through a trustworthy envoy, who was instructed to get back a reply in the following form:—"I shall not allow you authority or possession over the Subah of Odisah," and then with this document to return to Bengal, and after the rainy season, again mobilising troops, to re-attempt Murshid Quli Khān's subjugation. Although 'Abid Khān and other Afghān Generals, owing to the sedition sown amongst them by Makhālīs Ali Khān, treacherously advised Mirzā Bāqir Khān, who commanded the vanguard of Murshid Quli Khān's army, to give battle by advancing out of the entrenchment, Murshid Quli Khān remained on the defensive, and dissuaded Mirzā Bāqir from attempting a sally. But as the period of stay within entrenchments was tediously protracted, Mirzā Bāqir, carried by his youthful impulsiveness, sallied out with his contingent composed of Syeds of Barha, and arrayed himself in battle-rank. Murshid Quli was, therefore, obliged to array his troops in front of Ali Vardi Khān's army. On both sides, the battle opened with a cannonade, which was soon abandoned for a sword and spear-charge at close quarters. Murshid Quli Khān's generalissimo, Mir Abdu-l-'Aziz, who commanded the van, and his devoted contingent of three hundred knights consisting of Syeds of Barha spurred on their chargers, exhibited feats of heroism and hereditary gallantry, and with the flashing of their lightning swords ignited the life-harvests of all whose moment for death had arrived. Before this gallant charge, Ali Vardi Khān's soldiers, who had hitherto fancied themselves lions of the forest of bravery, fled like sheep from the battle-field, and met with a crushing defeat. The elephant on which Ali

ened that in case her husband failed to do so, she would supplant him from the Government of Orissa, and raise to the gadi her son-in-law, Mirzā Bāqir Ali Khān, in his place. Thereon, Murshid Quli gave way to his wife's influence, and resolved to fight with Ali Vardi. (See *Scira-i-Mutaggerin*, Pers. text, p. 498).

Vardi Khān with his Begam¹ was mounted, was withdrawn half a *farsakh* away from the battle-field. At this crisis, Mukhālīs Ali Khān and Abid Khān surnamed Farzand Ali Khān, upon whose loyalty Murshīd Qulī Khān reposed implicit confidence, together with Muqarrab Khān and other Afghan generals, exhibiting treachery which is the characteristic of the Afghan race, effaced from the tablets of their hearts all the alphabets of obligations that had been engraved thereon by many years of shelter and salt-eating, deserted the side of Murshīd Qulī Khān, and retired from the battle-field. At this juncture, Mānikghand,² Peshkār of the Rājah of Hardwān, who had arrived with an appropriate auxiliary force to serve under Ali Vardi Khān, reflecting that results of war were dubious, and speculating about the

¹ This is a remarkable incident illustrating that Mussalman ladies in India had not yet all taken to the existing form of seclusion, nor ceased to take an active share in their husbands'ardens, both in peace and war. Indeed, it is interesting to note that Ali Vardi's Begam played the rôle of Supreme Political Officer, whilst her husband fought the battles with the Mahrattas. It is stated in the *Seira-i-Mutafaghgeria* (Pers. text, p. 550), that one day Ali Vardi at Patna after fighting with the Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhoels, entered the Begam's boudoir with an anxious look. The Begam enquired what the matter was, when Ali Vardi replied that this time he feared treachery from his own soldiers and officers. Thereon, the Begam on her own initiative and her own responsibility organised a political mission, and sent it to Raghoji's camp, to arrange for a treaty of peace. Raghoji fell in with the proposal; but his Chief Adviser, Mir Habib, dissuaded him, and advised him to make a dash for Murshīdabad, holding out the prospect of loot. The Begam must have been a lady of keen judgment and uncommon sagacity to have been relied upon at such a crisis by her shrewd husband.

² Mānikghand who was afterwards left as Governor of Calcutta, when Siraj-ud-daulah conquered it, was a shrewd and time-serving man, and regulated his loyalty by prudential considerations. He was a prototype of Nubakhten of later times, of whose loyal assistance to the English so much has of late been made by a recent writer, but who only followed Mānikghand in his loyal tactics, feeling his way cautiously, and keenly watching which way the tide of success turned, in order to adjust his individual position with an eye to self-aggrandisement. The *Seir* makes no mention of Mānikghand having taken any part in the battle, and ascribes Murshīd Qulī Khān's disaster to the treachery of his Afghan general 'Abid Khān, and to the rash sally of his son-in-law, Mirzā Bāqir Ali Khān. At this battle near Bahasore, the Syeds of Barha fought bravely on the side of Murshīd Qulī Khān, and several of them, such as Mir Ali Akhār and Mir Majtaha Ali fell, whilst Mirzā Bāqir Ali Khā himself was severely wounded. (See *Seir*, p. 407.)

future, covertly humoured Murshid Quli Khān, and asked for the latter's flag of truce, in order to join him and exhibit self-sacrifice and loyalty. From a side of the forest, towards the direction whence the force of Mirzā Bāqir Khān was marching in pursuit of Ali Vardi Khān, Mānikohand shewed himself, and displayed Murshid Quli Khān's flag. Inasmuch as the afore-said Mirzā was unaware of his aim, he opposed his progress. Mānikohand was obliged to fight. Mirzā Bāqir's efficient soldiers were already exhausted by warfare, so they fought in broken lines, and by the vicissitudes of times, the corps of Mirzā Bāqir was defeated. Ali Vardi Khān, on being apprised of this, hurriedly collected his vanquished troops by use of persuasions, and a second time engaged in fighting. Mir Abdal-'Azis and his corps, consisting of three hundred Syed knights, dismounting from their horses, and girding up their loins of bravery, marched to the battle-field, and one by one, all of them fell, being shot down by bullets fired by the Bhallah corps. Murshid Quli Khān being thus defeated retired¹ to the Port of Balasore (Balasore), and there embarking on a sloop which had been kept ready from before, he sailed for the Dakhin, and presented himself before Nawāb Ajaf Jah.² A providential victory thus fell to the good fortune of Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang. The latter pursued the vanquished army up to the Port of Balasore. From there, he detached Mirzā Khairu-l-lah Beg, Faqiru-l-lah Beg,

¹ It is stated in the *Seir* that after his defeat at the battle of Balasore, Murshid Quli Khān together with his son-in-law, Mirzā Bāqir Ali Khān, withdrew to the town of Balasore, with two or three thousand troops. Apprehending treachery from the latter, he gave out that he would entrench himself in the town, told them off to some distance to guard the roads leading to the town, whilst he himself with Mirzā Bāqir Ali moved towards the sea-shore. At this time it so happened that a friend of his, Hajji Mohain, a merchant of Surat, had his mercantile ship in the port, and also a pinnace. Murshid Quli Khān got into the pinnace along with Mirzā Bāqir Ali and Hajji Mohain and some servants, embarked on board the ship, which sailed down to Masulipatam. From Masulipatam, Murshid Quli Khān sent Mirzā Bāqir Ali towards Sikakul and Ganjam, to bring away Durdānah Begam and her daughter from Katak (Cutack).

² Nizam-ul-Mulk Ajaf Jah was Viceroy of the Dakhin under Emperor Muḥammad Shah, at this time. He had made himself semi-independent there, owing to the feebleness of the Central Government at Delhi. See note ante.

and Nūru-l-lah Beg to capture Yahyā Khān¹ and Murshid Qulī's Begam, and also to seize his treasures and chattels. All Vardi instructed them to proceed by forced marches, whilst he himself followed them on horse-back. When news of this affair and of Murshid Qulī Khān's retreat to the Dakhīn reached Katak (Onttack), Murād Khān, the generalissimo of the Rājah² of Parāṣūtam (Puri), who had been detailed for guarding Yahyā Khān and the Begam in the Fort of Barahbāti, planned to send instantly the Begam and Yahyā Khān together with all their chattels and treasures to the Dakhīn, by way of Sikākūl.³ Baggages and equipages were kept ready, and jewelleries, gold coins, treasures, and other precious things were loaded on elephants, camels, and waggons, when all of a sudden the army of All Vardi Khān made its appearance. The elephant and camel-drivers, &c., leaving behind the loaded treasures and chattels with their baggages, fled, and all those treasures fell into the hands of the aforesaid Mirzās, who divided the precious jewelleries,

¹ Murshid Qulī Khān had left his wife Dardannah Begam and his son Yahyā Khān, together with his treasures, in the Fort of Barahbāti at Katak, whilst advancing to Balasore.

² The Rājah was Haṣṣ Qadir, a Muḥammadan. See n. 2 below and *Seiru-l-Mutajjessin*, Pers. text, p. 498.

³ Sekakul or Ohiescole is a place in the Ganjam district, over 100 miles south-west of Puri. The land-route from Orissa to the Dakhīn lay in olden days via Sekakul or Ohiescole across the Chūlka lake. It is stated in the *Seir* that after arrival at Masulipatam, Murshid Qulī Khān sent his son-in-law, Mirzā Ḥāqir All Khān, towards Sekakul and Ganjam, to proceed to the relief of Dardannah Begam and her daughter. In the meantime, on hearing of Murshid Qulī Khān's defeat, Murshid Qulī's friend, Haṣṣ Qadir, Rājah of Ratipur, Khurīdāh, who was Superintendent of the temple of Jagannāth, (Note by Translator.—This is an interesting and remarkable fact showing that a Musalman was once at the head of this Hindu Temple. See *Seir*, Pers. text, p. 498) of his own motion had sent his general, Muḥammad Murād, with a force to guard and relieve Dardannah Begam and her daughter. Murād succeeded in bringing away the Begam and her daughter with their treasures and effects to Inṣhapur, which is in the Ganjam district. Anwar-ud-dīn Khān, Governor of Inṣhapur, treated the Begams very hospitably. At this time, Mirzā Ḥāqir All Khān reached Inṣhapur, and proceeded from there with the Begams and their treasures to Masulipatam, whence Murshid Qulī Khān, Mirzā Ḥāqir All Khān and the Begams, together with the treasures and effects, proceeded to the Dakhīn and took shelter with Asif Jah, its ruler. (See *Seiru-l-Mutajjessin*, Pers. text, p. 498).

treasures, and other valuable wares amongst themselves.¹ Since Ali Vardi Khān also followed up subsequently, he captured the remaining treasures, and also confiscated other treasures of the adherents of Murshid Quli Khān. Issuing proclamations of peace and security, and employing reassurances and persuasions, Ali Vardi Khān won over to his side the Collectors, Zamindārs and Officers of Orissa, and set about making settlement of the revenue, warar, and tribute, as well as of the Jāgirs. And in the course of one month, having finished the organisation and settlement of the Sābah of Orissa, he entrusted the charge of that Province to Said Ahmad Khān, his nephew, who had previously served as the Faujdar of Raugpūr, procuring for him from the Emperor the title of Naṣiru-l-Mulk Said Ahmad Khān Bahādur Šaulat Jang. Ali Vardi Khān also left Gujar Khān, a Rohilla general, together with a contingent of three thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry, to be in attendance on Said Ahmad Khān at Katak (Cuttnack). Ali Vardi Khān then returned, triumphant and victorious, to Bengal.

Šaulat Jang was of a churlish disposition and regulated himself by avarice. For effecting retrenchment in the military expenditure, he took into his service Salim Khān, Darvēṣh Khān, Niz'mat Khān, Mir A'izu-l-lah and other generals, and sent back Gujar Khān² to Murshidābād, on the plea of smallness of the revenues of

¹ It would appear the account in the *Seiru-l-Mutakkerin*, as regards the fate of the Begams and their treasure is somewhat different from that in the *Riyaz*, which states that the Begams' treasures and effects were captured by Ali Vardi Khān's officers. The *Riyaz* is, however, strangely silent as to the fate of the Begams who were with the treasures. Obviously, the account in the *Riyaz* is incomplete and halting, whilst that of the *Seir* is more consistent and comprehensive and, therefore, more acceptable.

² The account in the *Seir* is somewhat different from that in the *Riyaz*. In the *Seir*, it is stated, in pursuance of a policy of economy, Šaulat Jang wanted to reduce the pay of his soldiers. This reduction in pay was resented by the Murshidabad troops and officers who in consequence were disbanded, whilst the soldiers and officers domiciled in Orissa accepted this reduced pay, and in consequence were enlisted in the army in large numbers. Šaulat Jang subsequently, at the instigation of one Shah Yalwa indulged in debaucheries and ill-treated the men and women of Katak, who all in consequence were disgusted with him. This state of affairs at Katak came to the notice of Mirza Baqir Ali, who was in the Dakhin. The latter asked Murshid Quli Khān to invade Orissa, but Murshid Quli demurred. Thereon, Mirza Baqir Ali himself invaded Orissa, first persuading the soldiers and residents of Katak

Katak. The aforesaid generale who were anxious to avenge the fall of their old master, Murahid Quli Khān, finding now an opportunity, broke out into revolt. Śaulat Jang sent to them Qāsim Beg, Superintendent of the Artillery, and Shaikh Hidāitu-l-lah, Faujdār (Magistrate) of Katak, for effecting the basis of a reconciliation. The Generals, who were seeking for an opportunity, finding the above two emissaries unescorted, slew Qāsim Beg, whilst Hidāitu-l-lah, after receiving some wounds, made his escape. The citizens and soldiers *en masse* broke out into revolt, and under cover of the darkness of night they besieged Śaulat Jang, took him prisoner along with his followers and relations, and looted his treasures and effects. Then inviting over Mirza Baqir Khān, son-in-law of Murahid Quli Khān, from Sikakūl across the Chilka lake, they placed him on the *marnad* of the Nizāmat of Orissa, and advancing with their forces they conquered Mednīpūr and Hijli.

The news of the approach of the Katak army threw Bengal into commotion. Ali Vardi Khān, on the occurrence of this disaster, mobilised an immense army equipped with a battering artillery, and then set out for Katak, in order to relieve Śaulat Jang and re-conquer Orissa. By forced marches, scouring through Bardwān, he encamped on the outskirts of Mednīpūr. On receiving news of the approach of Mahābat Jang, the Katak army,¹ which was spread at Hijli and Mednīpūr, concentrated at Mednīpūr and Jalissar, next crossed over at the ferries of Rājghāt and Phulwar, and then encamped² at the Port of Balasore. The soldiers of Mirza Baqir,

to break out into revolt. The latter revolted, killed Gufar Khān, the general, when Baqir Ali marched swiftly to Katak, imprisoned Śaulat Jang, together with his wife and children in the Fort of Barabhati, and installed himself on the gulf of Orissa. (See *Seir-i-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p. 502.)

¹ The Editor of the printed Persian text has inserted, **و** after **افواج** **کنک**, though he says in his MSS. text, **و** occurs. I consider, **و** makes the text unintelligible, and **و** of the MSS. text is correct. According to the latter reading, I have translated the text.

² See the account in the *Seir* (Pers. text pp. 503-505) of Ali Vardi's expedition to Katak, to relieve Śaulat Jang. It is stated in the *Seir* that Ali Vardi Khān apprehending that Mirza Baqir Ali Khān was being helped by Asif Jah from the Dakkhin, marched to Katak with a huge army, consisting of twenty thousand soldiers, led by picked generals and officers, such as Mustafa Khān, Shamsahir Khān, Umar Khān, Atau-l-lah Khān, Haidar Ali Khān, Faqir-i-Jah Beg Khān, Mir Jafar, Mir Sharfu-d-din, Shaikh Muhammad M'asum

who had previously received arrow-shots at the hands of the Bhalihā, suddenly lost heart, and sending all their baggages to Sikākul remained unencumbered. When Mirza Baqir came to know of the disloyalty and cowardice of his soldiers, ostensibly he gave out that he contemplated advancing against the enemy, but in reality he planned to withdraw to the Dakhin. Whilst completing his arrangements for withdrawal to the Dakhin, he detached a force to *Chaprah*¹ ghat, which is the ferry of the river Mahāndi and is situate midway the town of Katak. And he himself with Saulat Jang, &c., and a number of other captives together with tents, &c., crossed the river Katjuri. Mahābat Jang was encamped on the banks of the river Kamhariah,² at a distance of forty *Karah* from Katak, and there at midnight messengers brought him news of Mirza Baqir's flight. Immediately summoning Mir Muhammad Ja'far the generalissimo, Mustafa Khān, Shamshir Khān, Sardār Khān, Umar Khān, Boland Khān, Sirāndāz Khān, Balisar Khān and other Afghān generals, and holding a Council of War, Ali Vardi that very night with their concurrence despatched them expeditiously under the command of Mir Ja'far Khān to pursue Mirza Baqir Khān. Soon after, Ali Vardi Khān himself with the remainder of his army set out. When the aforesaid generals with their army arrived five *karoh* from Katak, Mirza Baqir Khān being apprised placed Saulat Jang in a fringed *Rath*, placed in it Hājī Muhammad Amin, brother of Murshid Quli Khān, with a drawn dagger, to be his companion and attendant, and also set two armed horsemen on two sides of the *Rath*, with

Amanat Khān, Mir Kasim Khān, Bahadur Ali Khān. Ali Vardi reached with his army the northern banks of the Mahanadi river opposite to Katak town, whilst Mirza Baqir Ali was encamped with his troops on the southern banks of the same river. Seeing Ali Vardi's huge army, Mirza Baqir Ali's soldiers fled, and dispersed in all directions, whilst Ali Vardi's troops plunged into the river, quickly crossed over to Katak town (at the Jobra Ghat, as would appear from the *Rijaz*), and rescued Saulat Jang who was engaged in a *Rath* (a four-wheeled carriage) covered over with a white sheet tied round it with white strings. Saulat Jang's escape from certain death was almost miraculous.

1 "Chaprah" of the text is known locally as 'Jobrah' ghat. It is situate midway the town of Katak, alongside the Mahanadi river. Close to the ghat, there is an old munseolam.

2 "Kamhariah" river of the text is probably a misprint or misreading for "Dhamra" river, down Jaipur, which would be about 40 *Karah* from Katak.

instructions that should the army of Mahābat Jang overtake them, they should instantly back up Šaulat Jang with daggers and spears and on no account should let the latter escape. And Mirza Baqir himself mounted a horse, and along with the *Rath* containing Šaulat Jang he left the Lal Bagh¹ Palace situate in the city of Katuk, and arrived at Malisār.² At this time, Balisar Khān with fifteen horsemen, who were his comrades, came up. The flags carried by the cavalry were visible in the forest. By chance at that time, from the excessive heat of summer, Šaulat Jang changing his seat inside the *Rath* sat in the place where Hājī Muḥammad Amin had hitherto sat, and gave his own seat to the Hājī. At the very sight of the flags of Balisar Khān's cavalry, the two armed horsemen who rode alongside the *Rath* thrust their spears through the *Rath*—screen, wounded Hājī Muḥammad Amin whom they mistook for Šaulat Jang, and fled. As fate would have it, as soon as the spear-thrust pierced the Hājī's hand and shoulder, the Hājī's dagger fell from his hand, and shouting out, "you have killed me; you have killed me," the Hājī³ tumbled down inside the *Rath*. Šaulat Jang, the cup of whose life was not yet full to the brim, remained unscathed. When the Afghān troops were busy looting the vanquished, Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Amin⁴ Khān Bahādur, with a few men fell in with the runaways, and moved in every direction in quest of Sa'īd Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Šaulat Jang; but Šaulat Jang fearing lest some enemy might be searching for him,

¹ Lal Bagh, on the banks of the Katjuri, now forms the residence of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. It was built by Musliman Governors of Orissa for their residence, in preference to Fort Barabati on the banks of the Mahanadi.

² Malisār is apparently a mistake for Mukhammad, a place across the Katjuri, about 2 miles distant from the Lal Bagh, on the Puri road.

³ As the sequence of the story would indicate, the Hājī was to some extent shamming death, and was a sly fox, for quickly after he got up, and nimbly scurried off, mounting another man's horse.

⁴ Mir Muḥammad Amin was a step-brother of Ali Vardi Khān, surnamed Mahabat Jang, and brother-in-law of Mir Jafar, the latter having married an uterine sister of Mir Muḥammad Amin. Neither Ali Vardi nor his father was a Syed; they were Mirzas; and therefore, Muḥammad Amin (Ali Vardi's step-brother) could not have been a Syed or Mir from his father's side, he was so probably from his mother's side. It is common amongst Muhammadans (and the usage has the sanction of authority) to call themselves Syeds, if their mothers are Syedas.

held his breath quietly. When Muḥammad Amin Khān came up quite close, Śaulat Jang, recognising his voice, answered him. The aforesaid Khān, on hearing the response, immediately tearing the screen of the *Rath*, and cutting up the tent-ropes brought out Śaulat Jang, and dismounting from his horse embraced him. And Mir Muḥammad Ja'far Khān also coming up, they embraced each other, and after offering thanks to Providence for the safety of Śaulat Jang's life, they indulged in jubiliations. At the time when they were busy with embracing and hand-shakings, Rājā Muḥammad Amin, finding an opportunity, nimbly got out of the *Rath*, and mounting the horse of Muḥammad Amin Khān fled to the jungle, and vanished. When after enquiries into the condition of Śaulat Jang they mounted their own horses, Muḥammad Amin Khān was confounded at the disappearance of his own horse. On subsequently ascertaining the secret, they were all sorry.¹ When the Afghān soldiery, after finishing their work of plunder and sack, rallied round Mir Muḥammad Ja'far Khān, they sent Śaulat Jang to Mahābat Jang, whilst they themselves set out in pursuit of Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqir. Finding the chance of his escape to be slender, the Mirzā became desperate, and opened the battle by shooting rockets and arrows and firing muskets. When the fighting was about to turn to a charge with spears and swords, Murād Khān, the generalissimo of the Rājā of Puri,² who with a large contingent of troops supported Mirzā Bāqir, seizing the rein of the Mirzā's horse, and by use of great persuasion, pulled him back from the battle-field. Becoming his guide, Murād Khān led the Mirzā by a route across the forest towards the Dakhīn. Ali Vardi Khān, after holding a thanksgiving service for meeting Śaulat Jang and obtaining victory, allowed Śaulat Jang to retire to the city of Katak for rest, whilst he himself, after resting some time and being freed from all anxiety on account of the enemy, entered Katak triumphantly. And after chastising fully the adherents and friends of Mirzā Bāqir, Ali Vardi confiscated all the braided³ horses of Mirzā

¹ If Mir Ja'far and his friends were capable of appreciating a practical joke, instead of being sorry, they might have enjoyed a hearty laugh.

² This was Haṣa Qadīr, Rājā of Ratipur, Khurdah, and master or Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple. (See *Śrīraṭṭasāhitya*, Para. text, p. 406, and note ante.)

³ That is, the horses which were supplied to, or had to be kept by military

Bāqir, appointed Shāikh Maʿsum,¹ who was an able General, to the office of Deputy Nāzim of the Ṣubāh of Oḍisah (Orissa), and after finishing the administrative arrangements of that Province returned to Bengal.

Inasmuch as Jagat Isar, Rājah of Morbhanj, had taken sides with Mirzā Bāqir, and had not submitted to the authority of Mahābat Jang, the latter was in anxiety owing to his insolence. Therefore, on arrival at the port of Balasore, he girded up his loins in order to chastise the Rājah. The latter was at Harihar-pūr which contained his mansion, and was at the time plunged in pleasures and amusements. His knowledge of the denseness of the forests that surrounded him, coupled with his command of numerous hordes of Qhawars² and Khandaitis, made him feel insolent, and so he did not pull out the cotton of heedlessness from the ear of sense, nor cared for the army of Ali Vardi Khān. Ali Vardi Khān's army stretching the hand of slaughter and rapine, set about looting and sacking the populations, swept the Rājah's dominion with the broom of spoliation, captured the women and children of the Khandaitis and Qhawars, and sowed dissensions amongst them. The Rājah, seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khān's army, with his effects, followers and dependants, fled to the top of a hill, and hid himself in a secret fastness, beyond the ken of discovery. Ali Vardi Khān then subjugated the tract of Morbhanj, shewed no quarter, and mercilessly carried fire and sword through its limits.

Mir Habib,³ the Generalissimo of Murshid Quli Khān, after the

commanders for military purposes after being branded. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 255, Blochmann's translation for the *Dagh* or branding regulations.

¹ The *Seir* states that his name was "Shāikh Muḥammad Maḥsum, *Pant Patā*." He was appointed Deputy Governor of Orissa, in the place of Saadat Jang, on the recommendation of Ali Vardi's Afghan general, Mustafa Khān, who now got the upper hand in all political affairs. The Shāikh is described as a veteran and brave general. (See *Seir*, Pers. text, p. 505).

² I am told 'Qhawars' is a mistake for "Qhowans" who are Khetris by caste. 'Khandaitis' are also mixed Khetris; they are to be found in large numbers throughout Orissa.

³ This story shews that one of the most prominent Musliman leaders and pillars of the State in Bengal, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, in order to avenge Ali Vardi's overthrow of his master Murshid Quli Khān from the Orissa Government, and to gratify personal vindictiveness, ignored ties of religious obligations and national interest, and joined hands with

latter's defeat, had gone to Raghoji Bhoslah, and persuaded the latter to undertake the conquest of Bengal. At this time, Raghoji Bhoslah, nephew of the Rājah of the Dakhin, was Governor of the *Subah* of Berar. Taking advantage of the circumstance that Mahābat Jang was occupied with the affairs of Orissa, and finding that the whole extent of Bengal was denuded of troops, Raghoji Bhoslah detached his generalissimo, Diwan Bhaskar Pandit, and Ali Qarawāl, who was an able general, with a contingent of sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry from Nagpur, in the company of Mir Hābil, by the route across the forest, in order to invade and pillage Bengal. On receiving news of the approach of Mahratta freebooters, Mahābat Jang abandoned the pursuit of the Morbhanj Rājah, and withdrew towards Bengal.

As yet Ali Vardi Khān had not passed through the forests of Morbhanj, when the army of Mahratta freebooters swooped down from the direction of the *chakla* of Bardwān.¹ Mahābat Jang, with the celerity of lightning and wind, marching swiftly by night and day, reached the inn of Ujālan adjoining to Bardwān. The armies of Mahratta freebooters, concentrating from different directions, commenced looting laggages and tents. The Bengal army, which was ignorant of the tactics of Mahratta freebooters, but which had heard tales about their barbarity and ravages, stood motionless from fear like an army of statues, and were hemmed in and attacked by the freebooters. Their laggages were looted, and their food-supplies were cut off. Horses, elephants, and camels of the Bengal army were captured, and carried off by the freebooters. The army of Mahābat Jang, being tired out by the devastating onslaughts and sieges of the freebooters, broke in disorder. The Mahrattas at once hemming in attacked the

Mahratta freebooters, in order to place the Moslem Satrapy in Bengal under Mahratta heels. The story is an object-lesson, and illustrates the intellectual and moral desolation that had seized Mussalmans in Bengal at the time.

¹ It is related in the *Sair-i-Mulūk* (Pers. text, p. 207), whose author's father, Syed Hedāit Ali Khān, was at the time employed as Fājidar of Magha in Behar, and was on an expedition to the hill-passes of Ramgarh, that the Mahratta cavalry numbering 40,000 led by Bhaskar Pandit, general of Raghoji Bhoslah, swooped down through the above passes, cut through Pachit and Morbhanj, and appeared near the outskirts of Medinipur. Raghoji Bhoslah (misnamed in the Pers. printed text of the *Riwayat*, Raghoji Ghoslah) was a nephew of Rājah Saho and Mahāstar (probably Governor or Chief) of the *Subah* of Berar, and his capital was at Nagpur in the Central Provinces.

elephant *Lundah* on which Mahābat Jang's Begam¹ was mounted, and capturing the elephant dragged it towards their own camp. Muṣāhib Khān Mohmand,² son of U'mar Khān the General, having his Hindustāni courage aroused in him, attacked the freebooters, and advancing his feet of valour and gallantry, by means of valorous onslaughts and Rustam-like onsets, rescued the elephant together with its fair rider from the clutches of the freebooters. In consequence, however, of numerous mortal and ghastly wounds that they received, Muṣāhib Khān and a large number of his comrades and kinsmen drew the red paint of martyrdom on the face, and on that very spot of slaughter were buried. And when the freebooters from impudence and insolence made onslaughts from all sides, Mahābat Jang, of necessity, opened leathern bags of coins, and scattered them on the field.³

¹ It is interesting to note that we saw Ali Vardi Khān's Begam moving beside her husband on an elephant at the battle of Balasore, and we find her again by the side of her husband at this battle with the Mahrattas, near Bardwān. She must have been a lady not only of nerve, but of wisdom, to have been retained by his side as a companion by Ali Vardi at such critical junctures. We saw also that that iron-man Ali Vardi in his usurpation of the Bengal Nizamat, bended himself before Nāṣah Khān and sued for pardon from her. From such incidents, the inference is not without warrant that Mussulman ladies in Bengal even towards the middle of the eighteenth century occupied a different position from what they occupy now, took an active part in the wider concerns of their husbands, and exercised a powerful and beneficent influence both in the domains of politics and Society.

² His name would indicate he was an Afghān belonging to the Mohmand tribe.

³ The *Seir-ul-Malahharin* (Pers. text, pp. 507-513) gives a very graphic description of this first Mahratta invasion of Bengal (1155 A.H.), and of the causes which rendered it possible. The first cause was the instigation of Asif Jah (of Mir Habib, according to the *Riwayat* which seems more probable; for Asif Jah was too high-minded to set loose Mahratta freebooters on a Mussulman exstropy); the second cause was the discontent of Ali Vardi Khān's Afghān troops and officers, notably of Muṣṭafa Khān, as Ali Vardi Khān had disbanded many Afghān levies after the Katik expedition to rescue Šaulat Jang; the third cause was the treacherous assassination by Ali Vardi of the Rājah of Morbihān, whose murder was reposed by Muṣṭafa Khān. The *Seir* further states that when Bhaskar Paṇḍit reached near Bardwān *vid* Pachit with 25,000 cavalry (given out as 40,000 cavalry), Ali Vardi Khān was on his way back from Orissa at Midnapur, with only 4 or 5,000 cavalry and 4 or 5,000 infantry, the latter having ordered back all his other troops to Murhīdāhād with Šaulat Jang. Ali Vardi reached Bardwān with this small army. Bha-

Thus diverting the freebooters with the work of picking up coins, Mahābat Jang seized this respite, and with the celerity of lightning and wind riding out at full gallop arrived at Bardwān. The hungry troops, who for three days and nights had not seen the face of food-stuffs, quenched the fire of their hunger with the stores of Bardwān. The army of Mahratta freebooters followed up in pursuit. Sacking villages and towns of the surrounding tracts, and engaging in slaughters and captures, they set fire to granaries, and spared no vestige of fertility. And when the stores and granaries of Bardwān were exhausted, and the supply of imported grains was also completely cut off, to avert death by starvation, human beings ate plantain-roots, whilst animals were fed on the leaves of trees. Even these gradually ceased to be available. For breakfasts and suppers, nothing except the discs of the sun and the moon feasted their eyes. And for nights and days together, being constantly mounted on their high saddles, they did not even dream of sleep. The Afghān and Bhāliāh troops becoming desperate, determined to die hard. Mahābat Jang, seeing signs of defeat, owing to the exhausted condition of his soldiery, held a Council of War. It was at last decided to place the artillery round the army, and to put baggage in the centre, and in this form to march out expeditionally from Bardwān to Katwāh, where food and fodder would be either procurable, or could be imported by waterways or highways from the environs of Murāhidābād, to relieve the distressed soldiery. In short, in pursuance of

the Pādīt having heard of Ali Vardī's bravery, proposed to the latter to give him ten lakhs of rupees by way of his entertainment expenses, in which case he would return to his own country. Ali Vardī received this suggestion with disdain. For some time he was hard-pressed by the Mahrattas, especially owing to the defection of his Afghān officers and troops. Ali Vardī then with Sirsūd-d-daulah waited on his Afghān General-in-Chief, Mustafā Khān, told him to kill him with his grand-son, or else to give him his support, in order to oppose this Mahratta invasion. Mustafā Khān, together with other Afghān officers now fought bravely against heavy odds with the Mahrattas, and Ali Vardī succeeded in retiring to Katwāh, where provisions with a reinforcement came up under Šaulat Jang from Murāhidābād. At Katwāh, Mustafā Khān inflicted a severe defeat on Bhaskar Pādīt, who now seriously thought of returning to his own country *vis* Birbhūm; but his chief adviser, Mir Habib, dissuaded him and brought him back from Birbhūm to Katwāh, holding out prospects of loot, and making himself responsible for the Mahratta conquest of Bengal.

this plan, setting out at night from Bardwān, Mahābat Jang's army marched towards Katwāh, and in a short interval by forced marches reached Katwāh. The light Mahratta cavalry, however, covered forty *karoh* a day, and thus before Mahābat Jang's arrival at Katwāh, they had already burnt down its fields, farms, and granaries, and reduced them to ashes. The army of Mahābat Jang now being in a state of utter despair, sent up to the skies wails, similar to the following:—

We never get relief from distress;
To whatever country we roam,
We see the sky alone.

However, Hāji Ahmad collecting the bakers of Murshidābād got breads prepared, and sent these together with other eatables and food-stuffs on boats to Katwāh. Other provisions and food-grains were also similarly conveyed gradually and in large quantities. At last, Mahābat Jang's army were saved from starvation, and their cattle also received a grateful supply of fodder and grass. Mahābat Jang's soldiers, whose houses were in Murshidābād, felt home-sick, and gradually drifted away towards their homes.

As Mir Sharif, brother of Mir Habib, together with the family treasures, dependants and children, was at Murshidābād, Mir Habib with seven hundred Mahratta cavalry swooped down on Murshidābād, in order to relieve his brother. Marching expeditionally, night and day, early at day-break, Mir Habib reached Dihpārah and Ganj Muhammad Khān,¹ to which he set fire. And opposite to the Citadel, crossing the river Bhāgirati, Mir Habib reached his residence, and taking out Mir Sharif, together with his treasures, effects, followers, and dependants, he kept them in his company. Sweeping clean the houses of numerous residents of the City with the broom of plunder, and looting as much gold and silver coins as he could from the houses of Jagat Set, and capturing Murād Ali Khān,² a son-in-law of Sarfaraz Khān, and Rājah Dulabh Rām³ and Mir Shujāu-d-din, Superintendent of the

¹ These would seem to have been suburbs of Murshidābād.

² He was a son of Nafisah Begam, sister of Sarfaraz Khān, and subsequently became the latter's son-in-law, and in Sarfaraz Khān's time held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar. See n. ante.

³ Dulabh Rām was a son of Rājah Janakiram, Peshkar, and was appointed by

Bājutarah Sair daties, he encamped at Tiratkonah, which was to the west of the City, at a distance of one *faruḳā*. Hājī Ahmad, Nawāzish Ahmad Khān and Husain Quli Khān, who were in the City, at the very sight of the Mahratta cavalry, firing their guns once or twice, and closing the avenues to the City as well as the gates of the Citadel, entrenched themselves, but found it impossible to fight and disperse the enemy, or to defend the City. On the next day, Mahābat Jang, with his army marching night and day, entered Murshidābād. Then the Mahrattas abandoned the idea of assaulting the City, and after desolating the surrounding tracts across the river returned to Katwāh. The rainy season now set in. In view of the tumultuousness of the river, the Mahrattas now suspended their fighting, established their quarters at Katwāh, and from there commenced making administrative arrangements. Giving Mir Habib a free hand in all affairs, Bhaakar Paṇḍit himself remained at Katwāh, and sent out detachments in all directions for raid and plunder. Similarly, Mahābat Jang, in view of giving rest to his army, did not move out of the City.

As in his earlier years, Mir Habib had lived at Hugli, the latter place still abounded with many of his kinsmen and friends. Their headman, Mir Abu-l-Ḥasan Sarkhil, now laid plans to surprise Hugli. He won over many of the Maghals to his side, and held secret correspondence with Mir Habib. Mir Muḥammad Riqā, the Deputy Faujdār of Hugli,¹ used to treat Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan as his right-hand in all affairs.

Mahābat Jang Subadar of Orissa, in place of Abdul Rasul Khān who was recalled, Dalāb Rām had been before Peshkar in Orissa. Dalāb Rām exhibited great cowardice when the Mahrattas invaded Orissa. The Mahrattas captured him, and he was released on payment of a heavy ransom after a year. He was very superstitious, and spent his time mostly in the company of Sanjānis, who turned out to be Mahratta spies. See *Sair-i-Mutakharir*, p. 245 (Pers. text).

¹ In the *Sair-i-Mutakharir* (Pers. text, p. 514) it is stated that Muḥammad Yar Khān, a step-brother of Ali Vardī Khān, was at the time Governor of the Port of Hugli, and that Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan and Mir Abū-l-Qasim, who were intimate with the above Governor, conspired with Mir Habib, and induced the Governor by their treacherous assurances to admit Mir Habib into the Fort of Hugli. After thus treacherously selling Hugli, Mir Habib installed as its Governor Sir Rāo, a Mahratta, whilst he himself played the rôle of the Chief Administrator of Mahratta affairs in Bengal, and divided his residence between Hugli and Katwāh.

In blissful ignorance of the fact that he had a traitor in his camp, the Deputy Faujdār passed nights and days in carousals. At length, at the instigation of Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan, Mir Ḥabīb with a detachment of two thousand cavalry commanded by Sīs Rāo advanced to Hugli, and at midnight arriving at the gate of its Fort announced his arrival to Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan. Whilst Muḥammad Rīzā, arranging a feast of revelry, was quite absorbed in watching the dancing of some pretty women, Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan said to the former: "Mir Ḥabīb has come alone to visit you, and is waiting at the gate of the fort." Under the influence of liquor, the Deputy Faujdār unhesitatingly ordered the gate of the Fort to be thrown open and to admit Mir Ḥabīb. Entering the Fort, Mir Ḥabīb with the concurrence of Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan placed Muḥammad Rīzā and Mirzā Pīran under surveillance, established himself inside the Fort, and posted his own guards at its gate. The noblemen and residents of the town that very night fled to Chūchrah (Chinnurah) and other places, and took refuge in the houses of the Dutch and French. Next morning, Sīs Rāo with his detachment of cavalry entered the Fort. Many of the Mughal residents who were Mir Ḥabīb's acquaintances were introduced to Sīs Rāo by Mir Ḥabīb. The Rāo treated them courteously and deferentially, reassured every one of them, and issuing proclamations of peace and security forbade the Mahrattas from looting or sacking the town. He persuaded the Zamindārs to assess and collect the revenue, and appointing as usual Qāzis, Muhtasibs and other officers to administer justice, he bestowed the office of Faujdār on Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan. Mir Ḥabīb, carrying off some guns and ammunitions together with a flotilla of sloops from Hugli, rejoined Bhāskar Paṇḍit at Katwāh.

As it was the rainy season, Mir Ḥabīb deputed Mir Mihīr with a detachment of musketeers on boats for collecting revenue from the mahals across the Ganges. But Mir Mihīr, from fear of Mahābat Jang, did not land. The agents of the Zamindārs proceeded to Mir Ḥabīb, and paying him large sums obtained guards for the immunity of their tracts from the ravages and loot of Mahratta freebooters. The wealthy nobility and gentry, to save their family honour, quitted their homes, and migrated across the Ganges.¹ The whole tract from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal)

¹ That is to say, there was a general exodus of the Mussalman nobility and gentry from the western side of the Ganges (that is, from Southern and West-

to Medinipur and Jalaiar (Jalagore) came into the possession of the Mahrattas. Those murderous freebooters drowned in the rivers a large number of the people, after cutting off their ears, noses and hands. Tying sacks of dirt to the mouths of others, they mangled and burnt them with indescribable tortures. Thus they desolated and dishonoured the family and children of a whole world. Mahābat Jang, making strenuous efforts towards the chastisement and expulsion of the insolent enemy, set about collecting troops and armaments. Requisitioning to Murshidābād a large flotilla of boats from the neighbourhood of Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), from the Jilengi, from Māldah, and Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), &c., he constructed a road leading to Katwāh. From the eastern bank of the Bhagirati he detached for bridge-making twelve thousand pioneers and sappers on boats, and attended to the comforts of the army. Collecting paraphernalia, horses, elephants, and swords, and winning the hearts of his soldiery by bestowing on them gifts and increments in pay, he encouraged and incited them to fight. Finding the enemy absorbed in political affairs relating to Zamindārs, Revenue-Collectors and Administrators, Mahābat Jang seized this op-

eru Bengal) to its Eastern and Northern sides (that is, Eastern and Northern Bengal) which were immune from Mahratta raids. Those who are at pains to account for the comparatively large Musalman population in Eastern and Northern Bengal and are ready to put forward more or less fanciful theories, might perhaps take into consideration the above circumstance, and also the following facts which I summarise from the *Sair-i-Mutakkerin* (a contemporary account). The *Sair* states that in this wave of Mahratta invasion of Bengal, the whole of the *Chalkha* of Bardwān, Medinipur, Balasore, Katāk, Rirbhūm, some paraganahs of Rajshahi (probably those on the south side of the river) Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) were overwhelmed, whilst only Murshidābād and the countries on the other side (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges remained peacefully in possession of Ali Vardī Khān, that in the rainy season, even the populations of Murshidābād, apprehending Mahratta raids, migrated en masse on boats to the other sides (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges, such as Jahangirnagar or Dacca, Māldah, Rampore Beaulah, &c., and that even Nawab Shihmaut Jang (Ali Vardī's son-in-law) with his family and children moved across the river to Golagari, a place close to Rampore Beaulah, on the north bank of the Ganges or Pada. These historical facts occurring as they did only in the middle of the eighteenth century, would sufficiently explain why the Musalman populations in Western Bengal and even near Murshidābād (the latest Musalman capital in Bengal) are numerically much less than those in Eastern or Northern Bengal (See *Sair-i-Mutakkerin*, Pers. text, pp. 464 and 514).

portunity, and held a Council of War with his *Afghān* and *Bhallaḥ* Generals in view of delivering a night-attack. In pursuance of this plan, *Mahābat Jang* marched expeditiously with a large and efficient army, and by forced marches, at midnight, reached a place just opposite to *Katwāh*. In the cover of the night's darkness, he instantly floated a bridge of boats that had been kept ready from before, and with a large army commenced crossing the river. Whilst he with the officers and some veteran soldiers had crossed the river, the bridge suddenly gave way under the heavy weight of a large army. Some of the boats sank, whilst a large number of *Afghāns* and *Bhallaḥs* were drowned in the river. *Mahābat Jang*, on learning about this mishap, was engulfed in a sea of confusion. His mind was racked with anxiety. He realised that the entire army from the eastern bank of the river had been unable to cross over, and that he alone with a handful of troops was on the western bank face to face with the enemy. In consequence, he apprehended that in the event of the enemy getting scent of his movement, he would meet with a terrible disaster. He, therefore, put out the torches, and gave directions for immediately repairing the broken portions of the bridge. After the bridge was repaired, he ordered the whole army to cross over and join him. As the enemy was heedless and negligent, everything ended well. *Kishwar Khān*, the Deputy *Faujdar*, and *Mānkant*, the commandant of the pioneers and sappers, quickly rendered the damaged boats water-tight by plastering their cracks and rents with mud and bits of wood, and thus displayed *Lugmān*-like skill. An army, waving like the sea, swiftly crossed the bridge, rallied round *Mahābat Jang* and his Generals, and quickly unsheathing their swords, in a solid and clamorous phalanx, like some heavenly disaster, swooped down on the enemy. Shouts rose up on every side.

True, the night was dark, but the sword flashed,
 So as amidst the dusky clouds, lightning flashes.
 From profuse shedding of blood on that battle-field,
 Earth's face turned crimson.
 Heaps of corpses crashed on heaps of corpses,
 Aye, formed veritable mounds on every side.

Overwhelmed with disaster, and unable to stand their ground, *Mir Habib* and *Bhāskar Pandit* with other *Mahratta* officers fled

from the battle-field, leaving their army to their fate, just as a cow is left to the tender mercies of a butcher. A crushing defeat¹ was inflicted on the Mahratta army, which was triumphantly chased to some distance. Bhaskar and other Mahratta Generals fell back to Rāmgadh, from where with common consent they marched with colority across jungles, to invade and ravage the *Ṣubāh* of Orissa.

Shaikh Muḥammad Ma'sūm, the Deputy Nazim of Orissa, in order to resist the enemy, advanced from Katak, and opposed the enemy's march. When the two armies encountered each other, the fire of conflict flared up once again. Although the Zamindāra had deserted his side, with a small band numbering five thousand cavalry and infantry, Shaikh Muḥammad Ma'sūm stood his ground dauntlessly on the field. The Mahratta army, which was more numerous than ants and locusts, surrounded Shaikh Ma'sūm from all sides like a circle, and slaughtered him together with his comrades. The *Ṣubāh* of Oḡṣāh (Orissa), together with the Fort of Barabāti and the citadel of the City of Katak, fell once again into the hands of the enemy.

Nawāb Mahābat Jang, on hearing of the above disaster, marched swiftly to Bardwān. He paid to each soldier two months' pay, and also other gifts on account of the victory of Katwāh, advanced to Katak, and repeatedly assaulting the Mahratta troops drove them from Katak, and victoriously entered its citadel. Leaving General Abdu-r-Rasūl Khān, who was a second Muṣṭafā Khān, and

¹ This defeat of the Mahrattas at Katwāh took place in 1155 A.H. The *Seir* states that after his defeat at Katwāh, Bhāskar Pandit, the Mahratta General, fled through the hill-passes of Poghāt into a forest, but losing his way, and not succeeding in making his retreat to his own country (Nagpur), under the guidance of Mir Habib, came back to the jungles of Bishanpur, passed through them to the jungles of Qhandrakonah, emerged at Mīdanpur, and made for Katak, fought with and killed Shaikh Ma'sūm, Subādar of Orissa. Mahābat Jang hotly chased Bhāskar Pandit up to the confines of the Chilka Lake, but Bhāskar succeeded in effecting his retreat into the Dakhin. Then Mahābat Jang returned to Katak, where he installed Abdul Nāḥī Khān (nephew of Shaikh Ma'sūm) as Subādar of Orissa, and left Dulab Ram (son of Hajjāh Janaki Ram) as Peshkar under the latter, and then returned to Murshidabad (p. 639, *Seir-i-Mutakherin*, Pers. text).

There is a village called Masampur about 11 miles north from Katak. It is a colony of respectable Muhammedans, and is probably named so after the above Shaikh Ma'sūm Panipati. Six miles from Masampur, is another colony of respectable Mussalmans at Balihpur.

who was also the latter's nephew, as the Deputy Nazim of Orissa, together with a contingent of six thousand cavalry and infantry, Mahābat Jang returned to the Šūbah of Bengal.

On receiving news of the defeat of Bhāskar Pandit, Sis Rāo evacuating the fort of Hugli retreated to Bishsupūr. Other Mahratta officers, who were posted at different places for the collection of revenue, also fled. The Collectors and Fanjdārs of Mahābat Jang entered the ravaged tracts, and again set about to re-settle them.

But Bhāskar Pandit, after his defeat, sent *Bairagi* dacoits towards Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), Bhāgalpūr, and Behār. Mahābat Jang, who had not yet breathed freely, again set out from Bengal for those places. He had not yet reached the Šūbah of Behār, when the *Bairagi*s retreating from those parts swooped down on Murshidābād. Mahābat Jang fell back from Behar, and pursued them. These *Bairagi* freebooters were busy with looting Balūchar, when the music of the drum and tambourine of Mahābat Jang's vanguard rang in the ears of those maniacs. Losing all courage, and leaving behind bags of booty, they fled from Balūchar. Mahābat Jang chased them up to Rāmgadh, from where he returned.

In short, this sort of guerrilla warfare lasted three years. Victories on both sides were mingled with defeats, and it was hard to decide which side eventually came off the best. Nawāb Mahābat Jang, following the saying that "war is made up of fraud," diplomatically established friendly relations with Ali Qarawāl, who was one of the Mahratta leaders that had embraced the Muḥammadan faith, and was surnamed Ali Bhāi. From considerations of expediency, Mahābat Jang invited him over. Receiving him kindly and courteously, using dissimulation and artfulness, and professing friendship and benignity, he made him consent to arrange an interview between himself and Bhāskar Pandit with other Mahratta Generals. Heedless of the duplicity of the times, that simpleton was taken in, and arrived at Diknagar. He induced Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals to meet Mahābat Jang, by conveying to them the assurances and avowals of Mahābat Jang with reference to the settlement of the *Chauth* and the establishment of friendly relations. And these, in accordance with the saying;— "One perceiveth according to the length¹ of his sight," placing

¹ The Arabic saying is

إذا جاهد البصر

the finger of acceptance on their blind eyes, summoned to their presence Rājā Jānaki Rām and Muṣṭafā Khān for fixing the basis of a treaty, and for ratifying it by protestations and oaths. These going over to Bhāskar made vows and oaths, according to the forms of their respective religions and creeds. Muṣṭafā Khān had with him, under a cover, a brick instead of the *Qoran*, and holding it he repeated oaths. Falling into the trap laid by Mahābat Jang, and reiterating the vows of peace, Ali Bhāi and Bhāskar with other Mahratta Generals promised to meet Mahābat Jang at a place called Mankarah,¹ and permitted Muṣṭafā Khān and Rājā Jānaki Rām to return. These going to Mahābat Jang assured him of the success of their mission, and related the mutual promises and vows that had taken place. Expressing his satisfaction, Mahābat Jang ostensibly set about collecting valuable *khillats* and jewelleries, together with elephants, horses, and other rare and precious presents for presentation to the afore-said Mahratta Generals. Announcing to the general public news of the approaching peace, Mahābat Jang covertly laid a plot of treachery, and took into confidence his own Generals towards its development. He picked out veteran and brave soldiers from his army, and caused long and wide tents, capable of holding large detachments with horses and elephants, to be pitched at Mankarah. Himself going into one of the tents, he arranged a grand party of friends and comrades. He secreted in battle-array inside the tents a battalion of picked men, and sent a message to Ali Bhāi to bring over Bhāskar with all the Mahratta Generals. In short, Bhāskar, leaving all his troops in camp, came to Ali Vardi's tent, together with Ali Bhāi and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals. The tent-pitchers following the signal dropped down the screens of the pavilion, tied them strongly with tent-ropes, and cut off the ingress and egress of friends and foes. Mahābat Jang, at the very sight of Bhāskar, said to his comrades who were waiting for the signal: "Kill these heathen sinners."² Instantly, swords sprang up from every side on the Mahrattas.

¹ In *Sar* (p. 329) Mankara is described as lying on the banks of the Bhagirathi. How the wily Ali Vardi Khān treacherously inveigled Bhāskar, Poddā and other Mahratta Generals into his tent, is lucidly described in the *Seira-i-Mutakhirin* (p. 529). In this game of treachery, Ali Vardi Khān's principal confidants were Muṣṭafā Khān and Rājā Jānaki Rām, the *Peshkar*. It must, however, be added that the Mahrattas were well paid back in their own coin.

² The expression given in the *Sar* (p. 630) is: "Kill this enemy."

The clamour of assault rose up to the skies,
Breasts were pierced through by swords.

Bhāskar and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals were butchered. In the midst of this carnage, Mahābat Jang mounting an elephant ordered the music of victory to be struck up, and ordered his select battalion to charge the Mahratta army with their swords. On seeing this, one ¹ of the Mahratta Generals, who was posted outside the pavilion with ten thousand cavalry, fled together with his force. Mahābat Jang's soldiers pouncing like fighting lions on this flock of sheep fiercely attacked the Mahratta troops, and slaughtered them, right and left, raising human shambles, and captured those who escaped the sword. On hearing of this disaster, other Mahratta detachments which were encamped at Bardwān and Diknagar, ² &c., or patrolled the tracts between Medinipur and Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) fled to Nāgpūr.

When news of this disaster reached the ear of Raghoji Bhoslah,

He knitted his brow, from fury of rage,
And coiled, like a serpent, from anxiety of lost treasures.
He kindled such a fire of wrath in his heart,
That he scorched himself from head to foot.

After the rainy season was over, Raghoji Bhoslah ³ mobilised a large force, and marched towards Bengal, to avenge the

¹ His name was Raghu Gankwar. (See *Sair*, p. 531). Mustafī Khān tried hard to inveigle him also into Ali Vardi's tent, but this Mahratta General appears to have been an uncommonly shrewd man, and said he would wait on Ali Vardi Khān on the following day, after Bhaskar Pradit and Ali Bhat had returned from their interview with Ali Vardi.

² In the printed Pers. text 'Diknagar,' which place I cannot locate.

³ The *Sarab-Nutahrave* (Pers. text, pp. 545-548) gives a very laud account of this second Mahratta invasion of Bengal by Raghoji Bhoslah. It appears that important affairs transpired in the meantime in the Bengal Subrapy, which made for this second Mahratta invasion. In the first place, Mustafī Khān, the Afghan General-in-Chief and the chief pillar of the State of Ali Vardi Khān, fell out with the latter, and was locked up in fighting against Ali Vardi's son-in-law, Zaid-din Khān, Subādar of Aśhrabad (Patna). Whilst harried by the well-formed battalions of Zaid-din Khān, Mustafī Khān, like Mir Habib, took the unusual step to invite over to Bengal Raghoji Bhoslah, who seized the invitation with avidity and marched with Mir Habib (the implacable foe of Ali Vardi and the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas), towards Kutak. At this time at Kutak, a cowardly person ruled as Ali

slaughter of Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals, and engaging on massacres, captures, and plunders, tortured many of his cap-

Vardi's Subādar in Orissa. His name was Dulab Ram, and he was a son of Raja Janaki Ram, Ali Vardi's Pongkar. Ali Vardi had appointed Dulab Ram as Subādar, in the place of Abdul Rasul Khān (son of Abdul Nāli Khān) who had resigned his office and joined Muzaffar at Patna. Dulab Ram was not only cowardly, but superstitious, and most probably, also treacherous (as his subsequent conduct towards Ali Vardi's grandson indicates). He associated at Katik with the Saungas, most of whom were spies in the employ of Raghoji Bhoslah. As soon as Dulab Ram heard of the approach of the Mahrattas, he attempted to run away; but was soon after captured by the Mahrattas. At this time, a small band of Syeds, under the command of Mir Abdul Aziz, bravely held out for over a month in the Fort of Barabati. The heroic stand against heavy odds made by this small beleaguered garrison and its unflinching loyalty, once more relieves the darkness of the moral chaos that had seized the times. When enjoined and threatened by Raghoji Bhoslah's friend, Mir Habib, and entreated by Dulab Ram and by his own brother to join Raghoji's side, Mir Abdul Aziz returned the following gallant and loyal answer: "I own no brother nor any other master; I acknowledge only one master, namely, Mahāmat Jang; true, some cowards have joined you; but from regard for the sark I have eaten, I will, by God, stand by this Fort, so long as there is breath in my life." (Sair, p. 546). As however, no reinforcements came up, though over a month had elapsed, and as all provisions had run out, this noble band of beleaguered garrison had at length to capitulate on honourable terms to Raghoji Bhoslah, who made himself master of the Fort Barabati and also of the whole of Orissa provinces, as well as of Madanpur, Raghil and Bardwan. Ali Vardi was occupied at this time in Patna in crushing out the Afghan revolt under Muzaffar Khān. When Muzaffar Khān was slain and the Afghan revolt was crushed, Ali Vardi hastened back to Bengal. At this time, Raghoji was encamped at Birbhum. Meanwhile the Afghan comrades of the late Muzaffar Khān, who lay in a death-trap in the Jungles of Tikari asked Raghoji to help them, and promised him their adhesion. Raghoji marched to Tikari to their rescue via the Jungles of Birbhum and Kharskpur, looting en route the villages of Shukpura and Tikari, &c. Mahāmat Jang followed quickly in their heels and moved to Patna. From Patna, Raghoji (on the advice of Mir Habib, who was the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, also in this second Mahratta invasion) turned towards Murghidābād, pursued closely by Ali Vardi, whose pursuit was hot and unrelenting. At Katwā, another battle was fought, in which the Mahrattas were worsted. Finding that victory was out of the question, and hearing of some troubles in his own country, Raghoji now prudently withdrew to his own country at Nagpur, leaving in Bengal his friend, guide, and philosopher, Mir Habib, with 3,000 Mahrattas and 7,000 Afghan troops. (See *Sair-i-Mutalibin*, Pers. text, p. 551). It would seem a despicable moral chaos had at this time seized the country, in which neither religious ties

fives. Ali Vardī Khān with a large army again advanced to encounter the enemy. At this juncture, Balāji Rāo, ¹son of Bājī Rāo Pandit, Peshwā and generalissimo of Rājāh Sāhū, who was young, and had enmity with Raghoji, under orders of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, came from the Imperial Capital (Dihli) to Bengal with sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry, to re-inforce Ali Vardī Khān. Mahābat Jang, finding floods of disaster approaching Bengal from two sides, shewed firmness and foresight. He deputed experienced envoys with presents to Balāji Rāo, won him over to his side by display of courtesy and sincerity, met him at Birbhūm, established friendly relations with him, and both unitedly resolved to drive out Raghoji Bhooslah. Raghoji finding it impracticable to accomplish the object of his mission withdrew to his own country, without gaining his end. Being somewhat relieved of his anxiety by the withdrawal of Raghoji Bhooslah, Mahābat Jang presented a large amount of cash to Balāji Rāo, and thus sent him out of Bengal in a contented and thankful mood, whilst he himself returned to Bengal. Being inwardly in anxiety as to the demand of Raghoji for *Chauth*, Mahābat Jang set about mobilising troops.

At this moment, a rupture occurred between Ali Vardī Khān and

nor national sentiments were held of any account. One finds now Mussalman Afghans (at the instigation of two Mussalman leaders, Mir Hāshim and Muḥaffẓ Khān), fighting the battles of Hindu Mahratta freebooters against a Mussalman power in Bengal. The event is a dark land-mark in Moslem history of Bengal, and marks the sad disintegration and moral paralysis that had now seized the Mussalman race in Bengal or, for the matter of that, in India. (See *Seir*, Pers. text, pp. 558-595).

¹ Balaji Rao (the generalissimo of the Imperial Army in the Dakhn) and Sāddar Jang, son-in-law of Burhān-i-Mulk, the Subādar of Oudh, were ordered by Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, to help Ali Vardī against the Mahrattas under Raghoji. Whilst seeking Imperial assistance, Ali Vardī wrote the following pregnant and prophetic words to the Emperor :—"Should Bengal which is the financial mainstay of the Empire fall, your Majesty's Empire will be shorn of all lustre." (See *Seir*, p. 516, Pers. text). These words had reference to the fact that Bengal had ever been the best milch-cow of the Empire. Sāddar Jang did not pull on with Ali Vardī, and so was recalled by the Emperor, whilst Balaji Rao (whose designs were also suspected by the shrewd Ali Vardī) who had come to Mankar by way of Patna, was courteously shown out of Bengal by the latter. (See *Seir*, pp. 522 and 524). In this connection, the *Seir* (p. 524) gives the story of a Mussalman amazon in the person of the widow of the late Muḥammad Ghāns Khān who resided at Bhagalpur, and who held out bravely against Balaji Rao.

Mustafā Khān, the Afghān General, and it was so far accentuated that all the Afghāns combining with the latter, broke out into revolt, and set out with a large force for Azimābād (Patna), in order to storm that City, and to capture Ḥājī Aḥmad and Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān. On reaching Munḡir (Monghyr), Mustafā Khān besieged the Fort of Monghyr. The Commandant of the Fort prepared to fight. Abdu-r-raṣūl Khān, ¹ a cousin of Mustafā Khān, advancing in the inebriation of the wine of valour and daring, wanted to storm the Fort, by battering down its gate. The guards of the Fort hurled down a huge stone on his head. From the blow of that heavy stone, his head was smashed to atoms. Mustafā Khān, viewing this disaster to be a bad omen, abandoned the siege of Monghyr, marched with celerity to Azimābād, (Patna), engaged in besieging the latter City, and commenced fighting with Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān. Most of the detachments of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, not being able to stand their ground in the face of the onslaughts of the Afghāns, retreated to the citadel, but Zainu-d-dīn Khān himself with a small squadron of cavalry, artillery, and *Bhālāh* musketeers remained out in the open to encounter the enemy. At this moment, the Afghāns fell to plundering and pillaging the tents of Zainu-d-dīn's troops who had retreated. Seeing Mustafā Khān now left with a small force, Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān formed a van-guard of artillerymen and *Bhālāh* musketeers, and commenced an assault.² The shells of guns and bullets of muskets now commenced showering like hail. Most of Mustafā Khān's comrades tasted the bitter potion of death; whilst one bullet, hitting Mustafā Khān on the socket, blinded one of his eyes. Then Zainu-d-dīn's other troops who had retreated to the citadel also rushed out, attacked the Afghāns, and put them to the sword. Mustafā Khān on being defeated retreated to Jagdishpūr.³ Becoming victorious and triumphant, Zainu-d-dīn Khān struck up the band of victory, made his State entry into the Fort, and next engaged on chasing the enemy. Mustafā Khān now sent a message to Raghoji Bhoslah,⁴ and asked for help.

¹ He was Subādar of Orissa before Dalah Rani. See note ante.

² The whole thing would seem to have been a well-planned tactical move on the part of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, who was a good General, strong in tactics.

³ The printed Persian text of the Rīyas has throughout "Raghoji Bhoslah."

⁴ Bhoslah is obviously a misreading or misprint for "Bhalsah."

⁵ "Jagdishpūr" or "Jagdispur," is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari (Vol. I

Raghoji, who was waiting for such an opportunity, was delighted, and prepared to despatch reinforcements. But Mahābat Jang, on being apprised of this news, swiftly marched to Azimābād (Patna). The Bengal and Azimābād (Patna) armies forming a junction combined to attack Mustafā Khān. After much fighting, Mustafā Khān, finding it impossible to hold his own, retreated in a hapless condition across the frontier of Azimābād to Ghāzipūr; whilst Mahābat Jang becoming victorious and triumphant returned to Murshidābād. Mustafā Khān again collected a large force of cavalry and infantry, and again invaded Azimābād. Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān, according to the adage "One who is beaten once can be beaten twice," with his victorious troops encountered him, and after much efforts and countless exertions, and after much slaughters and fightings, became victorious, whilst Mustafā Khān, as a retribution for his disloyalty, was slain on the battle-field. Zainu-d-din Khān cutting off the head of that wretch from his body tied his corpse to the feet of an elephant which was patrolled round the city to serve as a warning, and also suspended his head at the City Gate.

At this juncture, Raghoji Bhoslah despatched to Bengal a Mahāratta army under the command of his son Rajah Jānoji, his adopted son, Mohan Singh, and the miscreant Mir Bahib, in order to demand the *Chauth*.¹ A large number of Mustafā Khān's Afghan ad-

pp. 400 and 428, Hochmann's Tr.) It was the "stronghold in Akbar's time of Rajah 'Gajpato' or 'Kachite,' who was the greatest Zemindar in Behar at the time." In the 16th year of Akbar's reign, Akbar's General, Shahbas Khān, i-Kanbu, operated against this Rajah who fled, and Shahbas then conquered Jagdiapūr, when the whole family of the Rajah was captured, Shahbas then conquered Shergadh, which was held by Sri Ram, Gajpatt's son, and about the same time took possession of Rohtas.

¹ This third Mahāratta invasion of Bengal under Jānoji, son of Raghoji Bhoslah (with him being of course the inevitable Mir Bahib as the Chief Adviser and as guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahārattas), is also incidentally narrated in the *Sair-i-Mutakbiria* (Pers. text, pp. 555-562). Jānoji came to Katak, whilst Ali Vardi's newly-nominated Deputy Subadar of Orissa, Mir Jafar, was still at Mednīpūr, on his way to Katak. On hearing of the Mahāratta incursion, Mir Jafar (who secretly was conspiring against Ali Vardi) retired to Bardwan. The Mahārattas then advanced to Bardwan. After some indecisive skirmishing, Jānoji made for Murshidābād, and after doing some looting in its neighbourhood retreated to Mednīpūr, pursued by Ali Vardi Khān. In the meantime, Jānoji's principal adviser, Mir Bahib, had opened treacherous negotiations with the late Mustafā Khān's Afghan adherents.

herents also joined them, and the market of fight and slaughter once again became warm in the conflict between Mahābat Jang and the Marhattas. The *Subah* of Orissa fell into the hands of Janoji, whilst weakness set in in the Province of Bengal. Mir Habib opened negotiations for the settlement of the *Chauth* of Bengal. Nawāzish Ahmad Khān, Ahsan Quli Khān,¹ Jagat Set, and the Rai-Rāiān² exerted themselves strenuously on the side of peace. But

in Darbhanga and its neighbourhood, and there had effected a sanguinary revolution by treacherously killing at a Darbar Zaim-ul-dīn Khān, Subādār of Patna. Now Janoji moved to Patna (with him being Mir Habib), and Ali Vardi also proceeded to Patna. Ali Vardi now rose to the height of his generalship, and succeeded in crushing and routing his united Afghan and Marhatta foes in a great battle near Barh. (See the spirited description of this battle in the *Seir*, p. 566). Janoji, now receiving news of his mother's death, retreated to Nagpur, leaving Mir Habib towards Katak and Mednīpur with some Mahratta and Afghan troops (*Seir*, p. 576). Shortly after, Raghoji sent to Mir Habib another Mahratta reinforcement under Manaji, younger brother of Janoji [Nohas Singh of the text is obviously a mistake or misprint for Manaji]. Ali Vardi marched out with his army from Murshidābād and passed through Kairwah, Bardwan, Mednīpur, Bhadrak, and Jajpur; whilst Mir Habib with his Mahratta and Afghan troops fell back from Mednīpur towards Katak. Ali Vardi triumphantly entered once more the City of Katak, and recaptured the Fort of Barsati, after killing its commanders, Serandas Khān, Syed Nur, and Dharam Das (p. 578, *Seir*). Para. text. This re-conquest, however, proved abortive, for whilst Ali Vardi was still at Balasore on his way towards Murshidābād, Mir Habib with his light Mahratta and Afghan cavalry swooped down on Katak, and killed Shāikh Abdus Subhan, who had been left there as Deputy Governor by Ali Vardi. (See pp. 579-580 of the *Seir*, which also gives a good description of the Katak City). The Mahrattas, it would seem, always moved with light and mobile cavalry, whilst Ali Vardi's army was not equally light or mobile. Ali Vardi had, therefore (despite the fact that next to Asafjah, he was the first General of the time in India) to encounter the same difficulties in encountering Mahratta troops, that the British had in encountering the Boers in the late South African War. In the end, it is true, Ali Vardi triumphed, but the price that he had to pay for his apparent victory was too much, nor did he survive it long enough to reap its benefit.

¹ In a former part of the text, he is named "Humāin Quli Khān," which appears to be correct. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, Para. text, p. 495). Humāin Quli Khān was Naib or Deputy of Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān, son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khān, and Governor of Chakla Jahangirnagar (Dacca), including *Sihat* and Chitragong.

² Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān was Governor of Jahangirnagar, and also held the portfolio of Supreme Diwan of Bengal under Ali Vardi Khān, the Deputy Diwanship being held by Qāin Rai (who had been *Peshkar* under Alam-

Mahābat Jang, considering the acceptance of *Chauth* to be humiliating, refused to conclude peace, and with his army prepared to fight and drive out the Mahrattas. Mahābat Jang suspected treachery from Sham Sher Khān, Sardār Khān, Murād Sher Khān, Hāiat Khān, and other Afghan Generals of Dārbbhāngā, who, during the late insurrection, had sided with Mustafā Khān. And, as a matter of fact, these Afghan Generals had opened at this time treasonable correspondence with Mir Habib and his Mahrattas. These Afghan Generals, following the example of Mustafā Khān, now broke out into open revolt on the pretext of demand of pay. Mahābat Jang, having lost all confidence in them, paid them up, and disbanded them. These reaching Darbbhāngā, after a short time, leagued amongst themselves in pursuance of designs of treachery, and made offers of service to Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān. As Zainu-d-din Khān was a friend of soldiers, he conciliated them, accepted their offers of service with the approval of Nawāb Mahābat Jang, and invited them to a *Darbar*. Sham Sher Khān and Murād Sher Khān with a corps of Afghans arrived at Hājipūr, and encamped on the banks of the river. According to the order of Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān, they left behind all their soldiers, and crossing the river came to Azimābād (Patna) attended only by three hundred cavalry, consisting of kinsmen and comrades who were all of one heart for the purpose of waiting on Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān. On obtaining an audience, they observed all the points of etiquette, and sat in the *Chihil satūn* Palace, ranged on the right and left of Zainu-d-din. Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān reclining against pillows on a *Marnad*, made polite enquiries regarding each. Murād Sher Khān, nephew of Sham Sher Khān, finding Zainu-d-din off his guard, pulled out a dagger from his waist, hit the latter so hard with it on the stomach, that his intestines came out. By that single blow, Zainu-d-din was killed.¹ The traitors, lifting

ghand, Deputy Diwan of Shajau-d-din Khān). (See *Seir*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 426). See also note ante. Ghin Rai, on death, was succeeded in his office by Bhiron Dutt, who again was followed by Kiratchand (son of Alamchand) and by Umed Rai (See *Seir*).

¹ It would appear from the account given in the *Seiru-l-Mutaḥharin* (p. 586), alluded to before, that the Afghan adherents of the late Mustafā Khān were in secret conspiracy with Mir Habib, the inspiring genius, and the guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahrattas, and that in consequence of Mir Habib's instigation, they had enacted this cruel tragedy at Patna.

A very lucid account of this tragedy is given in the *Seiru-l-Mutaḥharin*

up their swords, cut down Zainu-d-din's companions, looted all his treasures and effects, captured the Begum¹ with her daughter and also Hājī Ahmad. They suspended the Hājī² to a tripod with his head downwards, and by torturing him made him give up large treasures, and slew him. They carried off the ladies of the Harem together with numerous treasures as booty. And similarly, they swept the houses of other nobles of the City with the broom of rapine. These Rohilah Afghans sacked the City and its suburbs, looted treasures, dishonoured women and children, and desolated a whole world.³ A great consternation seized those regions. "Protect me, O Lord, from the wickedness of infidels and from the wrath of Thine." Sham Sher Khān collecting one hundred thousand cavalry and infantry was not contented with the subjugation of Azimābād, and he further cherished visions of conquering Bengal. Mahābat Jang, who was at this time encamped at Amāniganj⁴ on some important business connected with the Mahratta

(Pers. text, p. 560). Zainu-d-din (son-in-law of Ali Vardī Khān and Subādar at Patna), was holding a Darbar for the reception of the Durbhānga Afghan Generals who were adherents and connections of the late Muẓaffī Khān. The Darbar function was nearly over, and Zainu-d-din Khān was handing betels with his own hand to the Chief Afghan Generals, when one of these, Abdur Rashid Khān, whilst receiving a betel, treacherously gave Zainu-d-din Khān a dagger-thrust in the abdomen. This thrust, however, was not quite effective, as Abdur Rashid's hand faltered. Then another cowardly rascal, Mured Sher Khān, quickly gave another sword-cut to Zainu-d-din Khān, and instantly killed him. The Afghans shewed ferocious barbarities in their conduct towards the ladies and children of Zainu-d-din's household. The *Seir* (p. 561), notes commencement of Ahmad Shāh Abdallī's invasions of India at this time.

¹ Her name was Amous Begum. She was a daughter of Ali Vardī, and wife of Zainu-d-din Khān.

² The Hājī after all met with his desert, for his black ingratitude to his benefactor's (Shujau-d-din Khān's) memory, and for his dark treachery towards his benefactor's son, Nawab Sarfaraz Khān.

³ See description of this loot and carnage in the *Seir* (pp. 560-561).

Happening as it did towards the middle of the 18th century, this fact would explain in a great measure the smallness of Mussalman population in Behar, compared with that in Northern Bengal and Eastern Bengal, which in modern times were never or seldom the scenes of such carnage, which were immune from Mahratta raids, and which would, therefore, naturally afford an asylum for Mussalman refugees not only from the disturbed parts of Western and Southern Bengal, but also from Behar.

⁴ The *Seir* (Pers. text, p. 563) states that at this time, which was towards the month of winter, Ali Vardī Khān was encamped at Amāniganj, in order

freebooters, suddenly received the terrible intelligence of the slaughter of Zaim-d-din Ahmad Khān and Hājī Ahmad, and of the hostile advance of the Afghans. In consequence, an indescribable agony seized him, and his family and kindred. From excessive depression and agony, he wanted to isolate himself from all intercourse with the world, and to abandon the City with its Bāzār to the Mahratta freebooters. His generals employing various consolations and assurances recited passages inculcating fortitude, and tied the girdle of courage in pursuit of revenge in the waist of their hearts. But when for accomplishing this avenging mission, they applied for the payment of the soldiers, Mahābat Jang pleaded he had no money. Then Nawāzish Muhammad Khān Shahāmat Jang, standing surety for the expenses of the soldiery, paid to the soldiers eighty *laks* of rupees in cash from his own treasury, and made them agree to undertake the avenging expedition. Mahābat Jang, being somewhat now relieved from anxiety, left Nawāzish Muhammad Khān Shahāmat Jang at Murshidābād, and himself marched to Azimābād with a large army.¹ Mir Habib, at the instigation of Sham Sher Khān, with hordes of Mahratta freebooters, pursued Mahābat Jang from the rear, tracking jungles and setting fire, right and left, to the villages, with their gramaries. Mir Habib looted Mahābat Jang's baggages and tents, and did not allow Mahābat Jang's army a breathing interval either for sleep or for food, nor suffered a single day to pass without skir-

to march out against the Mahrattas under Mir Habib and Jangji. There in camp, Ali Yardi received this terrible news of the slaughter of his son-in-law, and of the imprisonment of his brother and daughter and grand-children. He summoned his officers to a *Darbar*, and broke to them the news of the great calamity in the following solemn strain:—"Gentlemen, a stone has fallen on me, and that, too, a heavy one; my son-in-law has been killed, and my brother and children are in the disgrace of capture. Life is now a truth to me; I have resolved to kill and to be killed. What is your intention, gentlemen? Who amongst you, my comrades and friends, shall join me in my avenging expedition?" All who were present cheerfully responded to Ali Yardi Khān's appeal, and resolved to fight and fall with him.

¹ The account in the *Seir* (p. 565), shews that Mir Habib with his Mahratta friends opposed ineffectually Ali Yardi's march on the banks of the Champarnagar stream, and then dispersed to the jungles, whilst Ali Yardi moved on to the Monghyr Fort, where he halted some days. Then Rājab Sandar Singh, Zamindār of Tikari, and Kamgar Khān Hain, Zamindār of Tīrhat, came to pay homage to Ali Yardi. A saint, Maulana Mir Muhammad Ali, also visited Ali Yardi at this time at Monghyr.

mishas with swords and spears, till they passed beyond Bārḥ. At Baikantpūr¹ an engagement took place with the army of Sham Sher Khān. Rājā Sundar Singh, Zamindār of Tikari, with a powerful corps, joined Ali Vardī. And when on both sides, the fire of slaughter flared up, the army of Mahratta freebooters, who, like the shadow, always followed Mahābat Jang's army, attacked its rear. Afghan troops from front and Mahratta freebooters from the rear attacked and hemmed in the army of Mahābat Jang. The heroes of Mahābat Jang's army, perceiving the approaching inrush of calamity towards them from both sides, prepared to die hard, and fought desperately. In that victory lies with God, by a stroke of good luck, Sham Sher Khān, Sardār Khān, Murād Sher Khān, and other Afghan Generals were hit by bullets of guns, in retribution for their disloyalty, and were killed, whilst other Afghan troops cowardly fled. The soldiers of Mahābat Jang, by brave onslaughts, routed the enemy's army, charging them with swords, spears, arrows, muskets and rockets, killed those wretches, and raised hecatombs of the slain. The Mahratta army, on seeing Ali Vardī's glorious victory, retreated, and dispersed like the constellation of the bear. Mahābat Jang after prostrating himself in thanksgiving to God, triumphantly entered Azimābād, and rescuing the family and children of Zaina-d-dīn Ahmad Khān and Hāji Ahmad from the rack of those outragers of honour, captured the wives and daughters of those treacherous wretches.

Time itself with the sword in hand is always after retribution ;
What need is there for anyone to seek for retaliation ?

Nawab Mahābat Jang, shewing considerateness,² paid travel-

¹ The *Seir* (p. 567), which gives a very lucid account of this battle, states that Ali Vardī who in generalship was next only to Asaf Jah, took up a position on an island, in front of Bārḥ, having on one side the river Ganges and on another the old bed of the same river. This place is called in the *Seir* " Sarai Rani," 4 *kroḥ* to the west of Bārḥ, on the side of the river Ganges.

It would also appear from the *Seir* (p. 566), that Mir Habib and the Mahrattas held a conference with the Afghan rebels, Sham Sher Khān and Sardār Khān, in order to concert measures for attacking Ali Vardī Khān. The Afghans and Mahrattas under Mir Habib now made a common cause against Ali Vardī who, however, crushingly defeated both, owing to his superior generalship (See *Seir* p. 568).

² It reflects credit on Ali Vardī that he treated honourably the women and children of Sham Sher Khān and other Afghans. He not only generously

ling expenses to the Afghan ladies, and allowed them to depart honourably to Dārkhāngā, and followed the adage "Turn Evil by Good." Appointing Sirāju-d-daulah, son of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, to be Shābadār of Agimābād, in succession to his father, and leaving Rājā Janaki Rām as Sirāju-d-daulah's Deputy there, and finishing the administrative arrangements of that Shābah, Mahābat Jang returned to Bengal, in order to drive out the Mahratta freebooters.

About this time, the office of Faujdār of the tract of Purniah was vacant, owing to the flight to the Imperial Capital of the Khān Bahādur,¹ son of Nawāb Saif Khān. All Vardī Khān conferred the above Faujdārehip on Saḥī Aḥmad Khān Sanlat Jang, in whose heart ambition for the Nizāmat of Bengal lurked, and in whose head visions of ruling over Bengal existed. At the time when Mahābat Jang was engaged in fighting with Sham Sher Khān, Sirāju-d-daulah shewed his temper to Nawāb Izzat-d-daulah Aḥmād-ī-lah Khān Sābit Jang, a son-in-law of Hājī Aḥmad, who held the office of Faujdār of Akbarānagar (Rajmahal). Knowing Aḥmād-ī-lah Khān² to be brave and popular with the army, and ambitious and sound-headed, Sirāju-d-daulah set to work his ruin, and plying All Vardī Khān with his suspicions gained over the latter, and induced him to send a message to Aḥmād-ī-lah to quit the country, or else to prepare for death. The aforesaid Khān, after

forgave them, and set them at liberty, but bestowed properties at Dārkhāngā for their maintenance (See p. 570, *Seir*). He never addressed the Afghan ladies except as 'Madama' or 'Rihia.' He studiously maintained the sanctity of their seclusion, and this, too, after the gross provocation he had received at the hands of Sham Sher Khān and other Afghans. All Vardī's chivalry towards women seems to have been remarkable, and his forbearance after victory is also commendable. A vaulting ambition that faltered not to break all ties of gratitude, nor scrupled to use all weapons of treachery in the realisation of that ambition—casts a dark and sombre hue on his otherwise great and remarkable personality.

¹ His name was Fakhr-u-d-dīn Husain Khān. He succeeded his father, Nawāb Saif Khān, in the Faujdārehip of Purniah. All Vardī Khān got him dismissed, and kept him under surveillance for some time at Murshidābād. Through the help of Mir Habib and his Mahrattas, Fakhr-u-d-dīn managed to make good his escape to Dāhli, where he died after a short time. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 583, Pers. text)

² He was a son-in-law of Hājī Aḥmad, brother of All Vardī Khān. He was Faujdār of Rajmahal or Akbarānagar during All Vardī's regime.

fighting some time in self-defence, set out at length for the Imperial Capital, remained in the company of Nawab Vazīr-i-mulk *Safdar Jang*,¹ and then joining *Rājah Nul Rai* in the Rohilla Afghan war was killed at Farrukhābād.

As in consequence of the insurrection at Azmābād, the Mahratta freebooters had taken possession of the *Śūbah* of Orissa, Mahābat Jang, not halting in Bengal, set out for that *Śūbah*. Expelling the Mahratta freebooters from that *Śūbah*, Mahābat Jang put to death *Syūd Nār*, *Sarāndās Khān*, and other officers, who were adherents of the Mahratta freebooters, and who were entrenched in the fort of Barahbāti, by drawing them out of their entrenched position by use of diplomatic assurances.² And capturing the horses and armaments of their comrades, and expelling them all from Katak, Mahābat Jang returned to Beogal.

As Mir Habib was the root of all the mischiefs and troubles, Mahābat Jang hatched a plan for his destruction. He sent to his name a letter, purporting falsely to be a reply to his message, to the following effect: "The letter sent by you has been received: what you have written in respect of your plan to extirpate the Mahratta freebooters, has met with my approval. It is a very good idea; you from that side, and I from this side, will be on the alert and wait. By every means possible, try and induce them to come this side, and then what is now in the minds of us both will come to pass." Mahābat Jang sent this message through a courier, in-

¹ *Safdar Jang* was appointed Subādār of Oude by Emperor Muhammad Shāh, and in the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shāh became Chief Vizier of the Empire, on the death of Qamra-d-din Khān. At this time, Ahmad Shāh Abdali invaded India several times, and the Rohilla Afghans of Farrukhābād and Moradābād became a power in the land. *Safdar Jang* appointed as his Deputy in Oude a Kiyot, named *Rājah Nul Rai*. (See *Seir-i-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, Pers. text, pp. 874-875).

² *Rājah Nul Rai* was a Kiyoth. At first he was an obscure servant of Nawab-Vizier *Safdar Jang*, but subsequently rose to the office of Deputy Subadar of Oude under the latter. He resided at Kananj, twenty kos from Farrukhābād, the Rohilla stronghold. *Nul Rai* crossed the Rohillas of Farrukhābād, who combined and attacked *Nul Rai* who was killed. *Ajand-lah Khān* (son-in-law of *Hājī Ahmad*) who fought in this war on the side of *Nul Rai*, was also killed. The reinforcements sent by Nawab-Vizier *Safdar Jang* to support his Deputy in Oude, *Nul Rai*, were also routed by the Rohillas. (See *Seir-i-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 876, Pers. text).

³ See the account of the capture of the Fort of Barahbati in *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 578, Pers. text.

abstracting the latter to proceed by such a route, that he might be intercepted by the Mahrattas and the letter might fall into their hands. This ruse proved a complete success, and the Mahrattas unsuspecting Mir Habib slew him.¹

To sum up, for twelve long years the fires of war and slaughter kindled between the Mahrattas and Mahābat Jang, and the Mahrattas did not retire without levying the *Chauth*. And owing to Hājī Ahmad and Zafar-d-din Ahmad Khān having fallen, the power of Mahābat Jang was weakened, whilst old age and infirmity told on his physical vigour. Of necessity, in view of expediency, and in compliance with the entreaties of Nawāzish Muhammad Khān Shāhamat Jang, Mahābat Jang at last concluded a peace with the Mahratta freebooters, agreeing to pay the latter *Chauth* for the three Sūbahs, and through the medium of Maṣliḥ-d-din Muhammad Khān, nephew of Mir Habib, and Sadru-l-Haq Khān, fixed the basis for the terms of peace and the settlement of the *Chauth*. In lieu of the payment of the *Chauth*, he assigned the revenue of Sūbah of Orissa to the Mahrattas, and appointed Sadru-l-Haq to be its Administrator and Governor.² After settling this important affair with the Mahrattas, Mahābat Jang regained peace

¹ Mir Habib, the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, and their 'guide, friend, and philosopher' for over a decade,—was at last butchered by Jasoji, son of Raghoji Bhoala. But after all, however blameless his initial motive might be, it cannot be denied that he met with his desert for his narrow-minded imprudence in fraternising with the Mahratta freebooters, regardless of all religious and national ties. The account as to how Mir Habib was inveigled into a house by Jasoji, and there treacherously murdered in 1165 A.H., is detailed in the *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 599, Pers. text. The *Seir* (p. 592), also states that after a treaty of peace was concluded between Mahābat Jang and the Mahrattas, Mir Habib ruled over Orissa as Governor, on behalf of Mahābat Jang, whilst a Mahratta contingent of troops under a Mahratta officer was stationed at Katak. Mir Habib was succeeded in the office of Governor by Maṣliḥ-d-din Muhammad Khān, who, however, enjoyed less prestige, and regarded himself as a servant of the Mahrattas (*Seir*, p. 593, Vol. II, Pers. text).

² There is some difference between the account here and the account in the *Seir*. From *Seir's* account (p. 592), it would appear Mir Habib was the first person who held the office that is assigned to Sadru-l-Haq in the text, after the conclusion of the peace. The details of this treaty of peace in 1165 A.H. are given in the *Seir* (pp. 590-591). The *Seir* states that overtures for peace came from the side of the Mahrattas (represented by Mir Habib) who had first been defeated again in 1164 A.H. at Medinipur. As Mahābat Jang was

of mind, and took to travelling and hunting. After ruling for sixteen years, he died of dropsy on Saturday, 9th Rujab, 1169 A.H., corresponding to the second year of the accession of Emperor Alamgir II, and was buried in the Khush Bâgh.¹ Sirâju-d-daulah, who was his heir, then mounted the masnad of Nizâmat.



now 75 years old, and physical ailment and infirmity had seized him, and as the war between him and Mahrattas had been protracted to ten years, and as the chief Afghan pillars of his State had revolted against him, and as the people had suffered indescribable miseries during this long struggle, Mahâbat Jang accepted the overtures of peace, which was concluded through the intervention of Mirza Salih (on behalf of Mir Habib and the Mahrattas) and Mir Jâfar (on behalf of Mahâbat Jang). The terms of peace were: (1). Mir Habib becoming a servant of Mahâbat Jang should on behalf of the latter rule as Deputy Governor over Orissa. (2). The revenue of Orissa should be assigned by Mir Habib for the pay of Raghoji Bhosla's Mahratta army of occupation. (3). That over and above the revenue of Orissa, twelve lacs of rupees should be annually paid by Mir Habib to Raghoji Bhosla (presumably from the revenues of other provinces), on condition that Raghoji's troops should not raid the dominions of Mahâbat Jang. (4). The river Sasmukhia (or Saharnarikha) near Jalpur (Jalassore), was to form the demarcation-line of the boundaries of Orissa and Bengal; Medulpâr at this time being separated from Orissa and annexed to Bengal.

1 The author of the *Seir* (who was a connexion of Mahâbat Jang) praises up the memory of Mahâbat Jang. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 609-611). He states that Mahâbat Jang abstained from pleasures, was regular in his prayers, abstemious in habits, and methodic in business. He slept little, and passed most of his time in attending to State affairs, or in the company of scholars and sages whom he held in high esteem. He had only one wife, to whom he was greatly devoted. He was a splendid general and a far-sighted statesman. When Mirzâfâ Khân, his Afghan General, and his relatives, Shahamat Jang and Sanâat Jang used to press Mahâbat Jang to fight and drive out the English from Calcutta, Mahâbat Jang used to reply: "Mirzâfâ Khân is a military man, and therefore he is always eager for war, that I may be constantly in need of his services. What evil have the English done to me, that I should wish evil to them? The (Mahratta) fire on land is not yet extinguished; and if the fire is extended to the sea, who will quench it?" (*Seir*, p. 611, Vol. II, Pers. text). Despite the *Seir's* panegyric, it seems to me that Ali Vardi must forfeit his claim to be regarded as a far-sighted statesman, in view of the fact that his treacherous and violent conduct towards his past masters and benefactors inaugurated in Bengal an era of violent treachery and serious disintegration, and that his example quickly rustled on others who paid him and his grandson back in the same coin. In this connection, one may read an interesting old little work in Persian, called *Thrat-i-Arshâd Dâr* (meaning 'a Moral for people with eyes') each sentence of which contains

NIZÂMAT OF NAWÂB SIRÂJU-D-DAULAH.

When Nawâb Ali Vardi Khân Mahâbat Jang passed to the regions of eternity, Nawâb Sirâju-d-daulah, son of Zaim-d-din Ahmad Khân Haibat Jang, and maternal grandson of Ali Vardi Khân, and whom Ali Vardi Khân had in his life-time placed on the cushion of the Nizâmat, and to whom Ali Vardi with all the grandees of the court had paid homage and offered presents—ascended the *masnad* of the rulership over Bengal, Behâr, and Orissa. Sirâju-d-daulah exhibited insolence and arrogance, which are the worst of attributes, and are displeasing to God. At that time, owing to certain reasons, Ghasiti Begam, widow of Nawâziyah Ahmad Khân Shahâmat Jang, who resided at Mutijull, resolving to oppose Sirâju-d-daulah, appointed Mir Nazar Ali, who was her servant and was bound to her by ties of various favours and obligations, to be the commander of her vanguard, and Nawâb Bairâm Khân to be generalissimo of her army. Then the Begam of Mahâbat Jang, and Jagat Set, as an emissary of Sirâju-d-daulah, went to Ghasiti Begam and gave her assurances; and so the latter refrained from hostility, whilst Nazar Ali fled, and Bairâm Khân taking refuge with one of the generals fell into disgrace. Sirâju-d-daulah's army arriving, captured Ghasiti Begam, together with all her effects. The Begam saw what she had never seen, and heard what she had never heard. Sirâju-d-daulah's army rased to the ground her buildings and her palace, and unearthing her buried treasures carried them to Mausûrganj. Owing to Sirâju-d-daulah's harshness of temper and indulgence in violent language, fear and terror had settled on the hearts of everyone to such an extent, that no one amongst the generals of the army or the noblemen of the City was free from anxiety. Amongst his officers, whoever went to wait on Sirâju-d-daulah despaired of life and honour, and whoever returned without being disgraced and ill-treated offered thanks to God. Sirâju-d-daulah treated all the noblemen and generals of Mahâbat Jang with ridicule and drollery, and bestowed on each some contemptuous nick-name that ill-suited any of them.¹ And whatever harsh expressions and abusive

letters which added give 1170† (the date of Sirâju-d-daulah's murder by Mir Jâfar and his son Miran). The *Ibrat* seems to have been written by some adherent of Nawab Sarfaraz Khân.

¹ The *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 621) mentions that Sirâju-d-daulah, on accession, ap-

epithets came to his lips, Sirāju-d-daulah uttered them unhesitatingly in the face of everyone, and no one had the boldness to breathe freely in his presence. Appointing a Kyeth, named Mohanlal, to be the minister and controller of all affairs, Sirāju-d-daulah bestowed on him the title of Mahārajah Mohanlal¹ Bahādur, gave him a large bodyguard of cavalry and infantry, and ordered all his generals and nobles to pay respect to him. All did so, except Mir Muhammad Jāfar Khān, a brother-in-law of Nawāb Mahābat Jang, and the generalissimo of the army, who refused to pay respect to Mohanlal, and for some time ceased to pay respect even to Sirāju-d-daulah. But Rājah Mohanlal, coiling himself round the brain and skin of Sirāju-d-daulah, forgot himself so far that he fancied nobody else existed, appointed his own kith and kin to posts connected with the Crown-Domains and also to other revenue offices, and dismissed the old officers. For instance, Rājah Mohanlal sent a message to Nawāb Ghulām Husain Khān Bahādur² that if he accepted a pay of Rs. 200 a month, he might stay on, otherwise he should quit the country. The latter, of necessity, on the plea of visiting the Kabah, set out for Hūgli.

Inasmuch as before Mahābat Jang's death, in the beginning of that year, on the 13th of Rabī-ul-Awāl, Nawāb Nawāzish Ahmad Khān Shahāmat Jang,³ who held the office of Diwān of Ben-

pointed a Kyeth named Mohanlal as his Supreme Diwan. This elevation of an obscure Hindu to the highest civil appointment naturally caused great offence to the old nobility, and especially to Mir Jifar, who conspired with other officers of the late Mahābat Jang in order to bring about a Revolution to destroy Sirāju-d-daulah's power, and to place himself on the musnad of Bengal.

¹ The *Seir*, the *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Barr*, and the *Bayan* all condemn Sirāju-d-daulah for appointing this obscure and insolent Hindu, Mohanlal, as his Supreme Minister, and mention the disgust it caused amongst the old nobility, who chafed under this indignity, and were therefore anxious to throw off Sirāju-d-daulah's yoke. (See *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Barr*, p. 26, *Seir-i-Mutakherin* p. 621, Vol. II.)

² He was author of the splendid Persian History of India entitled *Seir-i-Mutakherin*. He was a partisan of Mir Jafar and the English East India Company. Sirāju-d-daulah had ordered his banishment from the country.

³ He held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) under Ali Vardi Khān, whose son-in-law he was. He also held nominally the office of Diwan of Bengal, though the practical work of Diwan was actually performed by Hindu Deputy Diwans. Shahāmat Jang had also at Jahangirnagar

gal, had died, Sirāju-d-daulah arrested Rājah Rājballab, Peshkār of Shahāmat Jang, on the plea that he should render up his accounts. Although Rājballab tried hard to pay up some cash and to compromise the demands, Sirāju-d-daulah did not consent, and kept him under surveillance.¹ Rājballab sent his family and children to Calcutta, to take shelter with the English. Sirāju-d-daulah desired to arrest Rājballab's family also, and ordered Rājah Rām, head of his spies, to proceed to Calcutta, arrest Rājballab's family, and bring them over. Mahābat Jang, whilst on sick-bed, had dissuaded Sirāju-d-daulah, and directed him to postpone the matter, and urged that after recovery he (Mahābat

a Deputy Diwan in the person of Rājballab, in respect of the *Chakka* of Jahangirnagar or Dacca, of which he (Shahāmat Jang) was Deputy Governor.

¹ The *Seir*, the *Ibtat-i-Arbab-i-Barr* and the *Riwayat* mention that the new Nawab, Sirāju-d-daulah, inaugurated his regime by (1) the plunder of Ghasati Begam, (2) the dismissal of Mir Jafar and the appointment of a Hindu, Mohanlal, as the Supreme Minister, &c., (3) imprisonment of Rājballab, (4) the conquest of Calcutta, and (5) conquest of Purnah. When dispassionately viewed, the particular measures noted above (excepting one, namely the appointment of Mohanlal) do not appear to have been unjustified, though they were impolitic. Ghasati Begam had no right to take away and appropriate the State treasures held in trust by her late husband, Shahāmat Jang, Ali Vardi's Diwan, and Sirāju-d-daulah who had lawfully succeeded Ali Vardi was, therefore, justified in recovering them from her. Mir Jafar had proved unfaithful and treacherous even in the lifetime of Ali Vardi *Khān* in the struggle with the Mahrattas (See the *Seir*); and Sirāju-d-daulah was, therefore, not unjustified in suspecting him and dismissing him from the responsible office of generalissimo of the army. Rājballab's surveillance was a necessary political measure, as this crafty man, the Deputy Diwan or Peshkār of Jahangirnagar or Dacca under the late Shahāmat Jang (Deputy Governor of Dacca) had failed to render his accounts, and as Sirāju-d-daulah had reasons to believe he (Rājballab) had misappropriated a large part of the Public Funds in his charge. And when Rājballab's son, Kishan Das, fled with the State treasures to Calcutta, the Nawab was obliged to advance against Calcutta, to recover the State treasures and chastise his rebel subject, Kishan Das, though had Sirāju-d-daulah been less impulsive and more prudent, it is possible he might have effected his object by opening diplomatic correspondence with the English. But it must be remembered the Nawab was yet quite a boy, and had no good or reliable advisers about him. As for the conquest of Purnah, it was a necessary political measure in self-defence, as Shahāmat Jang, as Mir Jafar's mitigation, had publicly avowed his pretensions to the *padi* of Bengal. The only narrow measure was the elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohanlal, to the highest civil State office. This measure caused great disgust to the old nobility, who chafed under the insolence of this upstart.

Jang) would himself summon them. At this time, Sirāju-d-daulah ordered Rājah Rām, head of his spies, to proceed to Calcutta and arrest and bring over Rājballab's family and children, and himself in the month of Shūbān, on the plea of touring, proceeded towards Akbarnagar (Rājmahal). Whilst Sirāju-d-daulah reaching Dānāpūr had encamped on the bank of the river Kalā-pānī, he received news that the English Chiefs in Calcutta had offered opposition, and prevented the arrest of Rājballab's family and children. On the very receipt of this news, the fire of Sirāju-d-daulah's rage kindled, and he summoned the officers of his army, and said: "I intend proceeding on an expedition against Calcutta. It is necessary that none of you should go back to Murshidābād, but that all should proceed straight from here to Chunnakhali and encamp there." Next morning, setting out, Sirāju-d-daulah reached Chunnakhali, and from there proceeding by forced marches invaded Calcutta. In the month of Rāmzān, fighting with the English, Sirāju-d-daulah became victorious and triumphant, and the English Chief¹ embarking on a boat fled. Sweeping the town of Calcutta with the broom of plunder², and naming it Alinagar, Sirāju-d-daulah left Rājah Manikoband with a large detachment as Governor of Calcutta. Posting strong garrisons at Makhūah and Bajbajla (Budge-Budge) and other fords for the crossing and passage of English ships, Sirāju-d-daulah at the end of the above month returned to Murshidābād.

Saulat Jang, Faujdār of Purnah, that year, previous to Mahābat Jang's death, in the month of Jamādī-1-Awāl, had died, and

¹ Both the *Seir* and the *Ibrat-i-Arshad-i-Beg* give his name as Mr. Drake.

² That Sirāju-d-daulah plundered Calcutta, is also mentioned in the *Ibrat-i-Arshad-i-Beg*, (p. 29), as well as in the *Seir* (p. 622, Vol. II); but none of these more or less contemporary Muslim accounts make any mention of the 'Black Hole' incident, generally associated with Sirāju-d-daulah's conquest of Calcutta.

The *Seir* states that Mr. Drake, the English Chief in Calcutta, with a small number of English officers fled on a ship, whilst other English residents remained behind in Calcutta, and fought to the last, so long as their powder and shot were not exhausted. Many of the English fell in this fight, whilst a number of their comrades were captured. In this connection, the *Seir* also mentions the fact that some English ladies who were captured in this fight were well-treated by a Muhammadan nobleman, Mirza Amir Beg, who resorted them humbly to Mr. Drake's ship and received Mr. Drake's and other English officers' thanks for his humane and chivalrous conduct. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 622, Pers. text).

his son, *Shaukāt Jang*, who was a cousin of *Sirāju-d-daulah*, had succeeded his father. At this time, *Sirāju-d-daulah* desiring to displace *Shaukāt Jang* demanded the revenue of *Purniah*.¹ *Shaukāt Jang* replied: "You are lord of three *Śābals* (Provinces), whilst I am fallen in this corner, and am content with a bit of bread. Now it does not become your high aspiration to set the teeth of your avarice on this bit of bread." *Sirāju-d-daulah*, on receipt of

¹ The account in the *Seir* (Pers. text, Vol. II, pp. 624-632), is quite different, and is more reliable, as its author was attached at the time as a Chief Adviser to *Shaukāt Jang*. It would appear from the *Seir* that *Mir Jafar*, in pursuance of his conspiracy to effect a Revolution, had written a letter to *Shaukāt Jang* requesting the latter to place himself at the head of the revolutionary party in view of the prospect of succeeding to the *Nawābī* of Bengal. *Shaukāt Jang* was a vain fool, and on receipt of *Mir Jafar's* letter he openly talked in *Darbar* of his wild ambition to extend his empire to *Ghazni* and *Kandahar*, and to conquer *Bengal*. *Sirāju-d-daulah* hearing of the disloyalty that was brewing in the *Purniah* Court, deputed *Rai Ras Behary* (a son of *Rājā Janaki Rani* and brother of *Dulab Ram*) to *Purniah*, with a letter to *Shaukāt Jang*, calling upon the latter to make over the *Jajira* of *Goutwarah* and *Birnagar* (which pertained to the *Bengal Nizamat*) to *Rai Ras Behary*. When this letter was received, the author of the *Seir* (who was then *Shaukāt Jang's* principal adviser) being consulted advised *Shaukāt Jang* to temporise, to treat *Rai Ras Behary* with outward courtesy, to mobilise troops, and to pass in this wise till the rainy season was over, when it was expected by the author of the *Seir* (who appears to have been in the confidence of the English) the English would also fight against *Sirāju-d-daulah* and that then *Shaukāt Jang's* turn would come to join the winning party. However that may be, *Shaukāt* did not adopt the above advice, and sent an insolent reply to *Sirāju-d-daulah*, adding that he (*Shaukāt Jang*) had received news of the *Subahdārī* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, that *Sirāju-d-daulah* had forfeited his head by his disloyalty, but that as an act of grace he would be permitted to settle down quietly in some corner of *Jahangirnagar* or *Dacca*. *Sirāju-d-daulah* answered the above insolent reply by at once advancing with his army to *Manihari*, together with his *Diwan Mohanlal*. *Ramnarain* from *Patna* was also ordered to join *Sirāju-d-daulah* with the *Patna* army. In this battle which took place between *Manihari* and *Nawabgunj*, *Shaukāt Jang* was killed, through his folly in leaving his entrenched position and marching through marshy swamps. *Sirāju-d-daulah* appointed *Mohanlal* to the office of *Faujdar* of *Purniah*, and the latter left his son as *Deputy Faujdar* there.

I have given the above details from the *Seir*, in order to show that the war with *Shaukāt Jang* was not of *Sirāju-d-daulah's* seeking, that it formed a part of the conspiracy hatched by *Mir Jafar*, in order to bring about a revolution to destroy *Sirāju-d-daulah's* authority, and that *Sirāju-d-daulah* had no alternative but to fight in self-defence.

this reply, which did not satisfy his designs, despatched Diwān Mohanlal, together with other Generals such as Dost Muḥammad Khān, Shaiḡh Dīn Muḥammad, Mir Muḥammad, and Jafar Khān, &c., with a large army, to fight with Shankāt Jang; and he also wrote to Rāmnaṛaīn, the Śūbahdār of Azīmābād, to march quickly to Purniah. From the other side, Shankāt Jang detailed for fighting Shaiḡh Jahān Yār and Kārguzār Khān, the generalissimo, and Mir Murād Ali and others, and subsequently he himself set out and assaulting and sacking and burning Halātpargolāh returned to Purniah. On arrival at Mauharī, Sirājū-d-daulah's army encamped, whilst Shankāt Jang's army at a distance of one Kuroh at Nawābganj entrenched itself. On the next day, Shankāt Jang also arrived and joined his army; and on the same day, Rājah Rāmnaṛaīn, the Śūbahdār of Azīmābād, with his contingent of troops, joined Sirājū-d-daulah's army. On the morning of the following day, Rājah Mohanlal advanced with his force in order to fight, and unfurled his flag carrying the ensigns of the Māhī Order which he held. Shankāt Jang, on seeing the ensigns of the Māhī Order, fancied that Sirājū-d-daulah himself had joined his army, and was marching up for fight, and so Shankāt Jang advanced also with his army. Shaiḡh Jahān Yār dissuaded Shankāt Jang, saying:—"To-day the moment for fighting is not auspicious, if it pleases God, to-morrow early in the morning we shall fight, and whatever is decreed by Providence shall take place." Shankāt Jang, paying no heed to this dissuasion, marched up to the battle-field. Shaiḡh Jahān Yār was also obliged to advance with his corps, and whilst fighting bravely he received a gun-shot. Shaiḡh Abdu-r Raḡīb, his brother, and Shaiḡh Qudratu-l-lah, his son-in-law, together with Shaiḡh Jihān Yār, his nephew, as well as his other kinsmen were slain on the battle-field, and earned present and future glory. At this time of strife, a sword fell on the neck of the horse of Shaiḡh Jahān Yār, and cut asunder its ruin, and the horse furiously galloped away with its rider from the field. As he had already received several mortal wounds, by the time of his arrival at Birnagar, he expired. At that crisis, Shankāt Jang, himself joining in the fight, advanced, discharging arrows, and came in front of Dost Muḥammad Khān. The aforesaid Khān said, "Come on my elephant, as you will find security then." Shankāt Jang not consenting fixed a sharp arrow in his teeth, and shattered his front-

tooth. At this time, besides two horsemen, one of whom was Habib Beg, no one else was with Shaukāt Jang. Habib Beg dismounting from his horse stood in front of his elephant on the field. As decreed by fate, a bullet from the gun of a servant of Dost Muhammad Khān hit Shaukāt Jang on the forehead, and the bird of his soul flew away, and nestled on the branches of annihilation. And Kārguzār Khān, the generalissimo Shaikh Bahādur Narnuti, Airā Turāb Khān, Murād Sher Khān, nephew of Shaikh Jahān Yār, Shaikh Murād Ali, disciple of Nawāb Saif Khān, Mir Saltān Khān, the archer, Loha Singh Hāndet, and Mir Jafar-ul-Jo, &c., displayed gallant bravery, and tasted the potion of death on the battle-field. Sirāj-ud-daulah had advanced to Akbarnagar (Rāj-mahal), when the tidings of victory arrived; and he ordered the music of victory to strike up. He also caused the adherents of Shaukāt Jang, such as were captured, to be punished in various forms. Rājā Mohanlal confiscating fifty-one elephants, and horses, and camels, and other treasures of Shaukāt Jang, and leaving his own son as Deputy Governor of the Panjdāri of Purniah, returned.

When Sirāj-ud-daulah, after the fall of his cousin, arrived in Marajhidābād, the chess-board of time presented a new game. Of the English, who had been routed by Sirāj-ud-daulah in Calcutta, and whose treasures worth several lacs had been plundered, some escaped and fled to an island.¹ Thence they sent messages to Eng-

¹ The *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 6331, Pers. text), states that after his flight, Mr. Drake, the Chief of the English factory in Calcutta, together with a number of other English officers, proceeded to Madras, in Arcoṭ Province of the Dakṣin. Then Clive had just retired after fighting against the French on behalf of Salābat Jang (son of the late Asif Jah), Nasim of the Dakṣin, who had bestowed on him many favours and also the title of Sahāb Jang. Then Mr. Drake, with other Englishmen, who had fled from Calcutta held a conference with the Englishmen in Madras factory, and it was decided that Clive, together with the English refugees from Bengal, "should proceed to Calcutta and by every means that they thought desirable, should try to renew the foundation of the Factory in Calcutta. If by negotiations and by payment of money this object could be attained, well and good; if not, force might be resorted to." Then Clive, together with other Englishmen, embarked on a ship from Madras, and reached at the mouth of the river Hāgṛ. As the English Chiefs were very wise, brave, well-informed, and experienced, they made overtures of peace to Sirāj-ud-daulah, begged that Mr. Drake's offence might be pardoned by the Nawāb, and offered to pay the Nawāb several lacs of rupees, in case the latter granted them permission to re-build their Factory as before in Calcutta. Sirāj-

land and other ports, and in a short time obtained reinforcements. After some months, the English chiefs, under the command of Sābit Jang (Clive), with thirty thousand men, arrived on ships of war, obliged the garrisons of the Nawab's outposts to take to their heels, and fought with Rājah Mānikchāud. The Rājah suffered a heavy defeat. The English advancing to Hāgh, raised its fortifications with the cannonade of their artillery, and the Faujdar of that Fort fled. Sirāj-ud-daulah, on getting news of the English victory, set out for Calcutta from Murshidābād, and encamped in the garden of Karhasi, in the suburbs of Calcutta. The English made a night-attack. The next day, Sirāj-ud-daulah not having the boldness to advance, and outwardly proclaiming the conclusion of peace, marched back anxiously to Murshidābād. After arrival in Murshidābād, Sirāj-ud-daulah found that all the Nobles and Generals were disaffected. Foremost amongst them was Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān Bahādur, from whom the office of generalissimo had been transferred to Khwājah Hādī Ali Khān, and who had shut himself up in his house. Sirāj-ud-daulah placing large batteries in front of Mir Jafar's palace was ready to blow him up, and ordered him to quit the City. Mir Jafar tendering excuses and apologies, secretly set about making warlike preparations in self-defence, and tampering with the Bhāshī Generals and Commanders and with Jagat Set.¹ Ratifying their conspiracy by mutual oaths and promises, Mir Jafar sent secretly Amir Bāg, who was one of his confidential adherents, with letters

ju-d-daulah who was very foolish, and whose courtiers were still more foolish, was unaware of the bravery and wisdom of the English race; so that no one from fear of incurring the Nawab's displeasure, communicated to the Nawab the English message containing overtures of peace. Matters being thus delayed, and being in the meantime apprised of the discontent amongst the Bengal nobles, Clive resolved to fight, and fought against Manikchand, Nawab's Governor of Calcutta, who fled.²

¹ Besides Mir Jafar who was the soul of this conspiracy, some other prominent persons, like Dulab Ram (son of Jamāl Ram) Jagat Set and Ghashti Begam (widow of Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān, son-in-law of Ali Yārli Khān), were active colleagues of Mir Jafar in this conspiracy. Ghashti Begam helped Mir Jafar with the State treasures that she had secreted. One may understand the resentment of Mir Jafar (who had been disgraced and dismissed from the office of generalissimo) and of Ghashti Begam (who had been obliged to disgorge a portion of the State treasures that she had hidden), but the disloyal conduct of Dulab Ram, Jagat Set, Ram Narain, Rajshūb and other Hindus

to Calcutta, asking the English troops to be sent. Amir Beg, by indulging in various assurances, induced the English Chiefs to

seem to be a riddle, in view of the fact that in the distribution of State Patronage, Sirājū-d-daulah had adopted an extremely pro-Hindu policy, and that it was Sirājū-d-daulah's elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohanlal, to the highest civil State office that to a great extent alienated from the Nawab the sympathies of his Musselman adherents, who would have perhaps otherwise stood by him in this crisis. (See *Ibrat-i-Arshad-i-Barr*, p. 28.)

1. This Amir Beg is mentioned in the *Seir* as having conducted some English ladies honourably to Mr. Drake's ship, after Sirājū-d-daulah's capture of Calcutta. Amir Beg, in consequence, enjoyed the confidence of the English. See note ante. On Mons. Lae's departure, Mir Jafar worked more vigorously in pursuance of his conspiracy, and induced the English to give Mir Jafar their support, and to fight on his side. To instigate the English to join his conspiracy, Mir Jafar sent to Calcutta to Clive his agent, Mirza Amir Beg. Mir Jafar also sent to Clive through the above Mirza a Manifesto, purporting to bear the seals of some noblemen and officers of Bengal, recounting their grievances, real or fancied, against Sirājū-d-daulah, and inviting the English to deliver them from the Nawab. Jagat Set instructed his Calcutta Agent, Amin (known popularly as Qoughand), to work in the same direction, whilst Dulab Raza also instructed his agent to influence the English in the same direction. Mir Jafar wrote to Clive that the latter had only to make a move with his English troops, when all the fighting would be done by Mir Jafar and his fellow-conspirators, whilst three crores of rupees would be presented to Clive for this service. Clive yielded to Mir Jafar's importunities and advanced towards Palasi (Plassey). (See *Seir-i-Mutakhirah*, Vol. II, p. 637). In regard to these events, Tarikh-i-Masuri may also be referred to. Professor Blochmann gives some notes from the Tarikh-i-Masuri in Journal of the Asiatic Society, Part I, No. II, of 1867. These notes mention that "Chander-nagore fell into the hands of Clive and Watson through the treachery of a French officer, named Tarranau, who harboured a grudge against the French Governor of Chander-nagore, named M. Henault (p. 88, J.A.S. referred to above) and that after the fall of Chander-nagore, Mons. Lae, a French officer, became an attendant at the Court of the Nawab Sirājū-d-daulah, for whom he fitted out a detachment by the name of Telinga. To this the English objected, saying that according to the recent treaty of peace, the friends and enemies of the English were to be regarded as friends and enemies of the Nawab, and the friends and enemies of the Nawab were to be regarded as friends and enemies of the English. After some correspondence, the Nawab sent away from Murshidabad Mons. Lae to humour Clive. At this time (1757), Clive built the present Fort William and a Mint in Calcutta, without waiting for permission of the Nawab. A few letters written by Sirājū-d-daulah to M. Bussy, in the Dakhin, had been intercepted by the English, and Sirājū-d-daulah was accused of breach of faith. The wrath of the Nawab at the crooked dealings and slow but steady advance of these foreigners increased daily. Mr.

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set out from Calcutta and to march to Palṣai (Plassey). When the moment for action had passed, Sirāj-u-d-daulah on hearing the

Watts, the English Resident at Murshidābād, was threatened. The Nawab went so far as to tear up a letter which Col. Clive had written to him. Soon after, however, from fear of his false courtiers and want of confidence in his own army, he tried to pacify Mr. Watts by a *Khilat*, and wrote an excuse to Clive. But Clive had already dug himself into the conspiracy headed by Mir Jafar, to dethrone Sirāj-u-d-daulah. According to the *Tarikh-i-Munawwar*, the conspiracy was planned by Mir Muḥammad Jafar, Aminḥanḥan Banra (generally called Omichand) and Khwājeh Visier, but according to the *Seir-i-Mulḥakka*, by Mir Muḥammad Jafar, Rajah Dulah Ram and Jagat Set, who had each their agents in Calcutta. (See quotation from *Seir* given by me already in this note). Clive treated with the conspirators through Mr. Watts. The author then gives a description of Clive's double dealings with Aminḥanḥan (Omichand) as given in all histories of Bengal."

"Early in June 1757, Clive left Calcutta, reached on the 17th the small town of Katwah, south of Plassey, and took possession of the fort of that place.

On the 21st June, 4 p.m., Clive left Katwah, crossed the Hugli, and pitched his tents on the morning of the 25th, in the fields of Plassey. The Nawab's army was now in sight. A cannonade commenced. The English attacked the tents of Sirāj-u-d-daulah, but were vigorously opposed by Mir Madan (called Moudam Khān in Thornton, Vol. I, p. 240), one of the Nawab's faithful *amirs*. About 12 o'clock Mir Madan was struck by a cannon-ball and carried to Sirāj-u-d-daulah's tent, where he died. The fighting was, however, continued, Mohanlal having taken Mir Madan's place. But nothing decisive was done. Afraid of a conspiracy Sirāj-u-d-daulah sent for Mir Jafar, who had taken no part in the fight. After most earnest solicitations on the part of the Nawab, Mir Jafar promised to fight the next day, on condition that Mohanlal should be at once ordered to withdraw from the fight. Sirāj-u-d-daulah agreed, and Mohanlal returned to his tents. But no sooner did the troops see their General had left the field than they became hopeless and began to flee. Before evening, the army of the Nawab had dispersed. This is the battle in which India was lost for Islam." See Blochmann's notes from the *Tarikh-i-Munawwar* referred to above.

The *Seir-i-Mulḥakka*'s explanation regarding (p. 337, Vol. II), Clive's breach of the treaty with Sirāj-u-d-daulah is apologetic in tone. The *Seir* states that the English had joined Mir Jafar's conspiracy, but as this was rare do not, without some substantial reason, engage in hostilities, or break treaties, they must have entered into some correspondence with the Nawab, and advanced some good reason (of which the author was not aware) for breaking the treaty of peace. Possibly the reason was found in the delay in the payment of the Nawab's indemnity on account of the losses sustained by the English during the capture of Calcutta by Sirāj-u-d-daulah.

I will now summarise the description of the battle of Plassey from the

news of the advance of the English troops, marched out of the City. Now taking out the cotton of recklessness from the war,

Sikandar-Mutakhir (Vol. II, p. 636). On hearing of Clive's movement, Sirājū-d-daulah tried to conciliate his disaffected officers, who outwardly professed loyalty to him, but inwardly plotted his ruin. Sirājū-d-daulah sent Rajah Dulab Ram (the traitor) ahead to Plassey, to supervise the construction of redoubts and outrenchments, and shortly after moved up there himself, with his faithful officers, Mir Madan and Mohaulal and with the traitor, Mir Jafar. Clive also moved to Plassey with a small number of English Telengitroops, numbering about 2,000 in all. Clive commenced the battle with a brisk cannonade, whilst Mir Jafar stood by at a distance and watched the game. Mir Madan fought bravely till about 3 p.m., and steadily advanced with Mohaulal close to Clive's position. Seeing Mir Madan's gallantry, Clive, it is said, was dispirited and reproached Omighand for having falsely assured him that everyone was disaffected against the Nawab, and that no one would fight for the latter. As luck would however have it, at this time Mir Madan was hit by a cannon-ball and was removed to Sirājū-d-daulah's tent, where he died. Sirājū-d-daulah now becoming anxious sent for Mir Jafar, beseeched the latter to fight on his behalf, and even placed his turban before the latter, and addressed this arch-traitor as follows: "I now repent of my deeds, and in the name of the bounty that you received from my grandfather, Mahabat Jang, I entreat you to defend my life and honour." The pathetic appeal did not move the heart of this arch-traitor who still harboured his treacherous designs under the mask of friendship and who returned the following false answer: "To-day is at its close, and the time for further fighting to-day is over. To-day, order the battle to cease; to-morrow I will fight for you with the whole army." Sirājū-d-daulah fell into Mir Jafar's trap, and sent a message to his Diwan, Mohaulal, who was continuing the fight after Mir Madan's fall, to return. Mohaulal said there was no time to return now, as he was in the thick of the fight, which would finally decide the fate. Sirājū-d-daulah consulted Mir Jafar, who cunningly repeated his former treacherous advice, and in consequence Mohaulal was summoned back. Mohaulal's return had a disastrous effect on Sirājū-d-daulah's army, who dispersed in all directions. Sirājū-d-daulah then returned swiftly to Murshidabad, halted for some time at Manerang, but found he was surrounded on all sides by false courtiers and traitors. So he left with his Bagama and gold for Bhagwangolah, whence on boats he called for Azimabad sending at the same time a letter to Munz, Las to join him. Before Las's arrival, Sirājū-d-daulah was on his way to Patna. Owing to his Bagama and children having had no food for some days, Sirājū-d-daulah, whom misfortune was dogging, landed at Rajmahal, went to the house of a fakir named Darn Shah, who undertook ostensibly to prepare *Kāich* for him, but who inwardly harboured resentment against the Nawab, owing to previous ill-treatment. This fakir promptly sent news of Sirājū-d-daulah's arrival to Mir Dād (brother of Mir Jafar), who was at Rajmahal. Mir Dād and Mir Qasim *Khān*

he displayed towards the aforesaid Khān (Mir Jafar) flattery and endearment, and sending the Begam of Mahābat Jang to Mir Jafar opened the gates of apology for his past shortcomings. Mir Jafar did not listen to them, as he had no reliance on Sirāju-d-daulah's assurances and actions. After this, when Sirāju-d-daulah advanced from Chunarhalli, the aforesaid Khān (Mir Jafar) also marching encamped at a distance of half a *farṣakh* from the army of Sirāju-d-daulah. Mir Madan, Superintendent of the Artillery, told Sirāju-d-daulah that the English were coming at the instigation of Mir Muḥammad Jafar, and that it was, therefore, expedient to finish first Mir Muḥammad Jafar, and that after the latter was killed, the English would not have the daring to approach this side. In that the arrow of Fate cannot be parried by the shield of Effort, and in that God's decrees had already been passed another way,

To the advice of that wise sage,
That light-hearted man (Sirāju-d-daulah) was deaf.

When next day, Sirāju-d-daulah reached Dāūd-pūr, tidings came

(son-in-law of Mir Jafar), came and captured Sirāju-d-daulah, carried him to Murshidābād where he was murdered by Mir Jafar and his son Miran. Sirāju-d-daulah's corpse was placed on an elephant and paraded. The Seir winds up its account of this tragic murder of Sirāju-d-daulah with the following pathetic lines:—

چنین بود گردیدن روزگار • او مرده شد بار دنیا خس است
سبک سیر و بد عهد و نا پایدار • که هر صدمه جانی دیگر کس است
مده بر جهان دل که بیگانه است • نکولی کن امروز چون نه تو است
چو مطلوب هر روز در خانه است • که سال دگر دیگوه ده خداست
که لایق بود عیش با دلبری • اگر گنج قایم بدست آوی
که هر بامدادش بود شـهری • نماد مگر آنچه بخشی خوری

I have already quoted the moral which the author of the *Ibrat-i-Arḥab-i-Bār* draws from this tragic event. See p. 221.

This account compiled from *Seir-i-Mutakkerin*, *Higaz-i-Salatia*, *Ibrat-i-Arḥab-i-Bār*, and Professor Blochmann's notes from *Tarikh-i-Mansuri* may possibly be compared with the accounts in Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the English, Mill's British India, and Thornton's British India (as suggested by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S., Part I, No. 2, 1867, p. 26).

to the effect that the English had set fire to Katwāh. At that time Mohanlal reproached Sirāju-d-daulah, and said: "You have ruined me, and rendered my children orphans. If you had not removed Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān and Dullab Ram from the Katwāh outpost, things would not have taken this turn." In short, on the morning following that day, which was 5th Shawāl of the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Alamgir II, the English army from Palāsi (Plassey) on one side, and Sirāju-d-daulah from Dāūd-pūr on the other encountered each other, and opened the battle with a cannonade. Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān, with his detachment, stood at a distance towards the left from the main army; and although Sirāju-d-daulah summoned him to his side, Mir Jafar did not move from his position. In the thick of the fighting, and in the heat of the work of carnage, whilst victory and triumph were visible on the side of the army of Sirāju-d-daulah, all of a sudden Mir Madan, commander of the Artillery, fell on being hit with a cannon-ball. At the sight of this, the aspect of Sirāju-d-daulah's army changed, and the artillerymen with the corpse of Mir Madan moved into tents. It was now midday, when the people of the tents fled. As yet Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah was busy fighting and slaughtering, when the camp-followers decamping from Dāūd-pūr went the other side, and gradually the soldiers also took to their heels. Two hours before sun-set, flight occurred in Sirāju-d-daulah's army, and Sirāju-d-daulah also being unable to stand his ground any longer fled. On arrival at Maṣṣūrganj, which had been founded by him, he opened the Treasury gates and distributed money to the army. But owing to grave anxieties, being unable to halt there, the Nawāb abandoning his treasures and effects, at nightfall, with his wives and children, got into a boat, carrying with himself a lot of precious jewelleries and gold coins, and sailed towards Pornah and Azimābād. After Sirāju-d-daulah's defeat, Mir Muḥammad Jafar entered his camp, in the night held a conference with the English Chiefs, and early next morning marched in pursuit of Sirāju-d-daulah, and arrived in Murshidābād. Finding the sky propitious towards his views, Mir Jafar entered the citadel, struck up the music announcing his accession to the *waznad* of Bengal, issued proclamations of peace and security in the City, and unfurled the standard of *Ṣubḥādārī*. Mir Jafar then detailed his son-in-law, Mir Muḥammad Qāsim with a corps to capture Sirāju-d-daulah, and quartered the Eng-

ish army at Babulah.¹ But Sirāju-d-daulah, travelling in the night, had sailed swiftly from below Māldah, and reached Babul. When news reached him that the mouth of Nāgarpūr was unaviable and boats could not pass by that way, he was obliged to disembark, and went to the house of Dān Shāh Pirzādah, whose house was at that place. Dān Shāh who previous to this had suffered some injury at the hands of Sirāju-d-daulah, finding the latter in his power, and seeing the times favourable, by giving assurances and consolations, detained Sirāju-d-daulah in his house, and ostensibly engaging on preparing food, sent information to Mir Dāūd Ali Khān, Faujdār of Akbarnāgar (Rājmahal), who was brother of Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān. The spies of Dāūd Ali Khān who were searching for Sirāju-d-daulah, fancying it to be a grand victory, swiftly arrived, and capturing Sirāju-d-daulah carried him from the house of Dān Shāh² to Akbarnāgar, from whence the spies of Dāūd Ali Khān and Mir Muḥammad Qāsim Khān carried him in their company to Murāhidābād. Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān threw Sirāju-d-daulah into prison that day. On the next day, with the advice of the English Chiefs, and on the importunity and insistence of Jagat Set, he slew him, and suspending the corpse of that victim of oppression to a *bandal* on an elephant's back, sent it round the City, and then buried it in *Khoṣh Bāgh* in the Mausoleum of Nawāb Mahabat Jang. After some days, Mir Jafar killed also Mirzā Miḥdī Ali Khān, the younger brother of Sirāju-d-daulah, by stretching him on an instrument of torture, and buried his body by the side of his brother's grave. The Nizāmat of Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah³ lasted

¹ I am not sure if this word is correctly printed in the Pers. text.

² In Pers. Dān Shāh.

³ I have outlined in a previous note the principal measures of Sirāju-d-daulah's administration.

The *Ḥusn-i-Arshād-i-Bār* (p. 26) characterises Sirāju-d-daulah as 'light-hearted, unassuming, self-willed, petulant, short-tempered and sharp-tongued.' The *Sir-i-Mutakheria* (vol. II, p. 621) states in condemnation of Sirāju-d-daulah that Sirāju-d-daulah's 'harsh and unweath utterances, his derision and jesting in respect of the offences of his Government' caused resentment in their hearts.' If this be what constituted the head and front of his offending, — if this be what exhausts the catalogue of his sins, then one has to materially modify the generally current view of Sirāju-d-daulah.

The explanation accounting for the tragic fate of Sirāju-d-daulah is, however, attempted by the author of the *Ḥusn-i-Arshād-i-Bār* (p. 32). This author

one year and four months, and he was slain at the end of the month of *Shawāl* 1170 A.H.

NIZĀMAT OF SHUJĀU-L-MULK JAFAR ALI KHĀN.

When Jafar Ali Khān ascended ¹ the *eminat* of the Nizāmat of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, he set himself to the conciliation of the

states, in effect, that Sirāj-u-d-daulah was a victim of intrigues and misfortunes left as a legacy by his grandfather, Ali Yārli Khān, who had inaugurated in Bengal an era of violent intrigues and dark treachery, by killing his own master, Nawab Sarfaraz Khān (son of Ali Yārli's benefactor, Nawab Shujau-d-din Khān), and who was, therefore, now punished by an Avenging Providence in the person of his grandson Sirāj-u-d-daulah, whom Ali Yārli had regarded as dearer than his own life. That Sirāj-u-d-daulah did not bring on the misfortunes on himself by his own incapacity, is proved by what the *Siraj-ul-Mutakherin* (Vol. II, p. 633), states, namely, that 'Sirāj-u-d-daulah had attained the zenith of power and opulence and that, therefore, a declension was inevitable according to the laws of nature.'

This Revolution in the history of Bengal which in effect supplanted Moslem Rule and made the English virtually supreme in this country, may also be viewed in another aspect as a wise Dispensation of Providence for the ultimate good of the people. At the time, it is abundantly clear, the people in Bengal were sunk in the abyss of moral debasement, and the cankers of dark ingratitude and treachery, enmity, selfishness and madness had crept deep into the vitals of their hearts. In the pursuit of the phantoms of individual self-aggrandisement and of personal ambitions, they had taken advantage of the youthful failings of their sovereign and of the intermarriage jealousies that distracted his family, forgotten and forsaken all sentiments of gratitude and honour, and yielded to their instinct of intrigue by fraternising with the Nawab's disloyal relation, Mir Jafar. These, therefore, verily needed a Chastener—a Moses—to save them from further moral dissolution; and so Providence in His inscrutable wisdom sent to them One from across the seas in the person of the English, to scourge the sins of the land, to chasten the people, to purify and re-form them, and to ones more, if possible, to rescue them from the sea of moral annihilation.

¹ See the account in the *Seis* (Vol. II, p. 640). After the battle of Plassey, Mir Jafar and Clive had a conference on the battlefield, and they together entered Murshidābad. Mir Jafar occupied the palace of Manpurganj, which was the residence of Sirāj-u-d-daulah, and then visited the Nizamat Treasury, in order to distribute the treasures between himself, Dulah Ram, and Clive, as had been agreed to mutually. Dulah Ram now became Mir Jafar's most influential colleague in the administration. Their friendship, however, did not last long, and shortly after Dulah Ram contemplated placing Sirāj-u-d-daulah's brother, Mirzā Mahdi, on the summit. See *Seis*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 644).

army and the nobility, who had joined him in his conspiracy to destroy Sirājū-d-daulah. He appointed his nephew, Khadim Husain Khān,¹ to the office of Faujdār of Purniah, and conferred on Rāmনারāin a robe of honour, confirming him in the Deputy-Governorship of the Śūbah of Azīmābād (Patna).²

At this time Shāh Alam³ invaded the Śūbah of Azīmābād.

¹ See *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 645), for an account of Khadim Husain Khān. Khadim Husain Khān's father, Syāh Khadim Ali Khān, was husband of Mir Jafar's sister, but Khadim Husain was not from this sister, but born of another wife of Khadim. Khadim Husain was a boon companion of Mir Jafar, who was fond of pleasures and carousals (p. 645, Vol. II, *Seir*).

² Mir Jafar was quite incompetent for the office of Subadar of Bengal. As soon as he ascended the musnad of the Nizamat, he flung himself into pleasures, neglected State affairs, and left them in the hands of his son, Miran, and others. Jahangir Nogar or Dacca fell into the hands of Bājballah, Diwan of Miran; this Bājballah, in the time of the late Shahamat Jang was peishkar of Shahamat Jang's Diwan, Humāin Qulī Khān. Bardwin and some other districts were ceded to the English, in lieu of cash payment of a part of the Bengal revenue. Hugh was assigned to Mir Beg Khān, who had rendered good services to the English. Rājā Rāmনারāin became supreme administrator of Bihār, whilst Purniah was bestowed on Khadim Husain Khān. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 651). It is stated in the *Seir* that shortly after Mir Jafar's accession, people got tired of him and his son Miran, and sighed back for the old days of Sirājū-d-daulah, whom they regarded now as better in all respects than Mir Jafar (*Seir-i-Mutakkerin*, Vol. II, p. 656).

³ A detailed account of this will be found in the *Seir-i-Mutakkerin*, Vol. II, p. 656. It appears that many of the noblemen in Bihār and Bengal soon got into thorough disgust with Mir Jafar and his son, Miran, and opened correspondence with Muhammad Qulī Khān, Subadar of Allahabad (a cousin of Shujan-d-daulah, and a nephew of Safdar Jang). Muhammad Qulī Khān took counsel with his cousin, Shujan-d-daulah, Subadar of Oudh, who inwardly harboured ill-feeling towards his cousin and aimed at his ruin, gave him false advice, and encouraged him to invade Bihār and to vary with him Prince Ali Gauhar, surnamed Shāh Alam (who was heir of Emperor Alamgir II). Ali Gauhar was harassed at this time by Imād-ud-Mulk, and was staying with Najīb-ud-daulah Najib Khān Afghān at Miranpur, Uttarnah. At first Rāmনারāin, Deputy-Governor of Bihār, took counsel with Mr. Amytt, the Chief of the English Factory at Patna, enquired what course of action he should adopt, and suggested that the English should help him in opposing Prince Ali Gauhar's invasion. Mr. Amytt said he could give no decisive answer. Finding that no help was coming from the Nazim of Bengal, Mir Jafar, nor from the English, Rāmনারāin became anxious, opened political courtesies with Prince Gauhar and Muhammad Qulī Khān, waited on them in Darbar, and professed allegiance to the Prince. Both the Prince and Muhammad Qulī

Rahim Khān and Qadīrūd Khān, &c., sons of Umar Khān, and Ghulam Shāh and other commanders and generals in the service

Khān being thus re-assured, let Rāmārāin return to the fort of Agimābād. Shortly after, on getting news of the approach of Miran and the English, Rāmārāin throw off his mask of loyalty to the Prince and Muhammad Qulī Khān. The latter pressed the siege of Patna, assaulted the Fort, and Rāmārāin being hardpressed was about to surrender and run away. Then news arriving that Shujau-d-daulah by a foul trick had made himself master of the Fort of Allahābād, which was held by his cousin Muhammad Qulī Khān, the latter together with Prince Ali Gauhar abandoned the siege of Patna, and withdrew towards Allahābād. (See p. 669, *Seir*, Vol. II). At this time, Mena. Laa met the Prince, persuaded the latter to attack again Patna, but the latter acknowledged his inability to do so, owing to want of funds. If, at this time, Shujau-d-daulah, instead of being unmanly treacherous to his cousin, had supported him, the fate of Bihar might have been different. See Mena. Laa's observations on the point quoted in the *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 670). At Benares, Muhammad Qulī Khān's march was opposed under orders of Shujau-d-daulah, whilst Prince Ali Gauhar with Mena. Laa was allowed to pass on via Mirzapor to Chatterpur towards Brindākund. Muhammad Qulī Khān was carried to Shujau-d-daulah who had the meanness to imprison him. In the meantime, Miran with Col. Clive came to Patna, and Rāmārāin waited on them, whilst apparently amicable relations were opened between them and Prince Ali Gauhar, through the diplomatic correspondence of Ghulam Husain Khān, author of the *Seir*. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 674).

Shortly after, on the invitation of Diler Khān and Kamgar Khān, Zamindar of Tirhut Samal, Prince Ali Gauhar again invaded Patna. At this time, the English army under Captain Cockrane supported Rāmārāin. Mr. Amyt was still the Chief of the English Factory at Patna, whilst Dr. Fullerton was attached to the Factory as the medical officer. The author of the *Seir* (Ghulam Husain Khān) was a friend of Dr. Fullerton, and was the latter's guest at the time. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 676). At this time Emperor Alamgir II was treacherously murdered under orders of Imād-ud-Daulah (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 676), and Ali Gauhar consulted Ghulam Husain Khān's father, who resided at the time in Haminābad in Bihar Province and proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Shāh Alam in 1173. A.H., appointed Shujau-d-daulah as his Viceroy, and Najib-ud-daulah as his General. Then Kamgar Khān Muin and Agalat Khān and Diler Khān met the Emperor, and induced the latter to invade Bihār. At this time, Rāmārāin was encamped on the banks of the river Ghaghara. At this battle, Shāh Alam defeated Rāmārāin, who was wounded. The English army who supported Rāmārāin and were led by Captain Cockrane and Mr. Barwal, were also defeated and dispersed; and Patna fell into the hands of the Emperor. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 678). At this battle, Diler Khān and Agalat Khān, sons of Umar Khān, fought and fell heroically on the side of the Emperor. Shortly after, Miran, with the English troops under Colonel Clive arrived. On the side of the Emperor, Kam-

of Sirāju-d-daulah, whom Jafar Ali Khān had previously from policy shifted to the province of Bihār, now joined the Imperial Army. At Fatūlah, a battle took place between the Imperialists and Rāmārāin. Rāmārāin was wounded, and fled to the fort, and the Imperial troops laid siege to the fort. Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān, on getting this news, despatched to Bihār his son, Nawāb Nāṣir-u-l-Mulk Ṣadiq Ali Khān Shāhāmāt Jang, surnamed Miran, with a detachment of English troops. On the banks of the river Adhūah, adjoining Bāch, a battle ensued with the Imperialists. On the side of the Imperialists, Qādirdād Khān and Kāngār Khān displayed feats of bravery. Maḥammad Amin Khān was wounded, whilst Rājāullah fell back, and both contemplated flight. Qādirdād Khān, with others, by brave onslaughts, attacked the lines of artillery. A heavy gun, which required to be drawn by 400 bullocks, happened to lie in front of these. Those men got entangled amidst the bullocks, and failed to cut through as the bullocks hemmed them on all sides. At this juncture, the elephant-driver of Qādirdād Khān was shot by a bullet. Qādirdād

gar Khān, Qadirdad Khān, Ghulam Khān were the Generals. Qadirdad Khān made a bold movement to the rear of Miran, heroically fought, killed Maḥammad Amin Khān (maternal uncle of Miran), wounded Miran, and worked havoc in Miran's army. Miran fled. Then the English opened a brisk cannonade, and one cannon-ball hit Qadirdad Khān who was killed. Then the tide of victory turned in favour of Miran, whilst Kāngār Khān, with the Emperor, proceeded towards Bihār (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 680). Now Kāngār Khān, with the Emperor, contemplated surprising Murahidabad, and proceeded to Bardwān. Mir Jafar, with the English army and his own troops, proceeded to Bardwān. Kāngār Khān with the Emperor now turned back towards Azimabad, while Mons. Las also arrived. (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 680). At this time Khadim Hussain Khān and Dulab Ram (who had got sick of his old fellow-conspirator, Mir Jafar) went help secretly to the Emperor. The Emperor and Kāngār Khān with Mons. Las and Zainn-d-din Khān now assaulted the fort of Patna. The assaults were vigorously repeated, and the fort was about to fall, when a company of English troops under Captain Knox brought timely reinforcement, and raised the siege. The Emperor with Kāngār Khān now went some distance from Patna, and was busy collecting revenue. In the meantime, Khadim Hussain, who bore an old grudge to Miran, moved to Hajipur with a large number of troops to attack Patna, but was defeated by Captain Knox who was supported by Shihab Rai (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 685). Shortly after Miran, with Colonel Olivo and another English army, arrived, and pursued Khadim Hussain Khān, who felt himself too weak to oppose their united forces, and retired towards Bitish, where of a night Miran was killed by lightning, whilst sleeping in his tent. (*See Seir*, Vol. II, p. 688).

Khān spurred on his elephant with his feet, and shot arrows. Nawāb Saḍīq Ali Khān received a wound, being hit by an arrow. At this moment, a big cannon-ball hit Qādirād Khān on the left side of the chest, and finished him up. On seeing this mishap, Kāmgar Khān and others joining back their horses fell back to their own lines. The army of Saḍīq Ali Khān, on ascertaining this, made a fresh onslaught, attacked the Imperialists, and struck up the music of victory. The Imperialists were defeated. Rahīm Khān and Zaiin-ul-Abidin Khān, who had made a detour towards the rear of Saḍīq Ali Khān's army, on hearing the music of victory, made a flank movement towards the right wing, and attacked it. But owing to the cannonade of the English artillery, they were unable to stand their ground, and were defeated. After defeat, the Imperialists retired towards Bardwān, and Saḍīq Ali Khān, pursuing them, followed them up to Bardwān *vid* Chakal,¹ Khantl,² and Birbhūm. From this side, Jafar Ali Khān also marched expeditionally to Bardwān, and on the banks of the river³ below the town of Bardwān, a battle commenced with a cannonade. The Imperialists not being able to hold their own there, marched back to Azimābād.

Jafar Ali Khān and Saḍīq Ali Khān now set themselves to confiscate the treasures and effects of Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah and the Begams of Mahābat Jang, &c. Rendering the latter hard up for even a night's sustenance, they had already sent to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), the Begam of Mahābat Jang with her two daughters, one named Aṃanah Begam,⁴ mother of Sirāju-d-daulah, and the other named Ghasiṭi Begam, widow of Shāhāmat Jang, together with other ladies of Mahābat Jang's harem. Jafar Ali Khān and Saḍīq Ali Khān now sent Bāqir Khān, the General, to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) with a corps of one hundred cavalry, and wrote to Jasarat Khān, Faujdar of Jahāngirnagar, peremptorily directing the latter to capture and make over Ghasiṭi Begam and

¹ In the printed Persian text 'Jakai,' which would apparently seem to be a misreading or misprint for Chakal, in Monghyr district, which would be on the line of route.

² 'Khantl' or Contal is in Midnapur district. I think this must be a misprint or misreading in the Pers. printed text, as Khantl does not appear to lie on the line of route from Rihiz to Bardwān; probably Kandī is meant.

³ That is to say, Damodar river.

⁴ In *Seiru-l-Hafizgherān*, 'Aṃanah Begam.'

Amīnah Begam to Bāqir Khān, as soon as the latter arrived. On the arrival of Bāqir Khān at Jahāngirnagar, Jasārat Khān¹ was obliged to pass the necessary orders. The Begams were placed on a boat, which was taken out some *kuroh* from Jahāngirnagar and there sunk in the river. It is said that when the Begams were taken out to the boat, and became aware of their fate, they repeated their prayers, held the Holy *Qorān* in their armpits, embraced each other, and then plunged into the river. O, Gracious God, what inhuman barbarity was this! But at length, Šadiq Ali Khān also suffered retribution for it in his own life-time.²

At this time a misunderstanding had set in between Šadiq Ali Khān and Khādīm Husain Khān, on account of levy of revenue and also of other matters. Šadiq Ali Khān, resolving to expel and extinguish Khādīm Husain Khān, planned an expedition to Purniah. Khādīm Husain Khān advancing with his troops from Purniah, entrenched himself at Gandahgolah (Garagola) for fighting. Then, all of a sudden, news arrived that the Imperialists had besieged the fort of Azimābād (Patna), and were fighting with Rāmnaśāin. Consequently, Šadiq Ali Khān, abandoning his contemplated expedition to Purniah, set out for Azimābād. Khādīm Husain Khān, not considering himself a match for him, set out for the Imperial Capital. From this (i.e., the southern) side of the Ganges, the army of Šadiq Ali Khān, and from that (i.e., the northern) side of the Ganges, Khādīm Husain Khān

¹ To the credit of Jasārat Khān, Faujdar of Dacca or Jahāngirnagar, it is related in the *Seir* that he had declined to be a party to such a diabolical murder, and had offered to resign his post. It appears from the *Seir* Mir Jafar subsequently hoaxed Jasārat Khān, and induced the latter to make over to Bāqir Khān the two Begams, on the plea that they would be safely lodged at Murshidābād, now that Miran had left that place for Bihār.

² That Mir Jafar and his son, Miran, were despicable tyrants, is sufficiently attested by this diabolical murder. There is nothing to match such inhuman barbarity in the record of the much-abused *Sikṛju-d-daulah*. See *Seir-i-Mutakhabbar*, Vol. II, p. 689. It appears Amīnah Begam, before plunging into the river, prayed to God that Miran might meet with retribution and be killed by lightning for his barbarous inhumanity in causing her and her sister's death. It is further stated in the *Seir* that Miran was killed by lightning in his tent the same night that Ghazālī Begam and Amīnah Begam (daughters of All Vazīr Khān Mahābat Jang, and wives of Shahamat Jang and Halbat Jang respectively) met with a watery grave in the river below Dacca.

marched up. And when news of the approach of Sadiq Ali Khān spread at Azimābād, the Imperialists raising the siege of the fort of Patna retired by the highway towards Munir. Sadiq Ali Khān, thus finding himself at leisure, crossed the river, and marched in pursuit of Khādim Husain Khān. Khādim Husain Khān marched forward with the swiftness of lightning and wind, whilst Sadiq Ali Khān hotly pursued him from behind, making forced marches. At this juncture, a storm of wind and rain came on and disabled both the horsemen and the horses from action. Khādim Husain Khān reached the bank of a river,¹ to ford which was difficult, and to cross which without a ferry boat was impossible. The army of Khādim Husain Khān, like the Israelites of old, finding the river in front and the enemy in the rear, despaired of life. Finding all ways of escape cut off, Khādim Husain Khān of necessity flung his treasures and heavy baggages amongst his soldiers, and placing his trust in his God and looking up to the Infallible Artist, looked out for supernatural help. The army of Sadiq Ali Khān, having had to march through mud and clay and being drenched through by a heavy shower of rain, were rendered unfit for fighting, and halted that day at a distance of 2 *karch* from Khādim Husain Khān. In that the cup of the life of Khādim Husain Khān and his companions was yet not full to the brim, at midnight a lightning fell on Sadiq Ali Khān, and killed him and his personal attendant. This mishap occurred in 1173 A.H. Khādim Husain Khān, thus getting providentially rescued from the claws of certain death, marched away with the speed of lightning and wind, and went to the Šābah of Augh (Oudh). Rājballab ² and other comrades of Sadiq Ali Khān rubbed the ashes of sorrow and anguish on their heads, and together with the English army retired to Azimābād. There they directed their attention towards the Imperial army, including the Emperor's Mahratta Contingent, who were encamped at Hilah, and commenced warfare. The Imperialists were again defeated, and the French General ³ who was in the company of

¹ This was the river Gandak, as would appear from the description in the *Seir*.

² Rājballab, a native of Dacca, was Peishkar of Husain Quli Khān, whilst the latter was Divān of Shahamat Jung in Dacca. After Husain Quli Khān's death, Rājballab rose to be Divān of Shahamat Jung. He was continued in the same office under Miran.

³ This was Mons. Lue, as would appear from the *Seir*.

the Emperor was captured, whilst Rājballab followed up to Bihār. When the Imperialists marched towards Gya-Manpūr and Kām-gār Khān fled to the hills, Rājballab thought of returning. But at this moment, news arrived to the effect that Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān was a prisoner, and that Nawāb Qāsim Ali Khān¹ had acquired the *Shāh* of Bengal, as will be related hereafter. The period of the Nizāmat of Nawab Mir Maḥammad Jafar Ali Khān lasted about three years.



NIẒĀMAT OF ALIJAH NAṢIRU-L-MULK IMTIĀZU-D-DAULAH QĀSIM ALI KHĀN BAHADUR NAṢRAT JANG.

Nawab Jafar Ali Khān had sent to Calcutta his kinsman, Mir Maḥammad Qāsim,² who was a son of Nawab Imtiāz Khān, surnamed *Malis*, to represent him at the Conference regarding the Administration and settlement of the apportionment of 10 annas of the revenue to Jafar Ali Khān and six annas to the English, and regarding the enjoyment of the office of Diwān by Jafar Ali Khān. On the death of *Ṣadiq Ali Khān*, the Army demanding their pay which had fallen into arrear for some years mutinied in a body, besieged the Nawāb in the *Chihil Sotān* Palace, and cut off supplies of food and water. In consequence, the Nawāb wrote to Mir Maḥammad Qāsim Khān to the effect that the army had reduced him to straits for demand of arrear pay. Mir Maḥammad Qāsim Khān, in concert with Jagat Set, conspired with the English Chiefs, and induced the latter to write to Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān to the effect that the mutiny of the army, for

¹ Mir Qāsim was a son-in-law of Mir Jafar, who had conferred on the former the Panjshahi of Purneah in addition to that of Rangpur. Mir Qāsim went on some State business to Calcutta, and there made an impression on Mr. Vansittart, who had now succeeded Clive as Governor of Calcutta. At this time, the pay of the army being in arrear, the latter besieged Mir Jafar in his palace. With the help of the English Council in Calcutta, Mir Qāsim now became Nāzim of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, in supersession of Mir Jafar, who had proved himself an incapable ruler. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 605). Mir Qāsim owed his installation chiefly to Mr. Vansittart, the Governor of Calcutta, and his colleague in the Council, Mr. Hastings, both of whom went for the purpose to Murshidābād. Mir Jafar came to Calcutta and remained there under surveillance.

² In the *Seir*, it is stated Mir Qāsim was a son of Syed Martam, who was a son of Imtiāz Khān, surnamed *Shahy*.

demand of pay was a very serious matter, and that it was advisable that the Nawāb abandoning the Fort should come down to Calcutta, entrusting the Fort and the Sūbah to Mir Muḥammad Qāsim Khān.¹ Mir Muḥammad Qāsim with full self-confidence, on attaining his aim, returned to Murshidābād. The English Chiefs leaguely with Mir Muḥammad Qāsim Khān brought out Nawāb Jafar Khān from the Fort, placed him on a boat, and sent him down to Calcutta. Mir Qāsim Khān entered the Fort, mounted the *maṣnāʿ* of Nizāmat, and issued proclamations of peace and security in his own name. He sent a message to Rājballab² to bring back the Emperor to Aḡmābād, whilst he himself afterwards set out for Aḡmābād, in order to wait on the Emperor, after attending to and reassuring his army, and making some settlement in regard to their arrears of pay. Leaving his uncle, Mir Turāb All Khān, as Deputy Nāgim in Murshidābād, Mir Qāsim carried with himself all his effects, requisites, elephants, horses, and treasures comprising cash and jewelleries of the *harem*, and even gold and silver decorations of the Imāmbāra, amounting to several lacs in value, and bade farewell to the country of Bengal. After arriving at Monghyr, and attending to the work of strengthening its fortifications,³ he marched to

¹ Mir Jafar proved himself thoroughly incapable. In whatever light his character is viewed, he appears to have been much worse than the much-abused Sirājū-d-daulah. Though much older than the latter, Mir Jafar was unquestionably inferior to the latter in qualities both of head and heart. As a general or an administrator, Sirājū-d-daulah was superior to him, whilst as a man, Sirājū-d-daulah was much better than Mir Jafar or his infamous son, Miran. The *Seir* states that shortly after the Revolution, even Mir Jafar's old adherents sighed back for the days of Sirājū-d-daulah. Mir Jafar was even incapable of retaining the friendships or attachments of his fellow-conspirators, Dalah Ram and Jagat Set. After ascending the *maṣnāʿ* of Nizāmat, Mir Jafar gave himself up to pleasures and debaucheries, though he was an elderly man, and neglected State affairs which fell into confusion. Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings contemplated at first that Mir Jafar should be allowed to retain his titles and privileges as the Nazim of Bengal, whilst Mir Qasim should act as Administrator-General or Regent on his behalf. In this arrangement, Mir Jafar refused to acquiesce, and so he was brought down a prisoner to Calcutta, whilst Mir Qasim was proclaimed Nawāb Nazim of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. (*See Seir*, Vol. II, p. 635.)

² Rājballab was at this time in Patna in charge of Miran's army, as Miran had been killed by lightning.

³ From the *Seir*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 711, it appears that Mir Qasim went

Azimābād (Patna), in order to wait on the Emperor. Before Mir Qāsim's arrival at Azimābād, the Emperor had returned to that place, and the English going forward to receive him had accommodated His Majesty in their own Factory.¹ Subsequently, Qāsim Ali Khān also arrived, had the honour of an audience with the Emperor, and received from the latter the title of Nawāb Ali Jah Nāzir-ul-mulk Imtāz-ul-daulah Qāsim Ali Khān Nazim Jang. But the officers of the Emperor marking some change in the conduct of Qāsim Ali Khān marched back with the Emperor to Banāras, without giving any intimation thereof to the aforesaid Khān.² Nawāb Qāsim Ali Khān followed

to Monghyr and resided there in 1175 A.H., after having finished his expeditions to Tirhut, Shahīd, and Azimābād, and after having left Rājah Nandut Rai as Deputy Subadar of Patna, in place of Rāmnaresh and Rājballab who were imprisoned. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 711). Two days every week, the Nawāb dispensed justice, attended personally to every State affair, and listened patiently to the complaints and grievances of everyone, however humble his position, and did not permit corruption or bribery to thwart the course of justice. He paid assiduous attention to the happiness of his people and to the comfort of his army, which he placed in a highly efficient state. He was, however, a terror to enemies and wrong-doers, and his vigorous personality pervaded all affairs of the State. Friends and foes alike respected him, and even the English regarded him as a real power in the land, and not as a shadow like Mir Jafar. He respected learning and the learned, and appreciated the company of scholars, servants, and saints. The one fatal mistake that he made was that he treated implicitly the Armenian cut-throat, Gurgan Khān, who was the generalissimo of his Army and who was secretly bent on ruining him, and this one fatal mistake which embroiled him in a quarrel with the English subsequently proved disastrous to his power. See *Seir-ul-Mutakerrin*, Vol. II, p. 712.

¹ It appears the English General, Major Carnue, concluded a truce with the Emperor, established amicable relations with him, and induced the latter to come to Patna. At this time, the moves of the pawns on the political chess-board of India were quick and strange and inconsistent. Everyone was after his game of self-interest, regardless of traditions and of sentiments. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 703-704). At this time Ahmad Shah Abdali had again invaded India, defeated the Marhattas, and instructed Shuja-ul-daulah, Najib-ul-daulah and other Afghans to show allegiance to Emperor Shih Alam who was his brother-in-law. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 706).

² There does not appear to be any authority for this statement. It would appear that agreeably to the instruction left by Ahmad Shah Abdali who had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marhattas, Shuja-ul-daulah, Subadar of Oudh, had come at the time to the borders of Oudh, to receive the Emperor

them up to the confines of Baksâr and Jagadishpûr, and after pillaging those places returned to Aḡimâbâd, halted at the residence of Rāmnaṛaîn, and set himself to the work of administration of the affairs of that place.¹

When Qāsim Aḡi Khān demanded from the English duties on their trade-goods, the latter refused to pay the same, and carried on their trade duty-free.² Nawāb Qasim Aḡi Khān Shāh Alam and to escort him to Delhi, to install him on his ancestral throne. See *Scira-L-Mufaddarin*, Vol. II, pp. 706-709.

¹ Important administrative changes transpired at this time. Nawāb Mir Qāsim called for accounts from Rāmnaṛaîn, who was Deputy Subadar of Behar. Finding that Rāmnaṛaîn had been guilty of malversation in respect of large amounts of the public revenues, the Nawāb dismissed him from office and threw him into prison, at the same time confiscating all his treasures. Shitāb Rāi, who was Rāmnaṛaîn's colleague, was also suspected, and dismissed by the Nawāb, who took into his own hands the direct administration of Behar, retaining, however, Rājballab as his Deputy there. See *Scir*, Vol. II, p. 707. Subsequently Rājballab was thrown into prison, his office being given to Rājāh Nāubat Rāi, who was replaced shortly after by Mir Mehdi Khān. Gurgan Khān, an Armenian, was placed at the head of the Artillery, and the Nawāb placed implicit confidence in him. But as later events would show, this Armenian proved a traitor. The Nawāb employed a large number of spies, and thus kept himself well informed of everything that transpired. He also appointed Mir Mehdi Khān as Faujdar of Tirhut, and Muhammed Taqī Khān as Faujdar of Birham.

² This was the beginning and ostensible cause of the rupture between Nawāb Qasim Aḡi and the English. The *Scir* (Vol. II, p. 716), details these important events. In 1175 A.H., Mr. Henry Vansittart, then acting as Governor of the English East India Company in Calcutta, visited the Nawāb at Monghyr, and held a conference with him on various matters. The Nawāb then told Mr. Vansittart that much trade passed through the country duty-free, as it was given out that it was on behalf of the English, that in consequence the State suffered a heavy loss, and that it was proper that duty should be levied on all such goods, except those particularly belonging to the English East India Company. Mr. Vansittart informed the Nawāb not to do anything in the matter in haste, but to wait till his return to Calcutta, when proper orders on the subject would be passed by him and communicated to the Nawāb. The Nawāb on the strength of this felt sanguine that his request would be complied with, and in the meantime wrote to his Collectors (Amils), directing them to be vigilant in regard to permitting goods to pass duty-free, and adding that full orders would be communicated to them hereafter. These Amils in some cases exceeded their authority by stopping goods, with the result that several of them were imprisoned by Mr. Ellis, of the Patna Factory, and by Mr. Batteison, of the Dacca Factory; and sent to Calcutta. The Nawāb, on hearing this, directed reprisals, and ordered the arrest of the *young*.

remitted thereupon the duties leviable from all the traders of Bengal and Behār, and declared that so long as he failed to levy duties from the rich, he would hold back his hand from doing so, in the case of the poor. Owing to this cause, and owing to some other matters, a misunderstanding set in between him and the English chiefs. The Nawāb now hatched plans for exterminating them.¹ At length, he formed the resolution of putting them all to the sword on one day. In pursuance of this plan, he sent despatches to his Deputies and Faujdārs in Bengal to the effect that on a certain fixed date everywhere, they should by means of treachery or violence massacre all the English residents. And after personally giving peremptory injunctions to the Generals of his army to kill and capture and pillage and plunder the English, he returned to Monghyr. And when on the day fixed, the army of Qāsim Ali Khān prepared to discharge their commissioned task, a battle

took place between the English, and remitted duties on all goods, explaining that when the goods of richer traders were to be exempt from duties, it would be inequitable to levy duties on goods of poorer traders who contributed only a fraction to the State revenue. The Council in Calcutta sent Mr. Amyt as their envoy to the Nawāb to Monghyr to settle matters (p. 720, *Seir*, Vol. II). Mr. Vansittart also sent a friendly letter to the Nawāb requesting the latter to consider the demand of the Council. The Nawāb consulted his general, the Armenian Gurgun Khān, who advised the Nawāb not to listen to Mr. Vansittart's advice (p. 760, *Seir*, Vol. II). In the meantime, Gurgun Khān had caused the flower of the Nawāb's Army to perish in a fruitless expedition for the conquest of Nepal (p. 717, Vol. II, *Seir*). The Nawāb now solicited aid from Nawāb Visier Shujau-d-daulah and the Emperor, in order to repel the encroachments of the English (p. 718, *Seir*, Vol. II). The Nawāb also wrote to his capable and loyal Faujdar of Birbhum, Muhammad Taqi Khān, to send Jagat Set Mahtab Rai and his brother, Maharnaja Surupchand, grandsons of Jagat Set Fatehchand, from Murghidāhād to Monghyr under proper escort, and Muhammad Taqi Khān accordingly sent them to Monghyr, where they were ordered to reside under surveillance (p. 721, *Seir*, Vol. II). On hearing that Mr. Amyt was coming to Monghyr, the Nawāb sent Mir Abulillah and Ghulam Hossin Khān (author of the *Seir*), who were intimate with Mr. Amyt, to go and receive him, and to enquire into the object of his mission. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 712). Mr. Amyt's mission proved a failure (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 742).

¹ The *Rigas's* account is not quite accurate. What actually happened is detailed in the *Seir*, the author of which was an actor in those scenes. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 725). It appears that before the Council in Calcutta had decided anything, on Mr. Amyt's return, Mr. Amyt on his own responsibility had written from Monghyr to Mr. Eilsson, Chief of the Patna Factory, to

enamed with the English army¹. At length after successive onslaughts, Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān's army triumphed,² and engaging

prepare for war, and the latter, without waiting for any declaration of war by the Council, quietly concentrated all the available English regiments in his Factory, and suddenly attacked the Fort at Patna. The Nawāb's garrison who were quite unprepared for such an attack, were surprised, and the Fort fell partially into the hands of the English, whose troops plundered the houses in the Fort. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 725). From Monghyr, reinforcements were hurried up by the Nawāb, and with these reinforcements Mir Mahdi Khān, Nawāb's Deputy Subadar of Patna, vigorously assaulted the Fort, recaptured it, also captured the English Factory, when Mr. Ellison with Dr. Fullerton and other Englishmen and their troops fled to Ghazra and thence to the Sarja, when they were taken prisoners by the Bengalee Ram Nidhi, Faujdar of Saran, and Sumroo the Frenchman, and brought to Monghyr, where they were thrown into prison. It was then (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 727), that the Nawāb sent despatches to all his Faujdars and generals, apprising them of the outbreak of hostilities between him and the English, and directing them to put to the sword the English, wherever found. Mr. Amytt was killed at Murshidabad, in pursuance of the above order (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 727). The *River's* statement that the Nawāb fixed a 'particular day' for the massacre of the English, or that he instructed his officers to kill Englishmen by treachery—does not accord with the *Seir's* version, which is more authentic and reliable.

† It is not clear to which battle the *River* refers here. As would appear from the note ante, the first battle in which the Nawāb's army triumphed was fought, in order to re-capture the Fort of Patna after the English had suddenly surprised it. It does not appear from the *Seir's* account that on this victory, the Nawāb slew "all the Englishmen," but what he did was that he apprised his officers of the outbreak of hostilities between him and the English, and directed the former to put the English to the sword wherever found. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 727). In pursuance of the above general order, Mr. Amytt was put to the sword at Murshidabad, and the Qualmhaire factory was looted. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 727-728). Then the English Council assembled in Calcutta, and decided on war against the Nawāb, and also proclaimed Mir Jafar (who was in surveillance in Calcutta) as the Nawāb Nazim of Bengal (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 728-730). In the meantime, the Nawāb had directed his Faujdar of Birbhum (Muhammad Taqi Khān) to prepare for fighting with the English, and had sent his officers, Jafar Khān, Alam Khān and Shaikh Hafsat-I-lah with others to re-inforce Muhammad Taqi Khān. The above three officers proceeded to Murshidabad, took ammunition and armaments from Syed Muhammad Khān, who was Deputy Nazim of Murshidabad at the time, and encamped at Phussy and Katwah, whilst Muhammad Taqi Khān, with his army, proceeded from Birbhum to Katwah. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 728).

‡ The only real victory that Mir Qāsim appears to have achieved over the English, was in his re-capture of the Fort of Patna. The *River's*

in capturing and killing slew all the English, and plundered their factories. But Şadrul-Haq Khān, Faujdār of Dinājpur, and the Rājah of Bardwān held back their hands from this wretched work.

account of these events is neither so detailed nor so lucid as that of the *Seir-i-Mutakhirin*, whose author Ghulam Hussin Khān was an actor in, or actual spectator of, most of these scenes. From the *Seir*, it appears that after the re-capture of Patna, the next battle between the English and the Nawāb's troops was fought at Katwah. The Nawāb's Faujdār of Bīrhum, Muhammud Taqī Khān, fought at this battle most gallantly, but his gallantry was of no avail, as Syed Muhammud Khān, Deputy Nazim of Murshidābād, failed, owing to jealousy that he bore, to support him, and prevented Jafar Khān, Alam Khān, and Shaukh Haibatullah also from re-inforcing him. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 729 to 731). After this, the English with Mir Jafar entered Murshidābād (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 731). The news of the fall of his brave officers Muhammud Taqī Khān, disconcerted the Nawāb, who hurried up re-inforcements under Samiroo, Mulkar Armenian, and Asadullah, and directed them to concentrate at Suti with the vanquished troops of Katwah. Major Adams commanded the English army. At the battle of Suti, the Nawāb's troops were defeated, and the English won the victory. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 732-733).

On hearing of the defeat at Suti, the Nawāb sent his Begams and children to the fort of Rohas, whilst he himself set out with his general, the Armenian Gurgin Khān, to re-inforce his army that was now concentrated on the banks of the Adhua nalla, a stream taking its rise from the hills north of Rajmahal and flowing to the Ganges. This position was considered to be of strategic importance and impregnable, as it was accessible by only one secret passage. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 734). On 24th Maharrah in 1177 A.H., in the night, the Nawāb marched out from the Moughyr Fort. Suspecting treachery from his officers as well as from his prisoners, and his suspicion being fanned by the Armenian Gurgin Khān, the Nawāb before leaving Moughyr killed his prisoners, namely, Rājah Rāmānain, the quaid Naiib Sabadar of Bahar, Rājah Rājūllah, the quaid Diwan of Nawāb Shahmat Jang, Rai Rahim Umed Ram, Rājah Fateh Singh, Rājah Bunial Singh (commander of Tibet), Shaukh Abdullah, as well as others. The Nawāb caused Rāmānain to be thrown into the river below Moughyr fort with a pitcher filled with sand tied to his neck. Gurgin Khān, not satisfied with this work of butchery, invited the Nawāb to kill also his English prisoners, consisting of Mr. Ellison and Dr. Fullerton and others of the Patna Factory. The Nawāb, however, refused to kill them and placed extra guard on them. Kamgar Khān Mun also joined the Nawāb, who was encamped at the Champunagar nalla, but was sent away to Bīrhum by the traitor, Gurgin Khān. (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 735). At this time, Mir Rūfūddin, son of the late Nawāb Saif Khān of Purniah, deserted Mir Qasim's army, proceeded to Purniah, and made himself its master, and opened correspondence with Mir Jafar Khān and the English (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 736). At Adhua, the Nawāb's troops

When Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān made his entry into Monghyr, he summoned to his presence all the officers of the Nizāmat of

were wont for some time to sally out in the night by the secret passage, and to do havoc amongst English troops. Once they went as far as to attack Mir Jafar Khān's Camp, Mir Jafar Khān having come to Aidha with the English army. Mir Jafar was about to run away, when the English army re-inforced him. The English were thrown into consternation by these destructive night-attacks, and were at a loss to find out the passage by which the Nawab's troops approached the English entrenchments. At this time, an English soldier who had long ago left the English army and taken service under the Nawab, informed the English army of the secret passage (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 737), and undertook to guide them to the Nawab's entrenchments at Aidha. With the help of this man, Colonel Goddard, with an English regiment, moved to the Nawab's entrenchment in the night. The Nawab's army were in a false sense of security, fancying the position impregnable, and thinking that the secret passage to it was unknown to the English. The Nawab's army under Asadullah Khān, the Frenchman Sumroo, the Armenians, Malkar and Antony, were surprised by this night-attack of the English and defeated (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 738), and dispersed on 24th Safar, 1177 A.H. On the second or third day, the news of this disaster reached the Nawab, who now moved to the Monghyr Fort. After talking there two or three days, he left that place with Gurgin Khān and others, placing the Fort in charge of one Arab Ali Khān, a *pasha* and creature of Gurgin Khān, and reached the Rohra wells. At this time, a leading nobleman named Ali Ibrahim Khān counselled the Nawab to release the English prisoners, named Monary, Ellego, Jao, and Livingston and others, or at least to send their wives by boat to Major Adama. The Nawab referred Ali Ibrahim Khān to Gurgin Khān, the Armenian evil genius of the Nawab. The Armenian said no boats were available, and refused to listen to the humane counsel of Ali Ibrahim Khān. On the way, Gurgin Khān was bucked to pieces with the sword by some horseman, whose pay was in arrears. The Nawab moved from Rohra wells to Barh, where Jugut Sat and his brother Sarupchand were put to the sword under Nawab's orders. From there the Nawab moved to Patna, where he received news that Arab Ali Khān, commandant of the Monghyr Fort, and a creature of Gurgin Khān, had accepted a bribe from the English, and treacherously made over the Fort to the latter. (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 741). The Nawab was exasperated; he was filled with emulsion, and his annoyance knew no bounds. He ordered the Frenchman, Sumroo, to kill the English prisoners. This Sumroo, though of one religion with the English prisoners, willingly accepted this murderous command, and on the night of the last day of Rabi-ul-Awal, 1177 A.H., he shot down the English prisoners, who were lodged at the time in the house of the late Hajji Ahmad, brother of Mahabub Jang. That house has since become the English burial-ground in Patna. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 739). None escaped except Dr. Fullerton (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 740). The Nawab accused Dr. Fullerton of treachery, which the latter

Bengal, and set himself to the work of administering the several districts. The Nawāb then spared his life. Dr. Fullerton subsequently escaped to Hajipur and joined the English army there (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 741). The English next invaded Patna, and stormed the fort there (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 742). The Nawāb now crossed the Karamussa river, and entered the territory of Nawāb-Vizier Shujan-d-daulah. (*Seir*, p. 743). The Nawāb (Mir Qāsim) now met the Nawāb-Vizier Shujan-d-daulah and the Emperor near Allahabad, and induced them to help him in driving out the English from the Subahs of Behar and Bengal (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 745). The Emperor, the Nawāb-Vizier and the Nawāb now marched to Benares where they encamped for some time, in order to invade Behar (p. 746 *Seir*). Dreading the approach of the Nawāb-Vizier Shujan-d-daulah, the English with Mir Jafar, who had gone in pursuit of Mir Qāsim, now retired from Bakkar towards Patna. Shujan-d-daulah with his huge army and with Mir Qāsim now overtook the English near Phulwari (p. 749, *Seir*, Vol. II). There were skirmishes followed by a battle in which the English army reeled, but the result was indecisive, owing to absence of concerted action between Mir Qāsim and Shujan-d-daulah (pp. 749-750, *Seir*, Vol. II). At the same time, Mir Mohi Khān, who had before fought so bravely for Mir Qāsim and re-captured the Patna Fort from the English, now deserted his old master, Mir Qāsim, and joined the English (p. 750, *Seir*, Vol. II).

The Nawāb-Vizier with Mir Qāsim now retired to Bakkar (*Seir* pp. 751). At this time, from the English side, Dr. Fullerton used Ghulam Hussain Khān, the author of the *Seir*, as a spy, and wrote to him to induce the Emperor to give his support to the English, and to withhold his support of the Nawāb-Vizier (p. 751, *Seir*, Vol. II). Ghulam Hussain Khān and his father Hedait Ali Khān, who held jagirs at Hatainabad in Monghyr district, held a peculiar position at the time. They professed friendship both for Dr. Fullerton and the English, and also for Mir Qāsim and the Nawāb-Vizier. They were all things to all men, and enjoyed friendship and influence amongst both the hostile parties. They opened secret correspondence with the Emperor, and induced the latter to give his moral support to the English (p. 751, *Seir*, Vol. II). A conference was now held between Ghulam Hussain Khān who now played the rôle of an English spy and between Major Carnac, Dr. Fullerton and Mir Jafar, and a reply was sent through Ghulam Hussain Khān and other spies to the Emperor. In the meantime, Shujan-d-daulah fell out with Mir Qāsim (p. 753). Mir Qāsim now assumed the garb of a *fugitive*, but was shortly after induced to give it up, at the entreaties of Shujan-d-daulah who found his honour was at stake. Shortly after, Mir Qāsim's French officer, Sumroo, the infamous perpetrator of the Patna massacre, minted against Mir Qāsim, and was paid up and discharged by the latter. Then this infamous Frenchman took service under Shujan-d-daulah with all the guns and ammunition of his old master, Mir Qāsim (p. 755, Vol. II, *Seir*). The Nawāb-Vizier shamelessly imprisoned his refugee Mir Qāsim; all people deserted the latter, except his one old brave and loyal officer, Ali Ibrahim Khān, who clung to his old master with a fidelity uncommon in those treacherous days. When Shujan-

Provinces. And summoning to Moughyr, one by one, the Rāi dāulah spoke ill of Mir Qāsim, and wondered why Ali Ibrahim Khān clung to Mir Qāsim, in spite of the latter speaking ill of Ali Ibrahim, the latter returned a manly and dignified answer which brought tears even to the eyes of the mean Nawāb-Vizier. Ali Ibrahim said: "To my knowledge, I have not been guilty of any dereliction in duty to my master (Mir Qāsim), except that after the events at Patna, whilst his other officers counselled him to go to the Dakhin, and secure support of the Mahrattas, I alone insisted on Mir Qāsim to seek shelter with you, the Nawāb-Vizier, and with the Emperor!" (p. 757, Vol. II, *Seir*.) At this time, Major Munro, commander of the English army in Patna, wrote through Dr. Fullerton to Ghulam Hussain Khān, the author of the *Seir*, to use his influence in acquiring the Fort of Rohtas for the English. Ghulam Hussain Khān tampered with Mir Qāsim's commandant Rājah Sahmal, and induced the latter to make over the Fort of Rohtas to Captain Goddard of the English army (p. 758, *Seir*, Vol. II). Mir Jafar now returned to Murshidābād, where he died (*Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 758-759), on 14th Shaban, 1178. Mir Jafar before setting out for Calcutta had left his brother, Mir Mohammad Kazim Khān, as Deputy Nazim of Patna, with Dhīraj Narain (Rāmcharān's brother) as Diwan under the latter. Mir Jafar appointed Nando Kumar as his Diwan (p. 759, *Seir*, Vol. II), and imprisoned Mahammad Riza Khān, Deputy Nazim of Danca (Jahangirnagar), who was son-in-law of Bahā Began and Atullah Khān Sabat Jang. From fear of the prestige and power of Shujān-dāulah and from fear of the odium they would incur by engaging in a war with the Emperor, both Mir Jafar and the English seriously contemplated patching up a peace with the Nawāb-Vizier and the Emperor, leaving to them the Behar Provinces, and stipulating to pay them a fixed revenue for Bengal (p. 760, Vol. II, *Seir*). This was, however, not to be, owing to the Nawāb-Vizier's ambition which would accept of no compromise, but aimed at an exclusive domination over the whole Empire. Whilst Mir Jafar was yet alive in Calcutta, Major Munro succeeded Major Carnar in the command of the English army, and was ordered in Šafar 1178 A.H., to proceed to Bakur to fight with the Nawāb-Vizier Shujān-dāulah, who was offensive in his correspondence with the English Council in Calcutta.

The Nawāb-Vizier and his army were in a sense of false security and were immersed in pleasures, frivolities and amusements, as if they had come for a picnic. On Major Munro's arrival, the Nawāb-Vizier with his army hurriedly took up a position on the north-west of a *jhil* or marshy sheet of water. The English army rested on the south-east of the *jhil*. The Nawāb-Vizier posted Samroo and Madak with eight guns and eight regiments of Mir Qāsim to cover his front. The Nawāb-Vizier's army was composed of three wings. The right wing was commanded by the Nawāb-Vizier himself, his centre was commanded by Shaja Quli Khān with six thousand Mughal troops, and his left wing was under the command of Rājah Beni Bahadur, Nawāb-Vizier's Deputy Subadar in Outh and Allahabad. The left flank of the left wing rested on the banks of the Ganges. The battle opened with a cannonade, which was briskly kept up on both sides, and which did its destructive work

Rājān Umīd Rāi, his son, Kalī Parāghād, Rāmkiṣhor, Rājballab,

on both sides. Then the Nawāb-Vizier with his Maghal and Duranian troops made a flanking sally from towards the right of his own artillery, assaulted Major Munro's cavalry and camp, and worked havoc in the English army. From the brisk cannonade kept up by Madak and Samroo, and from the repeated assaults of the Nawāb-Vizier, the English army was hard-pressed. Major Munro grasping the crisis and finding a frontal attack impossible, owing to the muddy *jhil* lying in front of him, quickly detached a corps under Captain Nao to make a flanking movement from the side of the river, in order to attack the Nawāb-Vizier's left wing, commanded by Rājāh Beni Bahadur. This corps approached slowly, and reached the plain of the ruins amidst which Rājāh Beni Bahadur's troops lay. Shakh Ghulam Qadir and other Shukhs *Kachas* of Lucknow who formed the van of Rājāh Beni Bahadur's army, stood with guns behind a wall amidst these ruins. The English regiments slowly and circumspectly, without disclosing themselves, crept up to the summit of the wall, and it was only when they rolled down stones on the heads of the Rājāh's troops that rested behind the wall at its foot, that these woke up from their slumber. It was only then that Shakh Ghulam Qadir and his kinsmen and followers came to know of the arrival of the English regiment, and rose up to fight. Before, however, these Shukhs could arrange their force in fighting array, the English regiment commenced firing their muskets, and killed Ghulam Qadir and his kinsmen, whilst others fled. At this time, Rājāh Beni Bahadur asked Ghālīb Khān, a notabin of Delhi, whom course he was to follow. Ghālīb Khān answered that if the Rājāh cared for his honour, he must die fighting; or else must run away. Then for a time the Rājāh engaged in fighting, but shortly after changing his mind, and preferring not to die, ran away. In the meantime, hearing the booming of cannons by the English regiment on the heads of Shakh Ghulam Qadir and Rājāh Beni Bahadur, Shuja Quli Khān's jealousy was aroused, and fancying that the booming proceeded from the Rājāh's army, and that the Rājāh would soon achieve the honour of a victory, without stopping to enquire into the matter, he forthwith sallied out of his position, advanced across Samroo and Madak, who in consequence had to suspend their cannonade, and waded across the *jhil* full of mud. The English artillery from front now quickened their cannonade, and Shuja Quli Khān and his soldiers uselessly sacrificed their lives, having lost the cover of their own artillery. The British regiment now penetrated through the entrenchments of Rājāh Beni Bahadur who had fled, and attacked the wing of the Nawāb-Vizier, as the ground between was already cleared by the foolish and disastrous forward movement of Shuja Quli Khān. Then the Nawāb-Vizier's army reeled and broke, the Nawāb-Vizier himself stood the ground for some time, but seeing himself deserted by his troops, retreated to Allahabad, whilst his Maghal and Duranian troops as well as English troops, commenced plundering his tents. Mir Qasim who was a prisoner in the hands of the Nawāb-Vizier had been released one day before this battle, and after the battle fled to Benares. (See *Sar*, Vol. II. pp. 761-763).

Jagat Set Mahtab Rāi, Rājah Sarūp Qhānd (Jagat Set's brother), the Zamindars of Dinājpur, Nadia, Khirāhpūr,¹ Birbhūm, and Rājāhāhi, &c., and Dulāl Rāi, Diwān of Bhujpur, Fatih Singh, the Rājah of Tikari, son of Rājah Sundar, and Rāmcarāin, Deputy Governor of the Subah of Azimābād, Muḥammad Maṣūm, and Munghī Jagat Rāi and others, the Nawāb threw them into prison. And after strengthening the Fort of Munghyr, the Nawāb sent a large army to Bengal. In the vicinity of Rājmahal, on the banks of the river Adhūah, he reviewed his army, and sent despatches to the Faujdārs and the Deputy Nāzim of Bengal, directing and instructing them peremptorily to fight with the English. Amongst them, Shaikh Hidāyit-l-lah,² Deputy Faujdār of Nadia, with a large army, Jafar Khān, and Alam Khān, Commandant of the Turkish bodyguard of the Nawāb, swiftly advanced to Katwah to fight. From the other side, the English army proclaiming Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān as Subadar of Bengal, and taking him in their company advanced to fight, and at a distance of two *bars* entrenched itself at Dainhāt.³ On the 3rd of the month of Muharram, both the armies arraying themselves for battle kindled the fire of warfare. The army of Qāsim Ali Khān, after the fall of a number of men whose moment for death had arrived, being defeated, fled to Palāsi (Plassey) to Muḥammad Taqi Khān, Faujdār of Birbhūm. After two or three days, when the army of Bengal had collected together, the English Generals arrived pursuing them.

This decisive victory at Bakur in 1764 (more than the battle of Plassey) gave the English a firm foothold in Bengal, as a Ruling Power. It was soon followed by the Emperor Shāh Alam's grant of the Diwan of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa to the English in 1765. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 773).

The English stipulated to pay annually twenty-four lakhs to the Emperor on account of the Revenue of the above three Subahs.

In this note, I have thought fit to summarise the events as narrated in the *Seir-i-Mutāḥharin*, a contemporary record, the author whereof was either an actor in, or a spectator of, the many scenes enacted in those times. The note is long, but I have thought fit to give it, in order to follow the development of the many important and stirring events that at length culminated in the transfer of the Ruling Power in Bengal from Moslem into English hands.

¹ Probably a misreading or misprint in the printed Persian text for Khirāhpār.

² In the *Seir*, his name is mentioned as Shaikh Haḥbat-l-lah. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 728, and n. note).

³ This must be the name of a market-place in Katwah itself.

Muhammad Taqi Khān, with a large army, advanced to fight, but fell on being wounded with a gun-shot. His army being defeated, retired to Murshidābād. Syed Muhammad Khān, who held the office of Deputy Nazim of Bengal after the departure of Mir Turah Ali Khān for Moughyr, came out of the City of Murshidābād with the troops at hand, and entrenched himself at Chunar-Khālī. But when the news of the approach of the English army arrived, his troops (many of whom had already received wounds in their fightings with the English) without engaging in battle and without firing their guns and muskets abandoned their entrenchments, and fled to Sātī. The army of Qāsim Ali Khān arrived at Sātī, where Sumron the Frenchman, with other Generals and troops, was already from before. But the English not abandoning their pursuit followed them up, and a great battle ensued at Sātī. In that the star of Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān's luck was waning, and the fortune of the English was in the ascendant, after severe fighting, in this battle also the English triumphed. The army of Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān, unable to stand the cannonade of the English artillery, were defeated; and retired to the banks of the Adhūsh nalla, which was their camping ground from before. There all the troops of the Nawāb collected together, and renewed fighting. At length, many of the Generals of Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān's army, including Gurgin Khān, Commander of the Nawāb's Artillery corps, as well as others, conspired with the English. The English, thus freed from anxiety, made a night-attack, and broke the Nawāb's army, which fled. A severe defeat was thus sustained by the Nawāb. The defeated army in a worsted condition retreated to Moughyr. Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān, on receiving news of this defeat, lost heart, and was thrown into consternation. In view of the disloyalty and treachery of the traitors who had eaten his salt, the Nawāb felt himself unequal for a contest, and abandoning all ideas of warfare he set out in an anxious mood for Agimābād. The Nawab now killed Gurgin Khān on account of his treachery, and also slew Jagat Set and his brother, who were the plotters of this treacherous conspiracy, and who had sent out secret messages inviting Jafar Ali Khān and the Christian English, and whose treasonable correspondence had been intercepted. The Nawāb also killed other Zamindars, &c., who from before were in prison, and each of whom was unrivalled in his day for hatching plots and intrigues. After arrival at

Azimābād, there, too, not finding himself secure, the Nawab sent his Begams to the Fort of Rohtas, whilst he himself proceeded to the Sūbah of Oudh to the Vazīr-ul-Mulk Nawāb Shujāu-d-daulah Bahādur. There also he fell out with the Nawāb-Vizier, who confiscated much of his treasures. From thence departing, the Nawab retired to the hills, and in those tracts he lingered some years in various mishaps, and at length died.¹



NIZĀMAT FOR THE SECOND TIME OF JAFAR ALI KHĀN BAHADUR.

After Qāsim Ali Khān's defeat, the English Chiefs again placed Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān on the *mamūd* of the Nizāmat of Bengal. Ten annas of the revenue of the Provinces were allotted to the English for their service as Diwān, whilst six annas of the same were held by Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān. This time also for a period of three years, after displaying great feebleness in his Nizāmat, in the year 1178 A.H., Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān died. The English Chiefs placed on the *mamūd* of Nizāmat his son, Najm-u-d-daulah,² and appointed Nawāb Muḥammad Rizā Khān Bahādur Muzaḥḥar Jang to the office of Nāib Nāzim (Deputy Nāzim). Najm-u-d-daulah, after sitting on the *mamūd* of Nizāmat for two years, passed to the regions of eternity. After Najm-u-d-daulah's death, his younger brother, Saifu-d-daulah³ succeeded to the *mamūd* of Nizāmat, whilst Nawāb Muzaḥḥar Jang continued to hold the office of Nāib Nāzim. Saifu-d-daulah after holding the Nizāmat for two years died of small-pox; and another brother of his, Muḥariku-d-daulah, succeeded to the *mamūd* of Nizāmat. The English Chiefs removing Nawāb Muḥammad Rizā Khān Muzaḥḥar Jang from the office of Deputy Nāzim, have fixed sixteen *lakhs*⁴ of rupees as an annual allowance for the Nāzim. This amount the English pay each year. The English have now acquired domination over the

¹ For some time, Mir Qāsim stayed in the Rohilla country, subsequently left Utterghansāli (the Afghan tract) and proceeded to the country of the Rana Gahād; thence he proceeded to Rājputana, whence again he moved to the tract between Agra and Delhi, where he died in distress. See *Seiru-i-Mutahharin*, Vol. III, p. 983.

² See *Seiru-i-Mutahharin*, Vol. II, p. 771.

³ See *Seiru-i-Mutahharin*, Vol. II, p. 775.

⁴ In the *Seir*, "twenty-four lakhs," *Seir* Vol. II, p. 781.

three *Ṣubahs*, and have appointed *Zilādārs*¹ (District Officers) at various places. They have established in Calcutta the *Khalīfah Kaghari* (the Court for Crown-lands), make assessments and collections of revenue, administer justice, appoint and dismiss *Amils* (Collectors of revenue), and also perform other functions of the *Nizāmat*. And up to the date of the completion of this History, namely 1202¹ A.H., corresponding to the thirty-first year of the reign of Emperor *Shāh Ālam*, the sway and authority of the English prevail over all the three *Ṣubahs* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

¹ The English divided the country into six *Zillahs*, viz.: (1) *Zillah Calcutta*; (2) *Zillah Bardwan*; (3) *Zillah Rajshahye-Murshidabad*; (4) *Zillah Jahangirnagar* (or *Dacca*); (5) *Zillah Dinajpur*; (6) *Zillah Azimabad* (or *Patna*); and appointed English *Zillahdars* to each *Zillah* with a Council. See *Brit.*, Vol. II, pp. 752-753.

² That is, 1788 A.C.

CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIBING THE DOMINATION OF THE ENGLISH CHRISTIANS IN THE PROVINCES OF THE DAKHIN AND BENGAL, AND CONTAINING TWO SECTIONS.

SECTION I.—DESCRIPTIVE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH CHRISTIANS, &c., IN THE DAKHIN AND IN BENGAL.

Be it not hidden from the bright hearts of the bankers of the treasure of History and the appraisers of the jewel of Chronicles, that the Jewish and Christian communities, before the advent of Islām, used to come to many ports of the Dakhin, like Malabar, &c., for trading purpose by the sea-route, and after acquiring familiarity with the people of that country, they settled down in some of the towns, erected houses with gardens, and in this manner dwell there several long years. When the planet of the Muslim faith rose, and the bright effulgence of the Muslim sun shone on the East and the West, gradually, the countries of Hindustān and the Dakhin were recipient of the rays of the moon of the Muhammadan faith, and Muslims commenced visiting those countries. Many of the kings and rulers of those parts embraced the Islamic religion, whilst the Rājās of the ports of Goa, Dabul, and Jabel, &c., like Muhammadan rulers, gave Musalman emigrants from Arabia quarters on the sea-shores, and treated them with honour and respect.¹ In consequence, the Jews and the

¹ See Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 29. Writes Dr. Hunter: "The Saracen Arabs who under the conquering impulse of Islām next seized the countries of the Indo-Syrian route (632-651 A.D.) soon realised its value. They were a trading not less than a fighting race, and Huzurah and Baghdad under the Caliphs became the opulent headquarters of the Indian trade." The Saracens conquered Egypt, Syria, and Persia, 632-651 A.D. In a footnote to p. 29 of the above History, Dr. Hunter refers the reader for

Christians burnt in the fire of envy and malice. And when the Kingdoms of the Dakhin and Gujrāt became subject to the Musalman Emperors of Dehli,¹ and Islām became powerful in the kingdom of the Dakhin, the Jews and the Christians placed the seal of silence on the door of their tongues, and ceased to utter words of enmity and hatred. Subsequently in the year 900 A.H., weakness² and decay set in in the kingdom of the Dakhin. At that time, the Portuguese Christians, on behalf of the king of their own country, were directed to build forts on the sea-shores of India.

an account of the Jewish trade with the East to an article on 'The Jews under Rome' by Lieut.-Col. Conder. Again says Dr. Hunter (p. 43): "The trading colony of Arabs at Canton included at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., an uncle of Muhammad the Prophet." Again in p. 46, says Dr. Hunter: "It was a commercial dispute that brought about the first Musalman conquest of an Indian Province. In 711 A.D., Kasim led a naval expedition against Sind, to claim damages for the ill-treatment of Arab merchants and pilgrims near the mouth of the Indus in their voyage from Ceylon. During the following centuries the Indian Ocean became an outlying domain of Islām. The Arab geographers mapped the coast from the Persian Gulf to China into 'seven seas,' each having a name of its own, and with the Arab-Chinese harbour of Gampua on their eastern limit. Abul Feda, the princely geographer of the fourteenth century (1273-1331) mentions Malacca as the most important trading place between Arabia and China, the common resort of Moslems, Persians, Hindus, and the Chinese. Colonies of Arabs and Jews settled in an early century of our era on the southern Bombay coast, where their descendants form distinct communities at the present day. The voyages of Sinbad the Sailor are a popular romance of the Indian trade under the Caliphs of Baghdad, probably in the ninth century A.D." From the above it is clear that India, including Bengal, was within the sphere of the commercial influence of the Saracen Arabs, from about the very dawn of Islām.

¹ The first Musalman conquests in the Dakhin were made in the reign of Jallāl-d-dīn Khilji, Emperor of Delhi, through the military genius of his nephew, Alan-d-dīn Khilji. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 170, and n. 2, *infra*, p. 60.

² "In 1504, Vijayanagar finally went down before the Mughals in the field of Talikota after an existence of 4½ centuries. The Bahmani dynasty formed from the coalition of the Musalman adventurers in the fourteenth century, began to break up in 1480, and by 1525, its disintegration was complete. The Portuguese arrived just as this once powerful kingdom was evolving itself through internecine war into the five Musalman states of Southern India. At the time (1499, when Vasco da Gama landed in India) the Afghan sovereignty in Northern India was dwindling to a vanishing point." See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 101-102.

In the year 904 A.H., four ships of the Portuguese Christians¹ came to the ports of Qandrinah² and Kalikot, and the Portuguese after ascertaining thoroughly the state of affairs³ of the sea-board sailed back. And the next year, six Portuguese ships arrived at Kalikot,⁴ and the Portuguese disembarked, and made a prayer to the ruler of that place, who was called Samri, to prevent the Musalmans from trading with Arabia, urging that they (the Portuguese) would yield him more profit than the Musalmans. The Samri did not listen to their prayer. But the Christians commenced molesting the Musalmans in mercantile business, so that the Samri⁵ becoming enraged ordered the former's slaughter and massacre. Seventy leading Christians were slain; whilst the rest getting into sloops sailed out to save themselves, and alighted near the town of Kuchin,⁶ the ruler whereof was on terms of hostility with the

¹ Corlham, the first Portuguese explorer in India, stayed some time on the Malabar coast (having come there from Aden on an Arab ship), in 1487. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on May 20th, 1498. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 57-58.

² The European form of Qandrinah is, I guess, Conlon or Calicoulan. For Conlon, Calicoulan, Cochin, Calicut, see the map at p. 96, of the above History. Ibn-i-Batutah (1304-1377) mentions Quilon and Calicut amongst the five chief ports that he had seen. See p. 48, n. 2 of the above History.

³ Dr. Hunter states that at the time the Malabar chiefs were tolerant of the religions of the many nations who traded at their ports. Abu Zaid when mentioning the foreign colonies records that the king allows each sect to follow its own religion (Abu Zaid-i-Hamvi of Sira translated in Sir Henry Elliot's History of India). Manichaeans, Musalmans, Jews, and Christians were alike welcome at the Malabar ports. Not only Jews from the earlier times (from 6th century B.C.) and 'St. Thomas Christians,' from 68 A.D., but also Arab traders (Moplahs) both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times were settled on the Malabar coasts. (See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 98-100).

⁴ The Zamorin of Calicut received the Portuguese graciously. But the foreign Arab merchants, then the most powerful community at his port, perceived that the new ocean-route must imperil their ancient monopoly by way of the Red Sea. They accordingly instigated the court officials to intrigues which nearly ended in a treacherous massacre, p. 103, Hunter's History, Vol. I. The Riyas's account would however show that the provocation came from the side of the Portuguese, who came with a crusading spirit. (See p. 101, *ibid.*).

⁵ In English histories, he is called the 'Zamorin,' which is the European form of the Tamil *Samri*, meaning 'son of the Sea.' See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 95, n. 1.

⁶ Or Cochin. From Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 103, it would appear Da Gama departed from Calicut, and for some time stopped at Cannanore.

Samri. There they obtained permission to build a fort, and within a short time they erected quickly a small fort, and dismantling a mosque which stood on the sea-shore they built on its site a church.¹ And this was the first fort which the Christians erected in India. In the meanwhile, the inhabitants of the port of Kanor also leagued with them. The Christians erected a fort also there. Being freed from anxiety, the Christians commenced a trade in pepper and ginger, and obstructed² others from trading therein. Consequently, the Samri advancing with his forces slew the son of the king of Kuchin, and ravaging that province returned. The successors of the slain ruler collecting again a force raised the standard of sovereignty, re-populated the province, and under the advice of the *Feringis*³ placed a flotilla of galleys in the sea. And the ruler of Kanor also similarly fitted out a flotilla of boats. The Samri, getting enraged at this, bestowing all his treasures on the army, twice or thrice advanced with his forces against Kuchin.⁴ At every time, the Portuguese helped Kuchin,

¹ In 1500 King Emmanuel of Portugal sent a fleet of thirteen ships under Pedro Alvarez Calcut, who was well received by the Zamorin, and established a factory on shore at Calicut for purchase of spices. He captured an Arab vessel and a Moslem vessel. The Arab merchants were roused to indignation, and sacked the Portuguese factory at Calicut, slaying the chief agent and fifty-three of his men. Calicut retaliated by burning ten Arab ships, and sailed down to Cochin, burning two more Calicut vessels on his way. Calicut concluded a friendly treaty with the Rājah of Cochin, promising to make him some day Zamorin of Calicut, and established a factory at Cochin. Friendly overtures were also received by him from the Rājah of Quilon and Cannanor. See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 107. The fanatical vandalism of the Portuguese Christians in dismantling a Moslem Mosque, is in sad contrast to the toleration and scrupulous regard for the sanctity of the Christian Church shown by the early Moslem Arabs under Omar, after the latter had conquered Palestine and visited Jerusalem.—See Sir William Muir's 'Annals of the Early Caliphs,' p. 210.

² Animated by a crusading spirit the aim of the Portuguese Government was to destroy the Arab commerce, and to establish an armed monopoly. See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 108.

³ *I.e.*, the Portuguese Christians. For the origin and significance of the term *Feringis*, see Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 184. Says Dr. Hunter: "The avenging hordes thus let loose in India, made the race-name of Christian (*Feringi*) a word of terror until the strong rule of the Moghal Empire turned it into one of contempt." See also n. 2, *ibid.*

⁴ In 1502 Vasco da Gama as Portuguese Admiral of the Indian Seas came to India for the second time, with a fleet of twenty vessels. He bombarded Calicut

so that the Samuri did not succeed in subduing it, and without attaining his object retired. Becoming powerless, he sent envoys to the rulers of Egypt, Jiddah, the Dakhin and Gujrat. Complaining of the malpractices of the Christians, he asked for help, and sending out narratives of the oppressions practised by the Christians over the Masalmāns, he stirred up the veins of their zeal and rage. At length, Sulṭān Qabṣir Ghurī¹ despatched to the

and destroyed its Arab merchant-fleet. At Cochlin, Cannanore, Quilon, and Baticala, he established factories. Da Gama's successes were stained by revolting cruelties never to be forgotten. For a graphic detail of those barbarous cruelties, see Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 139, 140 and 141. Da Gama now (1503) returned to Lisbon. The Zamorin and the Arab merchants burned to avenge the tortures and outrages inflicted by this Christian fanatic. They attacked the Cochlin Raja, seized his capital, and demanded surrender of the Portuguese factors left under his protection. The Cochlin chief bravely held out until relieved by arrival of the next Portuguese fleet in September, 1503. Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 110. This fleet operated against India under Alfonso de Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque. In India, the two Albuquerque built a fort at Cochlin, established a factory at Quilon, and severely punished the Zamorin. Alfonso returned to Lisbon in 1504, while his cousin was lost on his way home together with his squadron. See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 111.

The next expedition was sent in 1504 under Lopo Soares de Albergaria. 'He continued the policy of unsparring destruction against the ports in which Arab influence prevailed; laid part of Calicut in ruins, and burned Cranganor. Soares broke the Arab supremacy on the Malabar coast. In 1505, King Emmanuel of Portugal sent Don Francisco de Almeida as the Portuguese Viceroy in India. His principal duty was to coerce the Malabar sea-coast chiefs who might be friendly to the Arab merchants, to strengthen the Portuguese factories on shore, and thirdly, to break the Moslem Naval supremacy, including the armed Arab merchantmen of Calicut and the regular Navy of the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, who menaced the existence of Portugal in the East. This was the third and last act in the long conflict between Medieval Christianity and Islam. In four years (1505-1509), Almeida overthrew the power of the Moslem Arabs at the Malabar ports, defeated the Zamorin and destroyed his fleet of 84 ships and 120 galleys, and slew 3,000 Musalmāns.' See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 116.

¹ "The Mamluk Sultan of Egypt sent forth in 1508 a great expedition under Admiral Amir Hamid, who effected a coalition with the Moslem fleet of the northern Bombay coast, and was aiming to effect also a junction with the southern Calicut squadron. Lournuco Almeida, son of the Portuguese Viceroy, attempted to oppose this junction, but was shot down. The Moslem victory chivalrously gave him honourable burial, and respectfully congratulated Almeida on a son who at the age of twenty-two had covered himself with

Indian coast a General, named Amīr Husain, with a fleet of thirteen war-vessels, containing a naval force with armaments. Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrāt and Sultān Mahmūd Bahmānī of the Dakhīn also fitted out numerous ships from the ports of Deo, Sārat, Kolah, Dabīl and Jabūl, in order to fight with the Portuguese. First, the ships from Egypt arrived in the port of Deo, and uniting with the ships of Gujrāt set out for Jabūl, which was the rendezvous of the Portuguese. And some ships of the Samri and some ships of Goa and Dabīl having also joined them, they kindled the fire of war; but suddenly, one warship full of the Portuguese quietly sailed up from the rear. The Portuguese commenced a cannonade, and converted the sea into a zone of fire. Malik Ayāz, ruler of Deo, and Amīr Husain were obliged to flight with them, but failed to effect anything. Some Egyptian galleys were captured, and the Musalmāns drank the potion of martyrdom, whilst the Portuguese triumphantly steered back to their own ports. Inasmuch as at that period, Sultān Salīm, *Khaqān*¹ of Rūm (Turkey), defeated the Ghurīah Sultān² of Egypt, and the empire of the latter came to an end, the Samri who was the promoter of this war lost heart, and the Portuguese acquired complete domination. In the month of Ramzān, 915 A.H., the Portuguese proceeded to Kālikot, set fire to the Cathedral Mosque, and swept the town with the broom of plunder. But on the following day, the Malabarese collecting together attacked

imperishable glory. In 1509, Almeida, the senior, defeated the combined Moslem fleets off Din, and slew 3,000 of their men. The aggressions of the Turks upon Egypt gave the Mameluke Sultān, of Cairo, work nearer home, and disabled him from sending further expeditions to India.

[The Turks wrested Egypt from the Mameluke Sultān in 1517].

Almeida's victory over Moslems off Din on February 2nd, 1509, secured to Christendom the Naval supremacy in Asia, and turned the Indian Ocean for the next century into a Portuguese sea." See Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. I, pp. 117-118.

"The first five years of annual expeditions from 1500 to 1505 had given the Portuguese the upper hand in the armed commerce of the Malabar coast. The following four years under Almeida (1505-1509) left them masters of the Indian Ocean. The next six years (1509-1515) were under Alfonso de Albuquerque to see them grow into a territorial power on the Indian continent." See *ibid.*, p. 119.

¹ In the printed Persian text, *Kānkan* is obviously a misprint or misreading for *Khaqān*, which is a title held by Sultāns of Turkey.

² I.e., the Mameluke Sultān of Egypt.

the Christians, killed five hundred leading Portuguese, and drowned many of them in the sea. Those who escaped the sword fled to the port of Kolam,¹ and intriguing with the Chief of that place, at a distance of half a *farsakh* from that town, erected a small fort, and entrenched themselves there. And in the same year, they wrested the fort of Gosh from the possession of Yusuf Adil Shāh;² but the latter shortly after amicably got it back from their hands. But after a short period, the Portuguese offering a large sum of money to the ruler of that place re-acquired possession of it, and establishing their Capital at that port, which was very strong, fortified it further. And the Samri, from the humiliation and sorrow consequent on this, died in the year 921 A.H., and his brother succeeding him ceased hostility, and establishing peaceful relations with the Portuguese, gave the latter permission to erect a fort near the town of Kālikot, obtaining from them a stipulation to the effect that he would send yearly four ships of pepper and ginger to the ports of Arabia. For a short while, the Portuguese kept their promise and word, but when the fort was completed, they prevented his trading in the aforesaid articles, and commenced various malpractices and oppressions on the Musalmāns. And similarly, the Jews who were at Kadatklor,³ being informed of the weakness of the Samri, transgressed the limits of propriety, and caused many Musalmāns to drink the syrup of martyrdom. The Samri, repenting of his past policy, first proceeded to Kadatklor, and completely extinguished

¹ Perhaps 'Coulau.'

² Albuquerque (1469-1515) succeeded Almeida as the Portuguese Viceroy in India.

³ Yusuf Adil Shāh was king of Bijapur, which was one of the five Musalmān States formed in Southern India out of the old Bahmani kingdom.

The fort of Goa was seized by the Portuguese in 1510.

"The pirate chief Timoja proposed to Albuquerque that as the lord of Goa was dead (in reality absent) they should seize the place. This they easily did in March, 1510. But the rightful sovereign, a son of the Ottoman Sultān Amurad II, whose romantic adventures had ended with his carving for himself the kingdom of Bijapur in southern India, hurried back to Goa, and drove out the Portuguese in May. The king being again called away by disturbances in the interior, the Portuguese recaptured Goa with the help of the pirate Timoja in November, 1510. He rightful sovereign, Yusuf Adil Shāh the king of Bijapur, died in the following month (December.) His son was a minor." See Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 152-153.

* That is, 'Cranganor.' (See map in Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 66).]

the Jews, so that no trace of them remained there. After this, with the support of all the Mussalmāns of Malabar, he advanced to Kālikot, besieged the fort of the Portuguese, and fighting bravely defeated the latter, and stormed their fort. In consequence, the power and prestige of the Malabarese Mussalmāns grew, and without any pass from the Portuguese they despatched on their own behalf vessels loaded with pepper and ginger to the ports of Arabia. In the year 938 A.H., the Portuguese erected a fort at Jallat, which is six *kuroā* from Kālikot; and the passage of ships from Malabar was thereby rendered difficult. Similarly, the Christians¹ in those years, during the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh, erecting a fort at Baikūndah close to the port of Jabāl, settled down there. In the year 943 A.H., erecting a fort also at Kadaiklor, the Christians acquired much power. At this time, Sulṭān Sulaimān, son of Sulṭān Salīm of Turkey,² planned

¹ The word *نصرانی* means both 'a Christian,' as well as a 'fire-worshipper.'

In the latter sense, it would imply the 'Parsees.'

² In 1538, Solyman the Magnificent, Emperor of Turkey, captured Aden (Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 147). Constantinople, the capital of the old Eastern Roman Empire, is still known amongst Mussalmāns in India as 'Rūm.'

"To the 'martyr's blood' of the Portuguese, the Moslems opposed their Holy Fleet. First the Arabs of the Indian ports supplied the fighters for the faith. Then the Mameluke Sulṭān of Cairo sent armaments. Finally entered on the scene the mighty power of the Turkish Empire, which deemed its subjugation of Egypt incomplete as long as the Portuguese threatened the Red Sea. The Arabs of the Indian ports quickly succumbed to the cavaliers of the Cross. The Mameluke Sulṭān of Egypt, hard-pushed by the Ottomans from the north, could make no headway against the Portuguese in the east. But the Turks or 'Hunids' turned back the tide of Christian conquest in Asia. 'The cry, the Rāids are coming' which afflicted Albuquerque, for ever resounded in the ears of his successors. When the Portuguese closed the Malabar shore route to the Moslem world, the Arab ships struck boldly across the Indian Ocean for Aden to south of Ceylon, passing through the Maldiva Island or far out at sea. When the Portuguese secured the strong position of Diu at the north entrance to Indian waters, the Turks constantly harassed that station and tried to outflank it by menacing the Portuguese factories westward on the Persian Gulf. When the Portuguese sought the enemy in the Red Sea, they were often repulsed, and their momentary successes at Aden ended in lasting failure. In vain the Lisbon Court tried to make a few years' arrangement with the Turks, offering in 1541 to supply pepper in exchange for wheat, and passes for Moslem ships in Indian waters in return for free entrance to Aden and the Arabian ports of the Red Sea. The untimely project came to naught. Four years later, in 1545, the Turks boldly attacked

to turn out the Portuguese from the ports of India, and to take possession thereof himself. Accordingly, in the year 944 A.H., he sent his Vazir, Sulaimān Pāshā, with a fleet of one hundred war-ships to the port of Aden, in order to take it first, as it formed the key to the maritime position of India, and then to proceed to the ports of India. Sulaimān Pāshā in that year wresting the port of Aden from Shaikh Dāud, and slaying the latter, sailed out for the port of Deo, and commenced warfare. He had nearly stormed it, when his provisions and treasures ran short. Therefore, without accomplishing his mission, he sailed back to Turkey. And in the year 963 A.H., the Portuguese became dominant over the ports of Harmūz¹ and Muscat, over Sumatra, Malacca,² Milāfor, Nak, Fatan, Nāshkūr, Ceylon, and over Bengal to the confines of China, and laid the foundations of forts at many places. But Sultān Ali Akhī stormed the fort of Sumatra; and the ruler of Ceylon also defeating the Portuguese, put a stop to their molestation over his country. And the Samri, ruler of Kālikot, being hard-pressed, sent envoys to Ali Adil Shāh, and persuaded the latter to fight with the Portuguese, and to expel them from his kingdom. And in the year 979 A.H., the Samri besieged and stormed the fort of Jallat, whilst Nāzim Shāh and Adil Shāh pushed on to Rāikandāl and Goah.³ The Samri, by the prowess of his men of bravery and heroism, captured the fort of Jallat, but Nāzim Shāh and Adil Shāh, owing to the venality of their disloyal officers who suffered themselves to be taken in by the bribes offered them by the Portuguese, had to retire without achieving their objects. From that time forward, the Portuguese

the Portuguese Dia; in 1547, their janissaries appeared before Portuguese Malacca; in 1551, and again in 1581, their galleys sacked Portuguese Muscat. My present object is merely to bring into view the struggle between Islam and Christendom for the Indian Ocean in the century preceding the appearance of the English on the scene. I dare not expand these preliminary chapters by the deeds of heroism and chivalrous devotion on both sides.⁴ See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 130-132.

¹ I. e., Ormuz.

² Malacca was taken by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1511. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 127.

³ On the Portuguese seizing Goa in 1540, the Portuguese naval supremacy along the South-Western Indian coast was thoroughly established, and no Musalmān ship could safely trade in Malabar waters without a pass from the Christians. See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 126.

Christians, adopting a settled policy¹ of molesting and oppressing the Musalmāns, perpetrated much highhandedness. Whilst some ships of Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, which without a pass from the Portuguese had proceeded to Makkah, were returning from the port of Jiddah, they looted them, and inflicted various molestations and humiliations on the Musalmāns, and set fire to the ports of Adilābād and Farābin which belonged to Adil Shāh, and ravaged them completely. And coming under the guise of traders to the port of Dabil, the Portuguese schemed by means of fraud and treachery to get hold of it also. But the Governor of that place, Khwajah Aliu-l-Mulk, a merchant of Shīrāz, becoming apprised of their intention, killed one hundred and fifty principal Portuguese, and quenched the fire of their disturbance.



SECTION II.—DESCRIPTIVE OF THE DOMINATION OF THE ENGLISH CHRISTIANS OVER THE DOMINIONS OF BENGAL, AND THE DAKHIN, &c.

Be it known to the minds of enlightened researchers, that from the date that the ships of Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Padshāh² were captured at the hands of the Portuguese Christians, the sending of ships to the ports of Arabia and Ajam was totally suspended, inasmuch as the Emperor viewed the acceptance of passes from the Portuguese to be derogatory, whilst to send the ships without such passes was attended with danger to the lives of passengers, and with peril to their property. But the Emperor's Umarā, like Nawāb Abdu-r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i-

1 "From the time of Albuquerque the inexorable issue between Catholicism and Islam in Asia stands forth. Each side firmly believed itself fighting the battles of its God. 'I trust in the passion of Jesus Christ to whom I place all confidence,' Albuquerque declared in 1507 before entering on his governorship, 'to break the spirit of the Moors (Musalmāns).' 'We desire nought else but to be close to God' ran the Moslem summons in 1530. It denounced the aggressions 'of the Christians of Portugal,' and warned an Indian prince that if he held back, his soul would descend into hell." (Sulstman Pishā to the ruler of Cambay, May 7th, 1539.) See Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 129-130.

² Akbar the Great, Emperor of India, born 1542, reigned 1556-1605, and was the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth.

Khānān¹ &c., taking passes from the Portuguese Christians, sent out ships to the ports. And for some time the state of things continued in this wise. When Emperor Nuru-d-din Muḥammad Jahāngir ascended the throne of Dehli, he permitted the English Christians, who, in their articles of faith, totally differ from the Christian Portuguese and the Christian French, &c., and who thirst for the latter's blood, and are in hostility with the latter, to settle down in the tract of Surat,² which pertained to the Province of Gujrat.³ This was the first place amongst the Indian sea-ports, where the English Christians settled down. Before this, the English Christians used to bring their trading ships to

¹ Abdur Rahim, Khān-i-Khāsan, was a son of Bairam Khān, and was born at Lahore, 904 A.H. In 984, he was appointed to Gujrat. He conquered for Akbar Gujrat, and defeated Sahūn Muzaffar, King of Gujrat, at the battle of Sarkij. His great deeds were the conquests of Gujrat and Smṛth, and the defeat of Sahūl Khān of Bijapur. (See Hlechemann's Translation of Ain-i-Akhari, Vol. I, p. 334).

² In 1607 Captain William Hawkins landed at Surat with a letter from James I. to the Mughal Emperor (Emperor Jahangir reigned 1605-1627), and proceeded to the Court at Agra. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton landed at Swally. In 1612 Captain Best routed the Portuguese squadron near Surat, and obtained congratulations of the Mughal Governor, who allowed the English to settle at Surat in 1613. Downton's sea fight in 1615 established English supremacy over the Portuguese. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I. to be 'ambassador to the Great Mogul.' Surat was the chief starting place for Mecca, and the Portuguese squadron had troubled the ocean path of pilgrimages. The Imperial Court, too happy that one infidel fleet should destroy another, granted to Sir Thomas Roe an 'order' for trade. Roe obtained a 'permit' in 1616 for the English to reside at Surat and to travel freely into the interior, and also a similar 'grant' in 1618 from Prince Khurram (afterwards Emperor Shāh Jahan) who was then Mughal Viceroy of Gujrat. The English by their good conduct gradually acquired the position of a useful sea-police, and as patrol of the Moslem-pilgrim-sea-route, and as a 'sure source of revenue,' under the Great Mogul. In 1657 the English Company decided that there should be one 'presidency' in India, that being at Surat. See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. II, Chap. II.

³ Akbar conquered and re-conquered Gujrat and the province on the shore of the Gulf of Cambay between 1572-1592, and these were finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1593. Surat was the Capital of Gujrat and the Chief Mughal port on the western coast for the embarkation of pilgrims to Mecca. Surat is the modern representative of the ancient province of Surastrā which included not only Gujrat but part of Kathiwar. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 47, and his reference to Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.

the ports of India, and after sale of their cargoes used to sail back to their own country. After they settled down at Surat, the trading factories of the English Christians, like those of the Christian Portuguese and the French, &c., gradually sprang up at different centres both in the Dakkhin¹ and in Bengal,² and they paid

¹ For the first English settlements on the Madras Coast (1611-1658), see Dr Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. II, Chap. III. Their first settlement under Captain Hippen on that coast was in 1611 at Masulipatam, the chief sea-port of the Moslem Golconda Kingdom (founded in 1512 under Kutub Shahi line on the breaking-up of the Musalman Bahmani Dynasty, and not subdued by the Mughal Empire until 1657). In 1632, the English received the 'Golden Phirmaud' (farman) of the Golconda King for their settlement at Masulipatam. In 1639, the English under Francis Day built a factory at Madras. In 1645, the Moslem King of Golconda confirmed the grant of Madras for an English settlement. In 1653, Madras was raised to an independent 'presidency,' and in 1658, the English Company declared all its settlements in Bengal and the Coromandel Coast subordinate to Fort St. George.

² For an account of the English settlements in Bengal (between 1633-1658), see Hunter's *History of 'British India,'* Vol. II, Chap. IV, and Wilson's 'Early Annals of the English in Bengal,' Vol. I.

In 1632, by order of Emperor Shah Jahan, Qasim Khan destroyed the Portuguese settlement at Hugli, and expelled the Portuguese who had been ill-treating the Moslems. The English Company's agent at the Masulipatam factory seized the occasion, and sent out in 1633, on a country boat, eight Englishmen to try and open up trade with the fertile provinces at the mouth of the Ganges. These headed by Ralph Cartwright reached Harishpur in Orissa, and then quietly crept up to the court of Malakandy, in Fort Raxabati, in Cuttack, where resided a Mughal Deputy-Governor for Orissa, named Agha Muhammad Zaman. This pukka Persian—the Deputy-Governor of Orissa—'received the Englishmen in his Audience-hall, affably inclined his head to Mr. Cartwright, then slipping off his sandal offered his foot to the English merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at last was fain to do it.' (Hunter's *History*, Vol. II, p. 89). The Deputy-Governor on May 6th, 1633, issued an order giving the English ample license to trade. (See text of order in Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12). The beginning of the English trade with Orissa is usually ascribed to a farman granted to the English in 1634 by Emperor Shah Jahan, confining them to Pipli near an old mouth of the Subarnarekha river. On May 6th, 1633, the English built a house of business at Harishpur, near Jagatsingpur in the Cuttack district, this being the first English factory in the present Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. In June, 1633, Cartwright founded a factory at Balasore. In 1650, the English founded a factory at Hugli. Gabriel Bughton, an English Surgeon, who was in 1650 Surgeon to Shah Shuja (Mughal Viceroy of Bengal who resided at Rajmahal), used his influence in the Viceroyal Court, in getting favour extended to the English, who received in 1650

customs-duties like others. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, the English rendered loyal services to the Emperor, and were, therefore, granted an Imperial *Ferman*,¹ permitting them to erect trading factories in the Imperial dominions generally, and in Bengal especially, and also remitting customs-duties on the ships of the English Company, in consideration of an annual payment by the latter of three thousand rupees, as has already been mentioned in connection with the foundation of Calcutta. From that time, the English acquired much prestige in Bengal.

In the year 1162 A.H., Nawāb Muzaffar Jang, maternal grandson of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Asaf Jāh, at the instigation of Husain Doat alias Chānd, who was one of the leading men of Arkat (Arcot), allied himself with the Christian French, and attacked Aurāzu-d-din Khān Shahāmat Jang Gopāmani, who was Nāzim of Arkat from the time of Nawāb Nizāmu-l-Mulk Asaf Jāh, in order to wrest the province of Arkat. A great battle was fought, and Nawāb Shahāmat Jang, on the battle-field, displaying bravery and heroism, was killed. Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah, second son of Nawāb Asaf Jāh, who, on the death of his father, had succeeded to the *mansab* of the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, on hearing of the hostility of his maternal nephew, with a force of seventy thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry, set out to chastise Muzaffar Jang. Arriving at the port of Bālchārī (Pondichery) on the 26th Rabi-ul-āwāl 1163 A.H., Nizāmu-d-daulah fought a battle, in which he triumphed, whilst Muzaffar Jang was captured. Nizāmu-d-daulah spent the rainy season at Arkat. The Christians of Bālchārī (Pondichery) conspired with Himmat Khān and other Afghān generals of Karnatik, who were servants of Nizāmu-d-daulah, and deceiving them by holding out temptations of lands and treasures, blinded their sense of obliga-

a 'nishan' or 'permit' from Shah Shuja to trade duty-free in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000.

¹ His Majesty Emperor Aurangzeb on 27th February, 1690, granted a *farmān* to the English. The *farmān* sets forth that 'all the English having made a most humble, submissive petition that the ill-effects they have done may be pardoned, and promised to pay a fine of Rs. 150,000, to remove all plundered goods, and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner, the Emperor accepts their submission and grants them a new license for trade, on condition that 'Mr. Osild, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled' (See Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 266). In 1690, Charnock returned from Madras, and for the third time anchored at Calcutta.

tions. These traitors tied up the waist of mutiny and treachery, and conspiring with the Christians of Būlehārī (Pondichery), on the night of the sixteenth Muharrar, 1174 A.H., delivered a night-attack, and killed Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah. After the fall of Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah, the Afghāns and the Christians (the French) placed Nawāb Muzaffar Jang on the *mamad*. Muzaffar Jang proceeded to Būlehārī (Pondichery) with a contingent of the Afghāns, and taking a large number of Christian French in his service made them his confidants. In the same year, taking a large force consisting of Afghāns and Christians, he set out for Qandārābad, and crossing the confines of Arkat came to the Afghān tract. From the vicissitude of fortune, hostility broke out between Muzaffar Jang and the Afghāns, and it led to a fight. On the 17th Rabi-u-l-awāl of the aforesaid year, both sides arranged themselves in battle-array. On one side were arrayed Muzaffar Jang and the Christian French, and on the other the Afghāns. Himmāt Khān and other Afghan Generals, meeting with their deserts for disloyalty, were killed, whilst Muzaffar Jang from an arrow-shot which pierced the pupil of his eye was also killed. After this, the Christian French entered the service of Amru-l-Mumālīk Salāmat Jang, third son of Asaf Jāh, received as *jāgīr* Sitakāl and Rājbandari, &c., and acquired so much influence, that their orders became current in the Dakhin. No Musalman ruler had before this taken into employ the Christian French, though from a long period they used to frequent the ports of the Dakhin. It was Muzaffar Jang who taking the Christian French into his service, introduced them into the Moslem dominions. When the Christian French acquired so much influence, the Christian English, who thirsted for the blood of the French, also cherished ambition to meddle with the Imperial dominions, acquired possession of some tracts in the Dakhin, brought the fort of Sārat into their own possession, and established fortified factories in Bengal. In that the French slaying Nawāb Anwār-u-d-din Khān Gopamau, the Subahdār of Arkat, and nominally installing another person at its head, had become dominant in the Dakhin, Nawāb Muḥammad Āli Khān, son of Nawāb Anwār-u-d-din Khān, entered into an alliance with the English Chiefs. The latter advancing to the assistance of Nawāb Muḥammad Āli Khān spared no measure to help him, and exerted themselves strenuously to exterminate the French. In 1174 A.H., the English besieged

the fort of Bāleharī (Pondichery), and wresting it from the hands of the French raised it, whilst Sikakūl, Rājbandari, and other *Jāgirs* were unexpectedly abandoned by the French. Nawab Mahammad Ali Khān, with the support of the English, succeeded his father on the throne of the Viceroyalty of Arkat (Arcot), under the surname of Wālājāh Amīr-i-Hind Mahammad Ali Khān Maṣṣūr Jaug, subordinated himself to the English Chiefs, and passed his life in ease and pleasure. Now the province of Arkat (Arcot), like Bengal, is under the domination of the English Chiefs.

And as has been related before, when Nawab Sirāju-d-daulah, Nāgim of Bengal, owing to his inexperience, flung the stone into the hornet's nest, he suffered of necessity the sting. And Nawab Jāfar Ali Khān, treating the English as his consultants and colleagues in the Nizāmat of Bengal, suffered them to acquire control over administrative affairs. Inasmuch as complete disintegration had overtaken the Moslem Empire of Delhi, in every *Ṣūbah* the Provincial Governors acquiring authority grew into semi-independent Feudatories. Now, since a period of thirty years, the Provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa have come into the possession and authority of the English Chiefs. An English Chief, styled the Governor-General, coming from England, resides in Calcutta, and selecting Deputies for the collection of the revenue and for administration of civil and criminal justice, and for trading business, sends them out to every place. And establishing the Khālīqah Kachiri¹ (the Court of Crown-lands) in Calcutta, the English Governor settles on his own behalf the assessment of the revenue of each *Zila* (District). And the Deputies and the *Ziladārs* (District Officers) collecting revenues, remit them to Calcutta.

In the year 1178 A.H., when the English became victorious² over Nawab Vazīr-i-Mulk Shujān-d-daulah, Nāgim of the *Ṣūbah* of Andh and Ilahābād (Allahabad), a treaty was entered into, and the English left to the Nawab Vazīr his country. From that time, they have acquired influence over that *Ṣūbah* also, and seizing the district of Banāras have separated it from that *Ṣūbah*. And their soldiers quartering themselves in the dominions of the Nawab-Vazīr, as the

¹ That is, the Board of Revenue or the 'Sudder Board.'

² For this victory and the treaty that followed, see *into acts and Deeds*, Mutakharira.

latter's servants, exercise influence over all affairs. Heaven knows what would be the eventual upshot of this state of things.

Similarly, in the Dakhin, the English have got to the fort of Madras an old factory and a large army. They have also acquired possession of the Province of Arkat. They hold, as *jāgirs* under Nizām Ali Khān, the towns of Ganjām, Barampur, Ichāpūr-Sikakūl, Ishāqpatan, the fort of Qasim kutah, Rājbandar, Ilor (Ellore), Machlihandar (Masullipatam), Bājwārah, and the fort of Kondhali, &c., and the Zamindārs of those places appearing before them pay in revenue. And whenever Nizām Ali Khān needs auxiliaries, they furnish him with strong contingents, and outwardly do not disobey his orders.

But the English Christians¹ are embellished with the ornaments of wisdom and tact, and adorned with the garments of considerateness and courtesy. They are matchless in the firmness of their resolutions, in the perfectness of their alertness, in the organisation of battles, and in the arrangement of feasts. They are also unrivalled in their laws for the administration of justice, for the safety of their subjects, for extermination of tyranny, and for protection of the weak. Their adherence to their promises is so great that even if they risk their lives, they do not deviate from their words, nor do they admit liars to their society. They are liberal, faithful, forbearing, and honourable. They have not learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the book of crookedness. And notwithstanding their difference in creed, they do not interfere with the faith, laws, and religion of Musalmans.

All wranglings between Christianity and Islam, after all, lead to the same place:

The dream (of empire) is one and the same, only its interpretations vary.

¹ The author of the *Rajut* appears to be remarkably liberal and catholic in his views, as the concluding lines of his History would indicate. Compare this picture of the 'new English rulers' with that in the *Seir-ul-Mutakkerin*.

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